



ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA

EPIGRAPHIA INDICA ALL VOLUMES

TAMIL INSCRIPTIONS



Edited by:

THENKONGU SATHASIVAM



எபிகிராபியா இந்தியாவிலிருந்து எபிகிராபியா தமிழ்நாடு

இந்திய தொல்லியல் துறையின் கல்வெட்டுப்பிரிவின் சிறப்புமிக்க வெளியிடுகளான எபிகிராபியா இந்தியா, தென்னிந்தியக் கல்வெட்டுகள், கல்வெட்டு ஆண்டறிக்கைகள் போன்றவை கல்வெட்டு அறிஞர்களுக்கும் ஆய்வாளர்களுக்கும் பலவகையில் பயன்படுபவவை. இந்திய தொல்லியல் துறையினரின் எபிகிராபியா இந்தியா 1882 முதல் 1977 வரை 42 தொகுதிகளும் (Volumes) 71 பகுதிகளாக (Parts) வெளியிடப்பட்டுள்ளன. இதில் இந்தியாவெங்கும் கிடைத்த பல்வேறு கல்வெட்டுகள், செப்பேடுகளின் முழு கல்வெட்டுப்பாடமும் படங்களுடன் வெளியிடப்பட்டவை. இதில் இந்திய அளவில் இதன் பயன்பாடு இருக்கும் என்பதால் இதில் தமிழ்க்கல்வெட்டுகள் கூட ஆங்கிலத்தில் ஒலிபெயர்ப்பு (Transliteration) செய்து வெளியிடப்பட்டுள்ளன. வரலாற்றுச்சிறப்பு மிக்க, அரிய செய்திகள் கொண்ட, சிறப்பு வாய்ந்த கல்வெட்டுகளும் செப்பேடுகளும் இதில் இடம்பெற்றிருக்கின்றன.

எபிகிராபியா இந்தியா வெளிவந்த காலம் முதல் இந்தியாவின் புகழ்பெற்ற கல்வெட்டு அறிஞர்கள் பலர் இந்த புத்தகத்தை தொகுத்துள்ளனர். அவர்களில் முக்கியமானவர், ஜேம்ஸ் பர்கீஸ், ஹூல்ஸ், டி.சி. சிர்கார், கே.வி. ரமேஷ் ஆகியோர்கள் ஆவார்கள். வெ. வெங்கய்யா, கே.ஏ. நீலகண்ட சாஸ்த்திரி, கே.வி. சுப்பிரமணி அய்யர், டி.ஏ. கோபிநாதராவ் போன்றோர்களின் பெரிய பங்களிப்புடன் இவை வெளியிடப்பட்டன.

கல்வெட்டு மற்றும் செப்பேடுகளை அதன் பாடங்களை மட்டும் வெளியிடாமல் அக்கல்வெட்டு பற்றிய மிகச்சிறந்த ஆய்வுகளையும் கொண்டு விரிவான விளக்கங்களும் உரிய சான்றுகளுடன் திகழ்வது எபிகிராபியா இந்தியாவின் சிறப்பாகும். இதில் வெளிவந்துள்ள கட்டுரைகள் இத்துறையின் புதியவர்களுக்கு நல்ல வழிகாட்டியாகும்.

இத்தகைய சிறப்பு மிக்க எபிகிராபியா இந்தியா காலத்திற்கேற்றவாறு இணைய வெளியில் இதன் நகல்கள் கிடைத்தாலும் அத்தனை தொகுதியிலும் ஒரு கல்வெட்டை தேடுவது கடினமான செயலாகும். அக்குறையை போக்குவதற்கு 42 தொகுதியிலிருந்தும் தமிழ்நாட்டைச் சேர்ந்த கல்வெட்டுகள், செப்பேடுகள், கட்டுரைகள் ஆகியவற்றை மட்டும் தனியே பிரித்து தொகுதிகள் வாரியாக உள்ளடக்கமும் தலைப்பும் தயார் செய்து வெளியிட்டிருக்கிறார்கள் வரலாற்று ஆய்வாளர் தென்கொங்கு சதாசிவம் மற்றும் சிற்றிங்கூர் ராஜா. வரலாற்று ஆய்வாளர்களுக்கும் அறிஞர்களுக்கும் அரிய, சிறப்பு மிக்க கல்வெட்டுகளை எளிதாக கொண்டு சேர்க்கும் கடினமான பணியினை மேற்கொண்ட தென்கொங்கு சதாசிவம், சிற்றிங்கூர் ராஜா ஆகியோர்களின் பணி போற்றுவதற்குரியது.

தமிழ்நாட்டு வரலாற்றை அடுத்த தலைமுறைக்கும் அடுத்த கட்டத்திற்கும் கொண்டு செல்ல விழையும் அனைவரும் பயன்படுத்தவேண்டிய அற்புத கருவியாக இது.

திரு. ச. பாலமுருகன்
திருவண்ணாமலை மாவட்ட வரலாற்று ஆய்வு நடுவம்.

EPIGRAPHIA IN TAMILNADU

Edited by THENKONGU SATHASIVAM
2021

வணக்கம், இன்றைய காலகட்டத்தில் நவீன வசதிகள் புகைப்படம் எடுக்கும் கேமராக்கள் இருந்தும் நம்மால் கோயில்களில் கல்வெட்டுகளை சரியாக புகைப்படம் எடுக்க முடிவதில்லை. ஆனால் அரை நூற்றாண்டுகளுக்கு முன்பாக பல கல்வெட்டு அறிஞர் பெருமக்கள் பல கல்வெட்டுகளில் தேடித்தேடி எபிகிராஃபிக் இண்டிகா எனும் கல்வெட்டு நூல்களில் பதிவு செய்துள்ளார்கள்.

இன்று நமக்கு எவ்வளவு இடர்ப்பாடுகள் உள்ளன கோயில்கள் ஆய்வுகள் மேற்கொண்ட அனைவரும் நிச்சயம் உணர்ந்தே இருப்பார்கள் ஆனால் அரை நூற்றாண்டுகளுக்கு முன்பாக கல்வெட்டுகளை படி எடுத்து பதிப்பிக்க அவர்கள் எவ்வளவு சிரமப்பட்டு இருக்க வேண்டும்.

அப்படி தொகுத்த எபிகிராஃபிக் இண்டிகா கல்வெட்டுகளில் ஆங்காங்கே கிடைக்கும் தமிழ் கல்வெட்டுகளை எல்லாம் தொகுத்து ஒரே நூலாக கொடுக்கும் முயற்சியே இந்த எபிகிராஃபிக் இன் தமிழ்நாடு.

எபிகிராஃபிக் இண்டிகா 71 தொகுதிகளில் இருக்கும் தமிழ் கல்வெட்டுகளை எல்லாம் தொகுத்து ஒரே நூலாக மாற்றம் செய்து இருக்கிறேன். இந்தப் பணியில் என்னோடு கைகோர்த்த நண்பர் சிற்றிங்கூர் ராஜா, அவர் இந்த தொகுதியில் உள்ள கல்வெட்டுக்கள் செப்பேடுகள் போன்ற வரலாற்று தரவுகளுக்கு பொருளடக்கம் தயார் செய்து, எபிகிராஃபிக் இண்டிகாவில் தொகுதி எண், அதற்குரிய வரிசை எண் மற்றும் நமக்குத் தேடுவதற்கு ஏதுவாக இந்த தொகுப்பின் பக்க எண்ணும் மூன்று முறை இந்த புத்தகத்தைப் படித்து தட்டச்சு செய்த சிற்றிங்கூர் ராஜா அவருக்கும், பல தமிழ் கல்வெட்டுகளை எபிகிராஃபிக் இண்டிகா வில் பதிப்பித்து வெளியிட்ட மத்திய தொல்லியல் துறைக்கும், இதை தொகுக்கும் பணியில் எனக்கு உதவிய நண்பர் திருவண்ணாமலை வரலாற்று ஆய்வு மையம் திரு பாலமுருகன் அவர்களுக்கும், எபிகிராஃபிக் இண்டிகா தொகுக்கும் முயற்சியில் எனக்கு ஊக்கமும் உற்சாகமும் அளித்து எப்படி இதைத் தொகுக்க வேண்டும் என்று ஆலோசனைகளும் எபிகிராஃபிக் இண்டிகா வின் முக்கியத்துவத்தையும் எபிகிராபி இண்டிகா வின் அறிய பல தகவல்களையும் தந்த தொல்லியல் அறிஞர் பேராசிரியர் திரு க. ராஜன் அவர்களுக்கும் எனது நெஞ்சார்ந்த நன்றியும் மகிழ்ச்சியும் தெரிவித்துக்கொள்கிறேன்.

எங்கோ சிறு கிராமங்களில் இருக்கும் கல்வெட்டுக்களை எல்லாத்தொகுத்து வெளியிட்டிருந்த கல்வெட்டு அறிஞர் பெருமக்களுக்கு இந்த நூல் சமர்ப்பணம்.

நன்றி – இந்திய தொல்லியல் துறை

என்றும் அன்புடன்
தென்கொங்கு சு.சதாசிவம்.

EPIGRAPHIA INDICA

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EPIGRAPHIA INDICA

TAMIL INSCRIPTIONS OF ALL VOLUMES

No. 16—TWO EASTERN GANGA INSCRIPTIONS AT KANCHIPURAM

(1 Plate)

T. V. MAHALINGAM, MADRAS

The two subjoined inscriptions¹ are engraved, one in continuation of the other, on the south wall of the Arulāja Perumāḷ temple at Little Kāñchipuram, Chingleput District, Madras State. They are edited here with the aid of their impressions kindly placed at my disposal by the Government Epigraphist for India.

The language as well as the script of both the records is Tamil. Wherever Sanskrit words or phrases occur, they are written in the Grantha script, the rest being in Tamil characters. The orthographical peculiarities do not call for any special remarks.

The object of the first inscription is to record the gift of the village of Uḍaiyakāmam in Antarudra-vishaya by Sōmaladēvi-mahādēvi, for offerings and worship, to the god Allāḷaṇātha while she was at Abhinava-Vārāṇavāsi.² The inscription is dated in the 19th year of the reign of Mahārājādhirāja Rājaparamēśvara Anantavarmanmahādēva who is stated to have belonged to the Gaṅga family. The king is further described as the son of [the god] Puruṣhōttama and a Paramavaishṇava who regularly observed the *ekādaśi-vrata* and constantly meditated upon and practised the meaning of the *mahāvākya*. The inscription quotes other details of the date, viz., Mina śu-5, Wednesday, Rēvati. As the year of the commencement of this king's reign is known to be 1211 A.D.³, the particulars of the date given in the inscription seem to correspond to 1230 A.D., March 20, the *tithi* quoted having ended the following day at -02. The *nakshatra* Rēvati is misquoted for Rōhiṇī.

The second inscription records the gift of 128 cows and four bulls by Kalingēśvara Aniyāṅkabhīmadēva-rāhuta for four perpetual lamps to the Perumāḷ. The *sthānattār* of the temple agreed to measure out the ghee required for the purpose. It is dated in the 20th year of the reign of the Chōḷa king Rājārāja III and contains the following astronomical details: Ādi 12, Saptamī, Monday, Āśvati, which correspond to 1235 A.D., July 8, the week day being Sunday and not Monday as quoted.

These two Eastern Gaṅga inscriptions are of more than ordinary interest for two reasons. Firstly on account of the fact that both of them are found engraved on the walls of a temple at Little Kāñchipuram far away from Orissa and secondly for the reason that, while the first inscription in which the Gaṅga king's wife figures as the donor, is dated in the 19th regnal year of that king without reference to the contemporary Chōḷa king Rājārāja III, the second is dated in the latter's 20th regnal year.

It will be of interest to examine how the two Eastern Gaṅga inscriptions are found at Kāñchipuram. It would appear that king Aniyāṅkabhīma III (1211-38 A.D.) took advantage of the

¹ A.R.Ep., Nos. 444 and 445 of 1919.

² Abhinava-Vārāṇavāsi has been identified by Dr. D. C. Sircar with Abhinava-Vārāṇasi-katakā (modern Cuttack in Orissa). Aniyāṅkabhīma III issued from that place a number of grants in 1230-31 A.D. (cf. above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 235-258; Vol. XXX, pp. 17-23). Antarudra-vishaya, in which the village Uḍaiyakāmam was situated, has been identified with the modern Antarōdha Pargana in the Sadar Sub-division of the Puri District of Orissa (see above, Vol. XXX, p. 22, n. 2).

³ Banerji, *History of Orissa*, Vol. I, p. 259.

political confusion that prevailed in South India during the reign of the Chōla king Rājārāja III (1216-46 A.D.) and tried to fish in the troubled waters of South Indian politics about 1229-30 A.D. either by himself or more probably at the invitation of over-grown and disloyal Chōla vassals like the Kāḍavarāya chieftain Kōpperuñjiṅga.¹ The reign of Rājārāja III was marked by many political and economic troubles even from its beginning. Probably about 1229-30 A.D. he invited fresh trouble for himself and his kingdom by withholding the tribute he was to pay to Māgavarman Sundarapāṇḍya I and despatched a large army against him. Rājārāja III, having been defeated by the Pāṇḍya king, abandoned his capital and proceeded to his relation and friend, the Hoysala king Narasiṃha II, along with his retinue. On his way he was suddenly overtaken by the Kāḍava chief with the help of a vanguard of forest and foreign (*mēchchadēsa*) troops, taken captive after a fight and imprisoned in his capital Jayantamaṅgalam (Sēndamaṅgalam). When Narasiṃha heard of these events, he defeated the Pāṇḍya king, carried destruction into the region under the Kāḍavarāya and restored Rājārāja to his throne.

It is very probable that the Eastern Gaṅga king Aniyāṅkabhīma III sent his army to the Tamil country apparently to help the Kāḍavarāya chieftain but really to take advantage of the political confusion in the Chōla kingdom.² Though there is no direct evidence as such to show that he either assisted the Kāḍavarāya chieftain or actually sent his army to the Chōla country, it is indirectly suggested by two pieces of independent evidence. Two Hoysala inscriptions suggest the movement of the Eastern Gaṅga army into the Tamil country and its possible temporary occupation of Kāñchīpuram. One of them recounts the following achievements of Hoysala Narasiṃha II: "His forcible capture of Aḷiyama, Chēra, Pāṇḍya, Makara and the powerful Kāḍavas why should I describe? Describe how he lifted up the Chōla, brought under his order the land as far as the Sētu and pursuing after the Trikalīṅga forces, penetrated their train of elephants displaying unequalled valour".³ Another contains the following details: "The king Vira Narasiṃha, determined to make an expedition of victory in all directions first went to the east and, being surrounded, uprooted the Magara king, set up the Chōla king who sought refuge with him and, having seen [the god] Allājanātha, stationed there a body of the *bhērūṇḍas* (the name of a regiment?) to uproot the evil, returned and, entering the Rātnakūṭa capital, was at peace. Then the body of the *bhērūṇḍas*, according to his order, remained for sometime in Kāñchīpura. And having seen the lord of Kāñchīpura, the remover of the fears of the world, the worshipful Allājanātha, and marking both their arms with signs, the servants went forth and, having conquered unequalled hostile forces and the Vindhya mountains, acquired the renown of a present day Agastya for the body of *vīra-bhērūṇḍas*."⁴

It is unfortunate that neither of the two inscriptions referred to above contains any date; but their approximate date can be fixed with the help of the details contained in them and in other inscriptions, and that is 1230 A.D.⁵ Among the many achievements attributed to Hoysala Vira-Narasiṃha II in the first of the two Hoysala inscriptions referred to, mention is made of his pursuit of the Trikalīṅga forces which were obviously the army of the Eastern Gaṅga king. It is not quite necessary to assume that Vira-Narasiṃha invaded the Kālīṅga country itself. Possibly when the Eastern Gaṅga army invaded South India and occupied Kāñchīpuram it was defeated by the Hoysala king and driven out of the Tamil country. The possible raid and temporary occupation of Kāñchīpuram by the army of Aniyāṅkabhīma is further indicated by the second Hoysala inscription which categorically mentions Vira-Narasiṃha's invasion and uprooting of the Magara kingdom (*Magara-rājyaṁ nirmūlya*), his setting up in his kingdom the Chōla king who had sought

¹ [See below, pp. 99 ff.—Ed.].

² *EC*, Vol. V, Cu. 203.

³ *Ibid.*, Cu. 211.

his protection (*śaraṅgala-Chōla-rājam pratishṭhāpya*) and his stationing at Kāñchīpuram of the army of the *bhēruṇḍas* for uprooting evil-doers (*dushṭa-nirmūlan-ārtham tatra bhēruṇḍa-varggam sthāpayivā*).¹

One does not know what the *dushṭa* element at Kāñchīpuram at that time was, if it was not the Trikalīṅga army. Certainly it could not have been that of the Magaras, who are referred to separately in the inscription and whose territories lay farther west (in the present North Arcot and Salem regions), or the Kādavarāya chieftain whose hostile activities against Rājārāja III were more in the south at that time. The possibility of the *dushṭa* element at Kāñchīpuram being the Trikalīṅga army is suggested by the latter half of the inscription which says that the *bhēruṇḍa-vargga* after remaining at the place for sometime went forth and conquered unequalled hostile forces and the Vindhya mountains (*nirggatya tasmāt paribalam=atulam Vindhya=adriṁ vijitya*). The *para-bala* (foreign army) could have been that of the Eastern Gaṅga king Aniyāṅkabhīma, which was the *dushṭa* element at Kāñchīpuram. This surmise seems to be supported by the first of the two inscriptions edited here, dated the 20th March 1230 A.D.²

It is a point to be noted that though the grant was made to a celebrated Vaishṇava temple in the heart of the Chōla kingdom, the inscription is dated not in the regnal year of the then Chōla king Rājārāja III, but in the 19th regnal year of the Eastern Gaṅga king. It is not easy to explain away the circumstance,³ though the document could have been prepared at the Eastern Gaṅga capital, unless we take that Rājārāja III was then a prisoner at Śēndamaṅgalam with his vassal Kōpperuñjiṅga, and the Chōla country was without a king. But the Eastern Gaṅga occupation of Kāñchīpuram was only temporary as may be seen from the two Hoysala inscriptions referred to above, which suggest that it was put an end to by the Hoysala army which drove the hostile forces from the place and occupied the city.⁴

Though the Eastern Gaṅga army was dislodged from Kāñchīpuram in the course of 1230 A.D., *Kaliṅgēśvara* Aniyāṅkabhīma's devotion to the god Allāṇātha of the place was so great that, according to the second inscription edited here, he made in 1235 A.D. a gift of 128 milch cows and 4 bulls for four perpetual lamps for the Perumāḷ, for which the *sthānatār* of the temple agreed to measure a *nāḷi* of ghee by the *Ariyeṇavallā-nāḷi*. It is significant that this inscription is dated in the 20th year of the reign of Chōla Rājārāja III. It suggests that, after Rājārāja's release from prison in 1230 A.D., Aniyāṅkabhīma III recognised him as the Chōla king and did not interfere in the politics of the Chōla country. No indication is available in the inscription as to whether the Kaliṅga king was at Kāñchīpuram at the time of this grant. Possibly he made the grant *in absentia* from Abhinava-Vārāṇavāsi itself in the same way as his wife Sōmaladēvi had done five years earlier, unless it is assumed that he visited the place in 1235 A.D. as a pious pilgrim.⁵

Inscription No. 1

TEXT⁶

- 1 Svasti [[*] Chatu[r*]ddaśa-bhuvan-ādhipati-śrī-Purushōttama-charaṇ-ādēśa(śā)t [[*] Samaramukh-āṇēk-ripu-di(da)rppa-marddana-bhujabala-parākranma-⁴
- 2 ma-paramavaishṇava-para⁵mabhaṭṭāraka-jaganmūlakāraṇa-śrī-Purushōttama-putra-traiva-sundharā-samundha(ddha)raṇa-praba(cha)ṇḍa-dō-

¹ [See below pp. 99 ff.—Ed.].

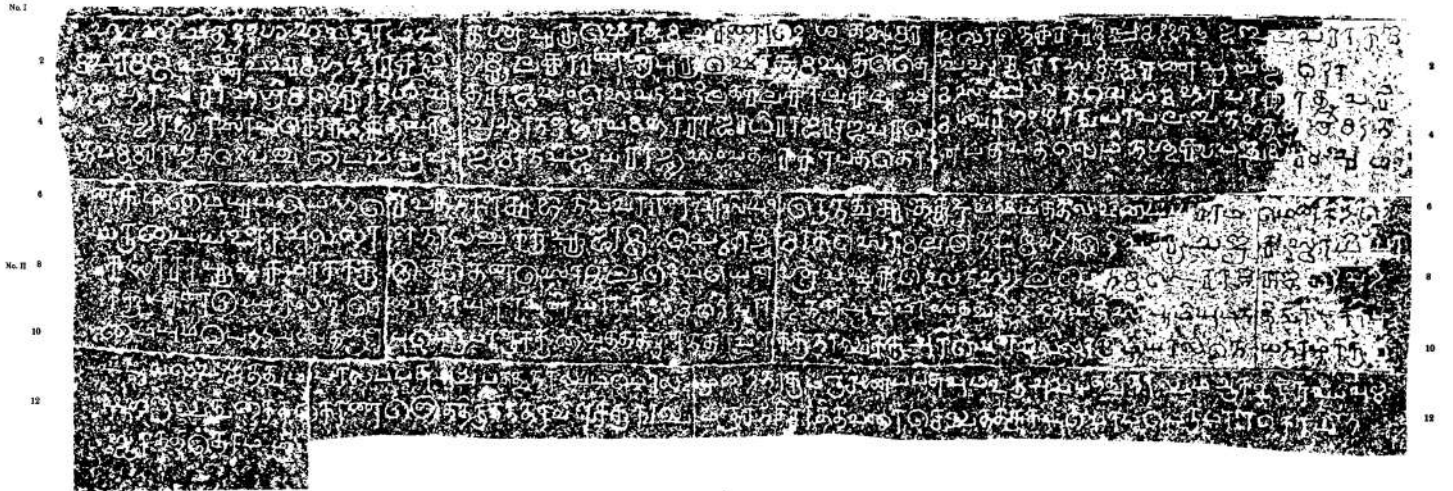
² EC, Vol. V, Co. 203 and 211.

³ From an impression.

⁴ This *nma* is redundant.

⁵ This *ra*, which was first omitted by the scribe, seems to have been later engraved on *pa*.

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Scale : One-fourth

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- 3 rddanḍa-[m*]havaraha-śrīmad-ēhādaśī-vratarāja-saṁśēvana-vidalita-Kalikāla-kaluṣa-masi-
spa[r*]śana-lēśa-mahāvāky-ārtha-pari-
4 oharyy-ābhyās-āparōkṣi[kri]ta-paramabrahm-śnanda-bhāva-mahārājādhirāja-
rājsparamēśvara-Gaṅg-ūnaya-āvalambhana-st[ūn*]bha-śrīmad-Ana-
5 ntava[r*]mma-rābutadēvaṇḍaiya prava[r*]khamāna-vijaya-rājya-saṁvat[s]aram-
gaḷ pattonbada(dā)vadilē Mīna-śukla-pañchamiyum Budha-
6 n kilamaiyum perṇa Rēvati-nā] Abhinave-Vārāṇasīyil irundu Antarudra-
vishayattil Uḍaiyakāmam=engira [pē]
7 yar-uḍaiya ūr All[anāthanukku pū]ṇaṇḍ[ya-ā][r*]tthamāga Sōmaladēvi-mahādēvi
ā-cūandra(ndr-ā)raa-sthāyiyi-
8 ga dhārā-pūrvvakamāga-kk[ū]ḍuttēn Sōmaladēviyeṇ [i*] Śrī-Vishvakṣēnasya likhanam ¹²

TRANSLATION

Haill At the command of *(the god)* Purushōttama, the lord of the fourteen worlds; in the 19th year of the increasingly victorious reign of *Mahārājādhirāja Rājaparamēśvara Anantavarma-rāhuta*dēva, who has destroyed by the prowess of his arm the arrogance of the enemy in many a battle, who is a *Paramarāṣṭhava* (and) *Paramabhakṣāraka*, who is the son of *(the god)* Purushōttama the original cause of the universe, who is the *(veritable primeval)* Great Boar that raised high the three worlds, who by his observance of *Ēkādāśī* the best of all the *vratas* is free from the slightest touch of the black evils of the Kali age, who has attained the supreme bliss of Brahman by constant devotion to and practice of the meaning of the *Mahāvākya*, and who is the pillar supporting the family of the Gāngas, on Wednesday, *Mīna-śukla-pañchami*, *Rēvatī*, while staying at *Abhinava-Vārāṇasī*, *Sōmaladēvi-mahādēvi* grants, with libation of water and for as long as the moon and sun endure, the village of *Udajyakāman* in *Antarudravahaya*, for worship and offerings, to the god *Allālanātha*. *(Thus)* I, *Sōmaladēvi*, *(give)*. *(This is)* the writing of *Vishvakṣēna*.

Inscription No. 11²

TEXT

- 8 Rājarkjadēvar-
- 9 kku(ku) yāḍu 20 Kaliṅgēśvaran-āyulla Aṇṇakabhimaḍēva-rāhutaṇ Aḍi-
māsattu 12[n]tiyadi saptamiyunn¹ Tiṅga[t]-kki(ki)la-
- 10 maiyum perṛa Aśvati-nāḷ Pp-(Pe)rumāḷukku vaiṭṭa tiruṇḍāvilakku nālukku Ariyeṇa-
vallā-nāḷiyāl aey nāḷikku vi-
- 11 t[ti]a pala-varḡgattu ppāl-ppa(pa)śu aṇu-pattu-nālum poliṇṇarai-nāḡumṭ⁴-chiṇai-ppa⁴uvum
uru⁴ aṇu-pattu-nālum āga uru⁴ 128 ri-
- 12 aśabha-nālun-kaikkonḍu i-ttiru-nanḍāvilakku nālum ṇ⁴ chandir-āḍi[t⁴]ṭavarai cheḷutta-
kkaḍavōm Perumāḷ kōyir(yil)-
- 13 aṭṭānattōm śrī [| *]

¹ The punctuation mark is denoted by the sign known as *pillaiyār* *śūlo*.

* This inscription is engraved in continuation of No. 1.

- This is redundant.

* This m is redundant.

* The word *was* is not used while mentioning the other group of 64 cows above.

*This \tilde{n} is redundant.

TRANSLATION

In the 20th year of Rājārājadēva, on Monday, Āḍi 12, saptami, Aśvati, we, the *sthānattār* of the Perumāḷ temple, agree to supply (daily) as long as the moon and sun endure, a *nāḷi* of ghee measured by the *Ariyeṇavallā-nāḷi* for burning four perpetual lamps before (*the god*) Perumāḷ, for which purpose 128 cows made up of 64 milch cows and 64 heifers and pregnant cows and four bulls were given by *Aniyakkabhimadēva-rāhuta*.

No. 17—NOTE ON TWO EASTERN GANGA INSCRIPTIONS AT KANCHIPURAM

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

In the foregoing article, Dr. T. V. Mahalingam suggests that the Eastern Gaṅga monarch Anaṅgabhīma III (c. 1211-38 A.D.) took advantage of the chaotic condition prevailing in the Chōḷa territory as a result of the temporary imprisonment, in 1230 A. D., of Chōḷa Rājārāja III (1215-46 A.D.) by the Kāḍava king Kōpperuñjiṅga I and that for a time the Eastern Gaṅga army entered Kāñchīpuram to be driven out soon afterwards by the Chōḷa king's relative, Hoysala Narasiṃha II (c. 1220-35 A.D.).¹ He further contends that, since one of the Kāñchīpuram inscriptions bears a date in the regnal reckoning of Anaṅgabhīma III, the locality must have been for the time being under the Gaṅga king. But the suggestions appear to be unwarranted in view of certain known facts of South Indian history during the period in question, which Dr. Mahalingam has ignored totally.

In the first place, about a hundred inscriptions discovered in the Godavari,² Krishna,³ Guntur,⁴ Kurnool,⁵ Cuddapah⁶ and Nellore⁷ Districts prove that the entire tract lying to the north of the Chōḷa dominions formed a part of the empire of the Kākatīya monarch Gaṇapati (1199-1261 A.D.), a contemporary of Chōḷa Rājārāja III.⁸ That the Kākatīyas were expanding their power towards the south is proved by two of Gaṇapati's own inscriptions, dated 1250 A.D., at Kāñchīpuram itself.⁹ It is interesting to note that Kāḍava Kōpperuñjiṅga II, son of Kōpperuñjiṅga I, claims in his Drākshārāma inscription,¹⁰ dated Śaka 1184 (1261-62 A.D.), to have been 'the executor of the commands of Gaṇapati-mahārāja', i.e. a subordinate of Kākatīya Gaṇapati. The Eastern Gaṅga army therefore could not have penetrated as far south as Kāñchīpuram without conquering thousands of square miles of Kākatīya territory and there is absolutely no proof to show that Anaṅgabhīma III was ever engaged in a successful war with Gaṇapati.

Secondly, as Mr. V. Venkatasubba Ayyar has shown, Hoysala Narasiṃha II assumed the titles 'establisher of the Chōḷa kingdom' and 'destroyer of the demon Kāḍavarāya' after an engagement with Kāḍava Kōpperuñjiṅga I in 1224 A.D. and that he had defeated the Magada (Magara) chief and the Pāṇḍya king and planted a pillar of victory at Rāmēśvaram by Śaka 1145 (1223-24 A.D.) prior to the said engagement.¹¹ Most of the achievements of Hoysala Narasiṃha II, referred to by Dr. Mahalingam, have therefore to be assigned to a date more than five years before 1230 A.D. to which he is inclined to ascribe them.

¹ For a discussion on the question of Eastern Gaṅga occupation of Kāñchī, see also above, Vol. XXX, pp. 19 ff.

² Rangachari's List, Nos. Gd. 72, 84A, 118, 125, 317, 325.

³ Ibid., Nos. Kt. 31, 38, 92A, 136, 161-74, 180, 209A, 227, 232.

⁴ Ibid., Nos. Gt. 86, 88, 101, 118, 119, 180, 185, 234, 238, 243, 247, 339, 352, 370, 415-16, 464, 475, 498, 500, 502, 555, 586odegh, 624, 815, 854.

⁵ Ibid., Nos. Kl. 262, 264, 269, 274, 287-89, 294, 297, 300-01.

⁶ Ibid., Nos. Cd. 540, 654, 850, 905.

⁷ Ibid., Nos. Nl. 85, 87, 129, 587, 590-01.

⁸ Cf. Sewell, *Hist. Ins. S. Ind.*, pp. 133-34, s.v. 1216 and 1218 A.D.

⁹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXI, pp. 197 ff.; *SII*, Vol. IV, No. 814.

¹⁰ *SII*, Vol. IV, Nos. 1841, 1342, 1342b.

¹¹ See *ibid.*, Vol. XII, p. x; cf. *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, part ii, p. 507; *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. XI, Dg. 25 and p. 20; No. 228 of 1929; B. K. No. 91 of 1940-41.

Thirdly, Hoysala Narasimha II is known to have been ruling on March 10, 1229 A.D.¹ from Kāñchipuram which was the eastern limit of his possessions,² while a number of Hoysala generals are mentioned in the Kāñchipuram inscriptions with dates ranging between the 14th and 24th regnal years of Rājarāja III, i.e. between 1230 and 1240 A.D.³ No. 408 of 1919 refers to the presence of the Hoysala general Ammappa at Kāñchi on the 25th February 1230 A.D. (14th regnal year of Rājarāja III, Mīna-śu 11, Monday), while No. 404 of the same year to that of another Hoysala general named Goppayya in the 15th regnal year (1230-31 A.D.) of Rājarāja III. It has to be noticed that it was these Hoysala generals⁴ who were responsible for the defeat of Kōpperuñjiṅga I and the consequent release of Rājarāja III. Between 1229 and 1231 A.D. therefore it was the Hoysalas who were dominant at Kāñchipuram. It is thus very difficult to believe that the place was occupied by the army of Anaṅgabhiṃsa III in 1230 A.D. Under the circumstances, Dr. Mahalingam's identification of the *dushta* element at Kāñchipuram, which was uprooted by the Hoysala army, with the Eastern Gaṅga forces seems to be unwarranted.

A Vriddhachalam inscription,⁵ dated in the 14th regnal year of Rājarāja III, corresponding to 1229-30 A.D., records a benefaction of a person who was the chief of the body-guards of Kāḍava Kōpperuñjiṅga I. Hence the capture of the Chōḷa king at the hands of the Kāḍava chief seems to have occurred at a later date. We have also inscriptions of the reign of Rājarāja III dated the 15th and 17th February, 6th May, 3rd July and 5th August of 1230 A.D.⁶ The date of the capture of Rājarāja III is placed by scholars⁷ in 1231 A.D. or 'a little earlier'. In Dr. Mahalingam's opinion, Rājarāja III was in captivity for a short time in March-April 1230 A.D. and the Eastern Gaṅga forces entered Kāñchipuram exactly at that time. A strange coincidence indeed!

It will be seen that this time factor is the very basis of Dr. Mahalingam's theory, although the fact cannot be ignored that the equation of the 19th year of Anaṅgabhiṃsa III with 1230 A.D. is by no means certain. We know that none of the other records of this Eastern Gaṅga king is dated in his regnal reckoning. They bear dates only in the Śaka era and the Aṅka reckoning. If, considering the style of dating favoured by the Eastern Gaṅgas during the period in question, the date of the Kāñchipuram inscription, viz. the year 19, is referred to the Aṅka reckoning, it would correspond to the 16th regnal year of Anaṅgabhiṃsa III and to 1227 A.D. But it should also be remembered that the date of the king's accession, generally believed to have taken place in 1211 A.D., is itself uncertain.⁸ Thus Dr. Mahalingam seems to stand on an extremely shaky foundation.

Fourthly, Dr. Mahalingam forgets that Kāñchipuram was a place of pilgrimage and that at other holy places also there are records dated in the regnal reckoning of kings who were not really the rulers of the kingdom to which the areas in question belonged because the pilgrims responsible for them may have been their officers or subjects. It may also be noted in this connection that sometimes partisans of a king who had ceased to rule over a territory continued to mention him as the lord of the land in preference to the new ruler of the country.⁹

¹ *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. XII, Tp. 42. The date quoted in the record is Śaka 1152 (current), Virāḍhi, Chaitra-śu 15, Saturday. For *briha-vāra* meaning Saturday, see A. Venkatasubbiah, *Some Śaka Dates in Inscriptions*, pp. 60 ff.

² *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. IV, intro., pp. 21-22.

³ See *SHI*, Vol. XII, pp. x-xi; cf. Nos. 408, 404, 616 369, 615, 611 and 612 of 1919.

⁴ Cf. Sastri, *The Cōlas*, Vol. II, p. 183; *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. XII, Gb. 45. *Ammappa* and *Appayya* appear to be variant forms of the same name.

⁵ Above, Vol. VII, pp. 163-64.

⁶ Cf. Sowell, *op. cit.*, p. 140.

⁷ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 140. †

⁸ See above, Vol. XXX, pp. 200-01.

⁹ Cf. *JdS. Letters*, Vol. XX, pp. 43 ff.; *The Age of Imperial Unity (The History and Culture of the Indian People)*, Vol. II, p. 131. It has also to be noticed that, while the first inscription seems to have been drafted at the Gaṅga capital, the second was apparently drafted by the priests of the temple at Kāñchipuram.

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Attention in this connection may be drawn to three inscriptions at Drākshārāma in the Godavari District, which is known to have formed an integral part of the Kākatīya empire during the reigns of Gaṇapati (1199-1261 A.D.) and his successor Rudrāmbā (1261-91 A.D.). These are Nos. 193¹, 206² and 262³ of 1893, respectively bearing dates in the 72nd (Śaka 1211), 37th (Śaka 1175) and 6th (Śaka 1144) years of the reign of a king named Rājādhirāja. There is no doubt that he cannot be identified with any of the Kākatīya rulers whose dominions comprised the Drākshārāma region during the period in question.

A similar case seems to be offered by No. 201⁴ of 1905 found at Tripurantakam in the Markapur Taluk of the Kurnool District, Andhra State. This record is dated in the year Raudri (1260-61 A.D.) as well as in the 15th regnal year of the Chōla king Rājendra III, although there are numerous inscriptions of the Kākatīyas showing that the area formed a part of the Kākatīya empire.

An inscription has been recently found on a stone built into the wall of the granary in the Rāṅganātha temple at Srirangam.⁵ It mentions a *Pradhānī* of Hoysala Viṣṇuvardhana I and is dated in the year Khara (1111 A.D.) as well as in the 15th regnal year of the Hoysala king. There is no proof to show that the Hoysalas were in actual occupation of the Srirangam area during the life time of the Chōla emperor Kulōttuṅga I (1070-1120 A.D.).

A Drākshārāma inscription⁶ records a donation of Jayañkoṇḍachōḍī, queen of Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga of Kalinga, on the *vyatipāda* day of the month of Simha in Śaka 1050 (1128 A.D.) without reference to any other ruler. If one reads only this inscription of the locality, it may be concluded that the Drākshārāma region formed a part of the empire of the said Gaṅga monarch. But we have several other inscriptions⁷ at the same place bearing exactly the same date but equating the year with the 2nd or 3rd regnal year of Viṣṇuvardhana.

As has already been shown above,⁸ it was not necessary for a person to visit a distant holy place to make a grant in favour of the deity worshipped there. In the twelfth century, the Kādamba chief Jayakēśin II of Goa is known to have granted a village in the Dharwar District in favour of the god Sōmanātha in Kathiawar, apparently without visiting the temple himself. A Damodarpur copper-plate inscription of the time of Budhagupta refers to a grant of land made by an inhabitant of a village in North Bengal, in his own locality, in favour of two deities worshipped apparently at Varābhakṣātra (Varābhakṣāstra) in Nepal, although it is uncertain whether he had visited the holy place.⁹

The real significance of Hoysala Narasimha's claim of success against the Trikalīṅga forces cannot be determined in the present state of our knowledge. But it may be as empty a boast as his other claim regarding the conquest of the Vindhyan region.

It has been suggested above¹⁰ that Sōmaladēvī, wife of Gaṅga Anantabhīma III, was a sister or daughter of Rājārāja III, although her name may point to her birth from a Kannaḍa

¹ Rangachari's List, No. Gd. 98; *SII*, Vol. IV, No. 1019.

² Rangachari, *op. cit.*, No. Gd. 111, *SII*, *op. cit.*, No. 1033.

³ Rangachari, *op. cit.*, No. Gd. 187; Sewell, *op. cit.*, p. 136. The dates have been wrongly read in *SII*, *op. cit.*, No. 1118.

⁴ Rangachari's List, No. K1. 294.

⁵ This is No. 440 of *A.R.Ep.*, 1954-55, App. B.

⁶ *SII*, Vol. IV, No. 1194.

⁷ *Ibid.*, Nos. 1191, 1196, 1198.

⁸ See Vol. XXX, p. 22, n. 5. For even ordinary people performing pilgrimage by proxy, see Sreenivasachar *Corpus of Inscriptions*, Nos. 50-51.

⁹ Cf. above, Vol. XV, pp. 133 ff.; *Select Inscriptions*, pp. 328 ff.; *The Classical Age (The History and Culture of the Indian People, Vol. III)*, pp. 417-18.

¹⁰ See Vol. XXX, p. 22, n. 4.

princess. We know that the name of a queen of Hoysala Narasimha II was also Sōmaladēvi¹ and that the said Hoysala king gave one of his daughters in marriage to the Chōla king, Rājarāja III.² As the practice of naming grandchildren after their grandparents was a popular one,³ it is not impossible to think that Sōmaladēvi, wife of Anaṅgabhīma III, was a daughter of Rājarāja III by the daughter of Hoysala Narasimha II through his queen Sōmaladēvi. If such was the case, the presence of the inscriptions, edited above by Dr. Mahalingam, at Kāñchīpuram can be easily explained.

¹ Pd. 183; Sastri, *The Chōlas*, p. 191.

² Sewell, *op. cit.*, pp. 135 (a. v. 1220 A.D.), 241

³ A daughter of Eastern Chālukya Rājarāja I was named Kundavvā after his own mother. See also Geiger, *Colavastu*, trans., Part I, p. 211.

**No. 30—NOTE ON PALLAVARAYANPETTAI INSCRIPTION OF
RAJADHIRAJA II¹**

K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI AND T. N. SUBRAMANIAM, MADRAS

While editing the Pallavarāyanpēttai inscription of Rājādhirāja II,² Mr. V. Venkatasubba Ayyar has translated lines 10 to 13 of the record as follows : “Even in earlier years, when the senior king was alive, it having been seen that there were no sons fit for anointment, the (*exact*) state of affairs, as it (*then*) stood, (*was intimated to the king*) and (*having brought*) the princes, residing at Gaṅgaikoṇḍaśōlapuram, and at the time of Periyadēvar’s demise, he (Pallavarāyar) had Edirilipperumāḷ, the son of Neriyaḍaipperumāḷ and grandson of Uḍaiyār Vikramaśōḷadēva, who had already been invested with a crown and was therefore bound to be installed on the throne, anointed (*king*) under the title of Rājādhirājadēva in the fourth year (*of his installation*) and made the *uḍaṅkūṭṭam* (assembly) and the *nāḍu* (chamber) follow him without any dissensions.”³ This indicates :

(1) that the prince selected by Rājārāja II for being crowned under the name of Rājādhirāja was Edirilipperumāḷ, the son of Neriyaḍaipperumāḷ and grandson of Uḍaiyār Vikramaśōḷadēvar,

(2) that the selection was followed by the investiture of the crown during the life-time of Rājārāja II, and

(3) that in the fourth year of his installation, after the demise of Rājārāja II, he was again crowned under the title of Rājādhirāja (II).

Thus are postulated (a) two coronations of Rājādhirāja II, one on his selection and the other in the fourth year of his reign on the demise of his predecessor, and (b) the death of Rājārāja II before the fourth year of the installation of the *Yuvarāja*.

But the text of the inscription published does not warrant any of the above hypotheses. The text runs as follows :

10 Periyadēvar eḷundaru[li]n[ā]lilē tiru-abbi[shēgattuk]ku uriya piḷḷaigal iṇṇiye
.[rukki]-

11 ṛapaḍiyai pārttu [mu]n-nāḷilē kāriyam irundapaḍi vi.ś[e]ydu Gaṅgaiko[ṇ]*[ḍaśō]lapura
.daruḷi iru[k*]kiṛa piḷḷaigalai.yānam paṇṇu.ḍaiyār Vikk[i]ramaśōḷadēvar
pēraṇṇār

12 Neriyaḍaipperumā[*]-tirumagaṇār Edirilipperumāḷai-pperi[ji]-aruḷṇa nāḷilē
maṇḍai kav[i]pittudār-āṇavārē ivarai-ttiru-abbi [shēgam paṇṇu]vikka-kkaḍavarā-
[ga] tu nālān=tiru-nakshatrattilē Rājādhirājadēvar e-

¹ The note is the outcome of a discussion initiated in 1947 by Mr. T. N. Subramaniam and continued intermittently for many months, in which Dr. N. Venkataramanayya, Mr. S. Vaiyapuri Pillai and Mr. A. V. Venkatarama Ayyar also participated.

² Above, Vol. XXI, pp. 184-193.

³ Ibid., p. 192.

13 nru tiru-ā(a)bbishēgam paṇṇuvittu uḍaṇ-kūṭṭamum
nāḍu[m]-onrupaṭṭu=chchellumpaḍi paṇṇi[vitt-aruli]-
ṇār [i*]

The passage *maṇḍai kavippittu-[ppōn]dār-āṇavārē ivarai=tiru-abhishēgam paṇṇuvikkak=kaḍavarāga* [*nichchayit*]tu in line 12 has been translated as 'who had already been invested with a crown and was, therefore, bound to be installed on the throne', taking the word *āṇavārē* to mean 'having already been'. But the word *āṇavārē* also gives the meaning 'in the same way as' and a reference to the context would show that it is in this sense that the expression has been used in the inscription. Adopting this meaning, the translation of the whole passage would be as follows :

"Even in earlier years, when (*the senior king*) Periyadēvar was alive, it having been seen that there were no sons fit for anointment, the (*exact*) state of affairs, as it was obtaining in the previous days, was intimated to the king . . . and (*having brought*) the princes residing at Gaṅgaikondaśōlapuram, and deciding that this (*prince*) should be crowned in the same way as Edirilipperumāḷ, the son of Neriyūḍaipperumāḷ and grandson of Uḍaiyār Vikramaśōladēvar, was invested with the crown at the time of Periyadēvar's (*demise*), he (Pallavarāyar) anointed the prince under the title Rājādhirājadēva on the fourth (*annual*) asterism (*of his installation*)."¹

Accordingly, the prince crowned under the title Rājādhirāja becomes different from Edirilipperumāḷ whose name is mentioned in the inscription only by way of citing a precedent, of which we have no knowledge.

So far as we know there was no apparent occasion in the history of the Imperial Chōlas of Tañjāvūr, from the time of Vijayālaya to that of Rājārāja II, when there was a failure in the regular succession to the Chōla throne for want of a direct heir in the male line.² But the mention of the precedent in the inscription, preceded by the words *muṇṇāḷilē kāriyam irundapaḍi vi śeydu* clearly points out that there had arisen such an occasion previously. Since the person then chosen to succeed on the Chōla throne was the grandson of Vikramachōla,³ it should have occurred after the time of that ruler. Between Vikramachōla and Rājārāja II who was confronted with the problem of selecting an heir to the throne, there was only the reign of Kulōttuṅga II intervening. Edirilipperumāḷ could therefore be none other than Kulōttuṅga II who succeeded Vikramachōla on

¹ [The authors have taken both the passages [*muṇṇāḷilē kāriyam irundapaḍi vi śeydu* in line 11 (translated as 'as it was obtaining in the previous days, was intimated to the king') and *Uḍaiyār Vikramaśōladēvar maṇḍai kavippittu-[ppōn]dār-āṇavārē* in lines 11-12 (translated as 'in the same way as Edirilipperumāḷ Periyadēvar's (*demise*)'), as referring to the same precedent. The construction of the sentence does not permit this interpretation. This will make the passage between these two sections a parenthetical one thereby making the interpretation of the whole section further complicated. Moreover, in line 12, after the expression *kavippittu-[ppōn]dār-āṇavārē* occurs the word *ivarai*. The authors have not made clear as to whom this word refers. There is no other word to which it can be referred except Edirilipperumāḷ, the name occurring immediately before it.—Ed.]

² The accession of Kulōttuṅga I, born of the Eastern Chālukya line, to the Chōla throne has sometimes been taken as such an occasion before the time of Rājārāja II. It was not so. Kulōttuṅga was clearly a usurper to the Chōla throne.

³ A recent writer has taken this Edirilipperumāḷ as the great-grandson of Vikramachōla, i.e. as the son of Neriyūḍaipperumāḷ who was the grandson of Vikramachōla. See V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar, *Māṇḍam Kulōttuṅga* (Tamil), 1st ed., 1941, p. 21. It is true that such a construction can be put on the passage *Vikramaśōladēvar pēraṇār Neriyūḍaipperumāḷ tūmagaṇār Edirilipperumāḷ* of the inscription, taking the word *pēraṇār* as *pēraṇārāga* and as the adjective of Neriyūḍaipperumāḷ instead of taking it as qualifying Edirilipperumāḷ. But this construction is somewhat strained as the author himself admits (*op. cit.*, p. 159), although he considers such a construction necessary on the presumption that Edirilipperumāḷ was Rājādhirāja, since Rājārāja II who was in search of an heir to succeed him on the throne was himself taken to be a grandson of Vikramachōla and any heir selected by him should be at least one generation further removed.

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the throne. In fact, both in literature and epigraphy, he is known by that name. The *Kulottungaśōḷaṅ-piḷḷai-ttamiḷ* on Kulōttuṅga II, composed by his tutor and court poet Oṭṭakkūttan, refers to him by that name in several contexts.¹ An inscription² of the 3rd year in the reign of Kulōttuṅga II from Pennāgaḍam in the South Arcot District containing the *meṅkkīrti* beginning with the words *pūmaṇṇu padumam*, makes a gift of *brahmadēya* land newly called Ediriliśōḷanallūr as a tax-free *dēvadāna* to the god Tiru-ttūṅgāṇaimāḍam-uḍaiya Mahādēva. We also find an officer named Edirilāpperumāl *alias* Kulōttuṅgaśōḷa-Kaḍambarāvaṇ who figures as a donor of the village Neḍuṅ-gīraikkūḍi in an inscription³ of the 2nd year of the reign of Rājādhirāja II at Nāṅuppattai in Pudukkōṭṭai. It will thus be evident that Edirilāpperumāl referred to in the Pallavarāyaṇpēttai inscription could very well be Kulōttuṅga II. But he is generally taken to have been a son of Vikramachōḷa. The Chellūr plates,⁴ dated in the 11th year of his reign and Śaka 1056 which is a mistake for 1065, registering the gift of a *brahmadēya* village by Kolani Kāṭama-nāyaka with the king's permission, clearly refer to king Kulōttuṅga II as the son of Vikramachōḷa (*taṭ-putraḷ*). The *Kulōttuṅgaśōḷaṅ-ulā*, another variety of *prabandha* composed on him by the same Oṭṭakkūttan, also refers to him likewise as the son of Vikramachōḷa in *kaṇṇi* (couplet) 28. But the three succeeding *kaṇṇis* contain some interesting information about the parentage of this king. The relevant portion of the *ulā* is quoted below :

— vēṇṇōr

- 28 virumb - araṇil veṅgaḷa-tti-vēṭṭu-kKaliṅga-
perum - paraṇi-koṇḍa perumāṇ tarum pudalvaṇ
29 koṇṇa-Kkulōttuṅgaśōḷaṅ kuvalayaṅgaḷ
murra=ppurakku mugil-vannaṇ poṭ-tuvarai
30 Indu-marabīl iruLkun taṇi-kkulattil
vandu Manu-kulattai vāḷvittapain-taḷir-kkai
31 mādar-ppiḍi peṇṇa vāraṇam=a-vvāraṇattin
kādar-peyaṇaṇ kaḷa-kaḷabhaṇ-

“ King Kulōttuṅgaśōḷaṅ, the son given by the Perumāṇ (king) who obtained (*the eulogy of his praises sung in*) the great *paraṇi* of Kaliṅga having carried the fire of the ferocious battle-field into the fortreas considered to be invulnerable by the enemies. He who fully protects all the worlds is of the cloud complexion (black). He is Kaḷakaḷabha (black young elephant), the dear grandson of the tusker (*vāraṇam*) who was the son of the lady, the she-elephant whose hands are (*soft*) like the tender shoots, who in turn was born of the matchless family belonging to the lunar race of the golden Tuvarai (i.e. Tuvarāpati) and made the solar race prosper.”

¹ *Kulōttuṅgaśōḷaṅ-piḷḷai-ttamiḷ*, verses 2, 23, 26, 89 and 94. The printed edition gives the name as Edirilāpperumāl.

² *A. R. Ep.*, No. 255 of 1928-29.

³ *Ibid.*, No. 337 of 1914; *Inscriptions of the Pudukkottai State*, No. 138.

⁴ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIV, pp. 55-66.

It is thus seen that the grandfather of Kulōttuṅga II was the son of a princess of the lunar race from Tuvārāpati or Dvārasamudram, i.e. a Hoysala princess.¹ If Kulōttuṅga II is taken as the son of Vikramachōla as has been presumed so far, then Kulōttuṅga I becomes his grandfather who, we know, was the son of a Chōla princess (i.e. Ammaṅgādēvi, the daughter of Rājendrachōla I) and not of a Hoysala princess as described in the *ulā*. So we have to assume that Kulōttuṅga II was the grandson of Vikramachōla who in turn was the son of Kulōttuṅga I, not by Madhurāntaki, the Chōla princess, but by a Hoysala princess hitherto unknown. That this presumption is correct will be evident from the title *Ayyana-gandhavāraṇam* (the proud elephant of his grandfather) applied to Kulōttuṅga II. The village Tinnakkōṇam (Tiruner-kunṇam) in the Musiri Taluk of the Tiruchirappalli District is referred to as Ayyanagandhavāraṇa-chaturvēdimāṅgalam in an inscription² of Vikramachōla, the date of which is lost, and in another record³ of the 10th regnal year of a king whose name is lost. This is evidently based on the title *Ayyana-gandhavāraṇa*.⁴ Since this name of the village came into being in the reign of Vikramachōla, it is very likely that the village was named

¹ There is an old commentary on this *ulā* which has been included in the Mahāmahōpādhyāya Svāmīnātha Aiyar Library edition of the *Mārar-ulā* published by the Kalākahētra, Adyar. The relevant portion of it is *Mādar-ppidi: per chakkaravarit. Vāraṇam: per chakkaravarit-yiṇ piṭā(-vāṇa Pāṇḍiyaṇ mudaliyārai-k-kumbida), amar yōgīśvarāṇa kōlaiyir pēr Vāraṇavāsi-t-tōar*. The expression *mādar-ppidi per vāraṇam* of the *ulā* is taken by the commentator to mean *mādar-ppidiyai-ppēr-vāraṇam* (*vāraṇam* or the person who gave birth to the queen) i.e. the father of the Chōla queen. It is also mentioned there that he was a Pāṇḍya and that he was known as *Vāraṇavāsi-t-tōar* when he became a *yōgīśvara* making obeisance to Mudaliyār (probably the religious head). It is true that Vikramachōla had a Pāṇḍya princess for his queen and that the Pāṇḍyas also claimed descent from the lunar race. But the mention of the golden Tuvārā in the *ulā* as the place wherefrom the princess came renders such an interpretation untenable. Even if we take the word Tuvārā to mean the ancient Dvārakā, the seat of Kṛishṇa, it is to be noted that the Pāṇḍyas never claimed descent from that city or from Kṛishṇa. The word *per* only means 'obtained'. As such it is also possible to interpret the expression as *mādar-p-pidi kōṇavaṇ-āṇa-ppēr-vāraṇam*, i.e. 'the tuskler whom the excellent woman obtained as her husband.' Thus the same expression may be interpreted as indicating the father or the husband of the princess; but these are all forced interpretations. The natural one would be to take it to refer to the son of the princess and it is this meaning that has been followed here. Further, we may also mention that, contrary to expectations, the old commentary is not reliable for the historical information it gives and the following may be cited as examples:

| Kaṇṇi or Couplet No. | Exploits of the king of the Chōla lineage mentioned therein. | Name of the king to whom such victories are attributed in other sources. | Identification by this Commentator. |
|----------------------|--|--|-------------------------------------|
| 18 | Construction of the embankment of the river Kāvēri. | Karikāla (the <i>ulā</i> mentions him by name). | Not identified. |
| 20 | Composition of the poem <i>Kaḷa-vaṇi</i> . | Ko-ch-Chēṇṇapār. | Vijayālaya. |
| 21 | Adorned with the scars of 96 wounds on the chest. | Vijayālaya. | Rājarsjadēva. |
| 22 | Split the chest of a <i>brahmarā-kṣasa</i> and saw Tillai. | Āditya. | Tirumūḍichōla (or Mummaḍichōla). |
| 23 | Captured Madurai and Ilam. | Parāntaka. | Karikāla (Kariḱ Pēru Vajatt-ān). |

² *A. R. Ep.*, No. 256 of 1932-33.

³ *Ibid.*, No. 254.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 1932-33, para. 23, p. 65 takes the title to be that of Kulōttuṅga I. But the fact that two inscriptions dated in the [3]9th and the 48th years of Kulōttuṅga I (Nos. 253 and 252 of 1932-33) in the same temple do not give the name Ayyanagandhavāraṇa-chaturvēdimāṅgalam to the village renders this surmise improbable. [From a scrutiny of Nos. 254, 253 and 252 of 1932-33 from Tinnakkōṇam, dated respectively in the 10th, 39th and 48th years of the reign of Kulōttuṅga I, it may be surmised that the village came to be known as Ayyanagandhavāraṇa-chaturvēdimāṅgalam during his reign. It is very likely that the village was so named after his son Vikramachōla whose mother was probably a Hoysala princess. The expression *mādar-ppidiyai-ppēr-vāraṇam* of the *ulā* seems to be an echo of this fact.—Ed.]

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after the dear grandson of the king, which only echoes what is mentioned in the *ulā*.¹ That Kulōttuṅga II took pride in calling himself an elephant will be evident from his title *Kaḷa-kaḷabha*² not borne by any other Chōla king. But successive Hoysala kings appear to have used this title. There is an incomplete copy of the *Gadyakarṇāmṛta*, a prose work in Sanskrit commemorating the marriage of the Hoysala king Sōmēśvara with a Pāṇḍya princess. The poet who wrote the book was the protégé of the Hoysala King Vira-Narasimha, a contemporary of Chōla Rājārāja III and Kādava Kōpperuṅgiṅga.³ The poet bears the titles *Kālakaḷabha* and *Sakalavidyāchakravartin* which were probably conferred on him by the king. The title *Sakalavidyāchakravartin* borne by the poet was perhaps in virtue of his being the court poet of the king, a title that was borne by two other poets of the Hoysala court, one the author of the *kāvya* entitled *Rukmiṇī-kalyāṇa* in the court of Vira-Ballāla III, and the other in the court of the Hoysala Vira-Rāmanāthadēva referred to below. The other title *Kālakaḷabha* was probably based on a title borne by the king himself. In the Raṅganātha temple at Śrīraṅgam, there is an inscription⁴ of the Hoysala king Vira-Rāmanāthadēva dated in the 15th year of his reign registering a gift by Śokka Villi-bhaṭṭa of Pāḍagam, who was also known as Mudaliyār Kariyamaṇi Sakalavidyāchakravartin, of certain gold articles presented to him by king Virapāṇḍya. The epithet *Kariyamaṇi* applied to the poet means 'the black young of an elephant' and as such is only a synonym of the other title *Kālakaḷabha*.

The Pallavarāyanpēṭṭai inscription states that Edirilipperumāḷ, i.e. Kulōttuṅga II, was the son of Neṟiyūḍaipperumāḷ and the grandson of Vikramachōla. It is not known whether Neṟiyūḍaipperumāḷ was the son or daughter of Vikramachōla. An inscription⁵ from Kāmarasavalli in the Tiruchirāppalli District, dated in the 14th regnal year of Vikramachōla, registering a gift of land mentions that Veṅkāḍaṇ Paṇḍaraṅgam-uḍāiyāṇ *clīas* Neṟiyūḍaiḥchōla Pallavarāyar, a native of Marudāḍu-nāḍu, was also present in the assembly. The name of this officer, who probably hailed from Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam, suggests that he got the official title after Neṟiyūḍaiḥchōla.⁶ It is quite possible to presume that Neṟiyūḍaipperumāḷ stands for Neṟiyūḍaiḥchōla and in that case he is probably to be taken as a son of Vikramachōla. But the statement in the Chēllūr plates⁷ that Kulōttuṅga II was the son of Vikramachōla, which goes against the presumption made above, requires an explanation. If Kulōttuṅga II had been the son's son of Vikramachōla, it could not be said that there was no regular heir to the throne. The only course then to explain this apparent

¹ Sāntaladēvi, the queen of the Hoysala king Viṣṇuvardhana, is known to have had the title *Uḍayittasavati-gandhavarāna*, 'the rutting-elephant to the ill-mannered co-wives' (*Mysore Gazetteer*, new ed., Vol. II, part II, p. 1343). A *baṭi* known as *Savati-gandhavarāna* was constructed in 1123 A.D. in her memory after her death. Again Arikēserin, the Chālukya chief of Lōmulavāḍa, whose court was adorned by the famous Kannaḍa poet Pampa, had the title *Ammana-gandhavarāna* which was also borne by his grandson Arikēserin II. It is true that there are, in literature, many instances of poets comparing both men and women with elephants and that even Rājēndrachōla has been referred to as a 'tusker' in some of his inscriptions found in the Mysore State. But this is probably the first time when we find the term borne by a Chōla as a title. This was perhaps adopted by the Chōlas from the Hoysalas of the Mysore country where elephants are abundant.

² A variant reading of this term is *Kaṇṇa-kaḷabha* which in Tamil will mean 'the black young of the elephant' and this meaning will also fit in the context since Kulōttuṅga is referred to in the previous line of the *ulā* as of cloud-complexion. See also *Rājardjachōḷan-ulā*, Kaṇṇi No. 73.

³ *Tirumalai Sri-Venkatesvara*, Vol. I., pp. 877-86.

⁴ *SHI*, Vol. IV, No. 499.

⁵ *A. R. Ep.*, No. 80 of 1914.

⁶ A royal officer, *Tirumandira-ṭai* Neṟiyūḍaiḥchōla Māvēndavōḷāṇ, also figures in the inscriptions of later kings, viz. Rājārāja II (*A. R. Ep.*, 1929, Part II, para. 36), Kulōttuṅga III (Nos. 201 of 1913 and 336 of 1918) and Tribhuvanachakravartin Rājārjadēva (Nos. 280 of 1913 and 393 of 1918).

⁷ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIV, pp. 86 ff.

inconsistency would be to take Neriyaḍaiḍḍerumāl as a daughter of Vikramachōla and Kulōttuṅga II as her son (*putrikā-putra*) adopted and hence called son. The princess had apparently married a Pāṇḍya or Hoysala prince and thus belonged to a lunar family. There is a significant passage in the *Kulōttuṅgaśāṣṇ-ulā* (verse 112) describing him as follows: *Mudukula maṇṇar muḍi-vaṇṇa vanda Vidukula-nāyaki=śēy-enbār* "He is (*said to be*) the son of a noble queen belonging to the lunar race, to whom (*all*) the kings of the ancient families made obeisance." It is worthy of note that no other king of the Chōla line or, for that matter, of any royal family in South India, is referred to as the son of his mother. This is probably due to the fact that his mother had some pretensions to the Chōla throne.

One other point of similarity in the nomination and coronation of both Kulōttuṅga II and Rājādhirāja II has to be noted. Kulōttuṅga II counts his regnal years from some time in May-July, 1133 A.D.¹ But his predecessor Vikramachōla seems to have lived for a period of about two years thereafter as his inscriptions (which began about the 29th June 1118 A.D.)² go up to his 17th regnal year, i.e. 1135 A.D.³ It will thus be seen that Kulōttuṅga II was selected as successor to the throne and entrusted with the administration of the kingdom by Vikramachōla himself in his life-time. The selection of Rājādhirāja II by Rājārāja II was also made in the same way. Inscriptions of Rājārāja II which count some date after the 6th April 1146 A.D.⁴ as the starting point of his reign are found up to the 28th year of his reign. It is true that his records in the Tamil country go only up to his 19th year,⁵ i.e. up to 1165 A.D., and no inscription of his bearing a date after that year has so far been traced in the Tamil area. But we have many inscriptions of his up to the 28th regnal year⁶ in the Telugu country and almost all of them, registering gifts by the local rulers acknowledging the suzerainty of the Chōla overlord Rājārāja, are coupled with the corresponding Śaka dates, clearly showing that his reign continued up to 1173 A.D. But Rājādhirāja II was already selected and crowned by him. We know that two sets of dates are found for Rājādhirāja II in his inscriptions, one set containing some date between the 28th February and the 30th March 1163 A.D. as the initial date,⁷ and the other set having some date in the first half of 1166 A.D. as its starting point.⁸ This well fits with the statement in the Pallavarāyappēṭṭai record that Rājādhirāja was crowned on the fourth annual asterism, i.e. on the completion of three years after his selection. Thus it will be seen that both Kulōttuṅga II and Rājādhirāja II were selected as heirs-apparent to the throne and crowned by their predecessors in their own life time and that these predecessors did live some time after such selection.

¹ Above, Vol. X, p. 138; Vol. XI, p. 287.

² Ibid., Vol. VII, pp. 4-5.

³ *SI*, Vol. VI, No. 123; also *A. R. Ep.*, No. 165 of 1906.

⁴ Above, Vol. IX, p. 210.

⁵ *A. R. Ep.*, No. 85 of 1928.

⁶ *SI*, Vol. VI, No. 626 (No. 181 of 1899); also Rangacharya's List, No. Gt. 835.

⁷ Above, Vol. IX, p. 211.

⁸ Above Vol. X, pp. 128-7; L. D. Swamikanu Pillai, *The Indian Ephemeris*, Vol. I, part II, p. 70; also K. A. N. Sastri, *The Cōlas*, Vol. II, p. 93.

**No. 37—HEMAVATI PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF KULOTTUNGACHOLA (III),
YEAR 2**

(Plate 1)

K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI AND T. N. SUBRAMANIAM, MADRAS

The text of this inscription has already been published in the *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. VI, No. 553. It is taken up here for detailed study in view of the fresh light it throws on the history of its period. The record is incised on two faces of a pillar found at Hēmaṁvati in the Madakasira Taluk of the Anantapur District, Andhra State.¹

The inscription under discussion is in the Tamil language and script with an admixture of Grantha characters for words of Sanskrit origin. It is couched in chaste language and incised fairly correctly. There is no orthographical peculiarity requiring special mention. Palaeographically it may be assigned to the 12th century A.D.

The object of the record is to register the gift of some land to the temple of god Maṅgēśvaradēva at Peruñjeru in Śirai-nāḍu, a sub-division of Nigariliśōla-maṇḍalam, by one Śikkaluṇḍaiya-śeṭṭiyār who is described as *Vaḍḍha-vyavāhāri* and *dētimukhya*; the gift was made with the permission of *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Uṇṇaiyūrpuravar-ādhiśvara Śrī-Māhēśvaraṇ* Tribhuvanamalla Mallidēva Chōla-mahārāja in the month of Āvaṇi in the cyclic year Vyaya, which was the second regnal year of Tribhuvana-chakravartin Kulōttuṅgachōladēva. It is further stated that the gift was placed in the hands of Īśānaśiva, the *sthānapati* of the temple of Tirumaṅgīsvaraṁ-uḍaiyār with the libation of water by the illustrious hand of the king.

It is not clear from the record to which of the reigns of the three Chōla kings bearing the name of Kulōttuṅga it belongs. The cyclic year Vyaya corresponded with 1046-47, 1106-07, 1166-67 and 1226-27 A.D. In no case did any of these years coincide with the 2nd year of the reign of any of the Chōla kings bearing the name Kulōttuṅga. While the other dates did not fall in the reign of any Kulōttuṅga at all, the first one coincided with the 37th year of the reign of Kulōttuṅga I. But the palaeography, the difference in the regnal years 2 and 37 and the mention of Tribhuvanamalla Mallidēva Chōla-mahārāja make it impossible to assign this record to the time of that monarch.

Tribhuvanamalla Mallidēva Chōla-mahārāja mentioned in this inscription as ruling over the Śirai-nāḍu, a sub-division of Nigariliśōla-maṇḍalam², with Peruñjeru as his capital figures also in other epigraphs found in that locality. A record³ engraved on a stone set up at the southern entrance of the Oddappa (Śiva) temple at the same place, dated in Śaka 1084, Vṛisha, Pushya,

¹ The other two faces of the pillar contain two separate records. The third face bears an undated inscription (*SII*, Vol. VI, No. 554) in the Tamil language and script registering the gift of two *poṇ* of gold placed in the hands of Īśāna-jiyar by Dēvaragandan Tāṅguvān alias Uttamaśōla Vajavaderayan of Seyyūr in Toṇḍai-maṇḍalam (i.e. modern Cheyyūr in the Madhurantakam Taluk of the Chingleput District), from the interest of which was to be maintained the worship and a *śaṇḍi-viḷakku* in the temple for the merit of his father and mother in the shrine of Svayambhūḍēva alias Tiruvirāṁśivaramuḍaiya-mahādēva consecrated by him. The fourth face of the pillar contains an incomplete and undated inscription (*ibid.*, No. 555), in Kannada, of the time of the Western Chālukya king Jagadśkamalla containing a portion of the *prakāśi* of a person who is described therein as the son of Irutgōḷa Chōla-mahārāja.

² Nigariliśōla-maṇḍalam was the same as Nalambavāḍi renamed as such by the Chōla king Rājārāja I after his conquest of the region and was a 'Thirtytwo Thousand country' comprising portions of the Bellary and Anantapur Districts of Andhra and parts of the Kōlār and Tumkūr Districts of Mysore.

³ *SII*, Vol. IX, No. 268.

Uttarāyana-saṅkramaṇa, corresponding probably to 1162 A.D., December 25, Monday, mentions the chief as ruling over Śīre-nāḍu (same as the Śīrai-nāḍu of the Tamil record) from his capital at Heñjēru, which is only another form of Peruñjēru, as a feudatory of Chālukya-chakravartin Vikrama (i.e. Taila III). There is also another inscription¹ incised on a pillar at the same place, dated in Śaka 1090, Sarvajit, corresponding to 1168 A.D., mentioning this chief as a feudatory of Chālukya-chakravartin. He was the son of Iruṅgōla Chōḷa-mahārāja of the Niḍugal family.² Tribhuvanamalla Mallidēva Chōḷa-mahārāja mentioned in the record under review is evidently the Niḍugal Chōḷa chief and his known dates range from 1162 to 1179 A.D. Then the cyclic year Vyaya mentioned in the record should be the one coinciding with Śaka 1088 corresponding to 1166-67 A.D. This being the 2nd year of the reign of Kulōttuṅgachōḷadēva, he should have ascended the throne in 1165-66 A.D. It has already been pointed out that none of the three kings bearing the name of Kulōttuṅgachōḷa ascended the throne on this date.³ But curiously enough we find another Chōḷa king of the imperial family of Tañjāvūr, Rājādhirāja II, counting his regnal years in some of his inscriptions with this year as the starting point,⁴ and it is also known that he did not succeed to the Chōḷa throne as direct heir in the male line. The Pallavarāyanpēṭṭai inscription⁵ states that Rājārāja II chose as his successor on the throne Rājādhirāja II as there was no regular and proper heir in the male line available then. Pallavarāyar (whose full name was Tiruch-chirrambalam-udaiyāṇ Perumāṇambi), who was the trusted chief minister of Rājārāja II and was responsible for this selection, is stated to have made after the coronation of Rājādhirāja II, the *uḍaṅkūṭṭam* and the *nāḍu* act with the king in unison and also to have suppressed [the hostile elements] from doing [any] high-handed action.⁶ The actual expression *miḡai teyyāḍapadi[yum] parigarittu* used in the inscription is significant. It is clear therefrom that the accession of Rājādhirāja II to the Chōḷa throne was not unanimously accepted by the officials and the public and that there was some opposition to the choice, but that Pallavarāyar overcame the opposition and compelled it to surrender and accept the selection. Who were those that opposed the selection and how they were subdued are not explicit from the inscription. But it is stated therein that Pallavarāyar was successful in his attempt only 'to some extent (*oruṇṇadi*)' and even that possibly with very great difficulty.⁷ For making this selection, Pallavarāyar, according to the record, brought some princes from Gaṅgaikondaśālapuram (*Gaṅgaikoṇḍaśālapura daruḷi iruṅkiḷṇa piḷḷaiḡai yānam paṇṇu . . .*). The use of the word *piḷḷaiḡai* in plural denotes more than one prince, although only one person⁸ was selected from among them and crowned as Rājādhirāja. It is quite possible that the other prince or princes who were brought to the capital

¹ Ibid., Vol. VI, No. 557.

² Ibid., Vol. IX, Nos. 268 and 273. See also note 1 at p. 269 above.

³ The inscription being in the Tamil language and script, it is not possible to take him as one of the Telugu-Chōḷas. In fact, no Telugu-Chōḷa prince is known to have borne the name of Kulōttuṅga. He can be only a prince belonging to the Imperial Chōḷa family of Tañjāvūr.

⁴ *A. R. Ep.*, 1908, App. B, No. 571; 1913, App. B, No. 428; App. C, No. 19; also above, Vol. X, pp. 126-27; *Indian Ephemeris*, Vol. I, part ii, p. 70.

⁵ Above Vol. XXI, pp. 184-93; see also K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *The Chōḷas*, Vol. II, pp. 89-96, and above, pp. 223ff.

⁶ The translation given above, Vol. XXI, p. 192, has not brought out the full force of the original text and at places conveys a wrong meaning not borne out by the text. The word *miḡai* literally means 'up-lifted arm'. If the word is taken as *miḡai* with a short *i*, then it would mean 'excess'. Even then, it will convey more or less the same idea.

⁷ That Pallavarāyar was successful only partially has not been brought out in the translation of the record, referred to above. It runs as follows: "and made the *uḍaṅkūṭṭam* (assembly) and the *nāḍu* (chamber) follow him without any dissensions. Thus (he) brought all (*parties*) together so that there might be no transgression. (In this way he) creditably discharged one of his commissions".

⁸ [The authors have obviously taken the word *icaruḷi* occurring in the text (line 12) to mean one of the princes (*piḷḷaiḡai*) brought from Gaṅgaikondaśālapuram. But the word *icaruḷi* cannot mean *icaruḷi* *oruḇuḇu*. See above, p. 224, n. 1.—Ed.]

No. 37) HEMAVATI PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF KULOTTUNGACHOLA (III); YEAR 2 371

from Gaṅgaikondaśālapuram but not selected were the hostile elements alluded to in the Pallavarāyanpēṭṭai record. Then Kulōttungachōladēva of the inscription now being edited was probably a rival of Rājādhirāja II. A study of the course of events in the reign of this king would also lead us to such a conclusion.

The latest regnal year traced in the inscriptions of Rājādhirāja II is 16.¹ We know that two sets of dates are found in his inscriptions, one counting some date between the 28th February and 30th March 1163 A.D. as the initial year² and the other, as already indicated above, suggesting some date in the first half of 1166 A.D. as its starting point. Thus the latest regnal year of 16 would correspond to 1178 A.D. or 1181 according as we adopt 1163 or 1166 A.D. for the commencement of his reign. Even though we have his records upto his 16th regnal year, it is to be noted that only inscriptions upto his 14th regnal year are numerous while those of the last two years are very few. A record from Puṅgaṇūr³ refers to the same regnal year of this king as *paḍinālavadāga panniraṇḍādēvadu*, i.e. 'the 12th year which is the same as the 14th year', and this is probably due to there being two different dates for the commencement of his reign. In the light of the above, we may not be far wrong in taking the 16th regnal year of his inscriptions as having been reckoned from the earlier of the above two dates of accession. It will thus be seen that the records of Rājādhirāja II are found in the Tamil country only upto about 1178 A.D. He was succeeded on the throne by Kulōttuṅga III whose inscriptions show that his rule commenced between the 6th and 8th of July, 1178 A.D.⁴ The circumstances under which Kulōttuṅga III came to occupy the Chōla throne are not clear; but one thing seems to be certain. Rājādhirāja II was not dead when Kulōttuṅga III ascended the throne and began to rule the country in his own name. A large number of Rājādhirāja's inscriptions are found in the Bhīmāśvara temple at Drākshārāma in the Godavari District extending for a period of more than 30 years thereafter, thus practically covering the reign of Kulōttuṅga III till its very end. The following is a list of such inscriptions recording gifts to the temple published in the *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. IV, in which both the Śaka and regnal years of Tribhuvanachakravartin Rājādhirājadēva are quoted.

| No. | Regnal year | Śaka year | A.D. | Remarks |
|------|-------------|-----------|--------|---|
| 1223 | 28 | 1115 | 1193-4 | Mentions some Setṭis of Śakkarakkōṭṭam. |
| 1331 | 28 | 1116 | 1194-5 | Text not available. <i>A.R. Ep.</i> , 1893, is the only evidence. |
| 1332 | 29 | 1117 | 1195-6 | |
| 1279 | 35 | 1123 | 1201-2 | |
| 1257 | 40 | 1127 | 1205-6 | |
| 1118 | 47 | 1134 | 1212-3 | Mentions some Setṭis of Śakkarakkōṭṭam. |

The following inscriptions found in the same temple and published in the same volume recording similar transactions quote the Śaka years and the regnal years of a king whose name is not

¹ *A. R. Ep.*, No. 389 of 1921.

² Above, Vol. IX, p. 211.

³ *A.R. Ep.*, No. 209 of 1932.

⁴ Above, Vol. VIII, p. 280.

mentioned therein but who can be no other than Rājādhirāja II, as these dates work out correctly only for him and not for any other king known so far.

| No. | Regnal year | Śaka year | A.D. | Remarks |
|------|-------------|-----------|--------|---|
| 1218 | 30 | 1118 | 1196-7 | Mentions Gonka of Vāṅḡi. |
| 1092 | 31 | 1119 | 1197-8 | |
| 215 | 35 | 1123 | 1201-2 | |
| 1117 | [4]6 | 1134 | 1212-3 | Mentions the <i>sāmanta</i> of a chief of the Kākaṣi kingdom. |

In addition to the above, there is also an inscription¹ dated in the 31st year of the reign of Tribhuvanaśakravartin Rājādhirājādēva, without mentioning the equivalent Śaka year and recording the gift of a lamp in the time of the Vejanāṭṭi chief Kulōttuṅga Pṛithivīvara whose inscriptions are found to range from 1186² to 1199³ A.D.

But a close study of these inscriptions as well as the history of Vēṅḡi in this period will show that the suzerainty of Rājādhirāja there was only in name and that the country was ruled by the local chiefs who were practically independent, owing only nominal allegiance to Rājādhirāja. It can be surmised from the above that this king was practically driven out of the Chōḷa kingdom in 1178 A.D. by his rival Kulōttuṅga III and that he found an asylum in Vēṅḡi as a refugee where he was probably treated with all the honours due to a king but nothing more. It would thus appear that Kulōttuṅga, though he failed in his attempt in 1165 A.D. to get the Chōḷa throne, finally succeeded in the attempt made subsequently in 1178 A.D.

To have made an attempt to assert his right and to capture the Chōḷa throne in 1165 A.D., even while Rājārāja was alive, Kulōttuṅga must have had at least some chance to succeed. Otherwise he would not have daringly ventured on the project. The troublous condition then prevailing in the Tamil country was probably propitious for him to launch the scheme. About this time a civil war broke out between two Pāṇḍya princes, Kulasēkhara and Parākrama, for the throne of Madurai. Parākrama obtained the help of the Ceylonese while Kulasēkhara was helped by the Chōḷas. This war, which seems to have dragged on for some five or six years, did considerable havoc to the entire Tamil country and struck terror into the hearts of the people. Pallavarāyar who was responsible for the selection of Rājādhirāja to the Chōḷa throne was the officer entrusted by the Chōḷa king Rājārāja II with the task of restoring Kulasēkhara to the Pāṇḍya throne. From the Pallavarāyan-pēṭṭai record, it may even be surmised that the installation of Rājādhirāja as co-regent was hastened by the quick movement of events in the Pāṇḍya country. The Koṅḡu king Kulōttuṅga I was the uncle of the Pāṇḍya prince Kulasēkhara, the candidate supported by the Chōḷas of the main line, and he also took an effective part in the war as suggested by the Ceylon chronicle.⁴ A record from Nerūr in the Tiruchirappalli District,⁵ dated in the 17th regnal year of the Koṅḡu king Kulōttuṅga, registers the gift of a village to his *purōhita* as *yātrādāna* before starting out on an expedition

¹ *SI*, Vol. IV, No. 1100 (No. 247 of 1893).

² Above, Vol. IV, No. 4 (Pithāpura pillar inscription of Pṛithivīvara, Śaka 1108).

³ *A. R. Ep.*, 1909, App. B, No. 97; see also part II, para. 76.

⁴ Geiger, *Ceylonese*, Vol. II, Chapters 76-77.

⁵ *A. R. Ep.*, 1928, App. B, No. 336. The name of the Pāṇḍya prince is partially lost and only *haradēva* is now available. The Mackenzie transcript of this record (*South Indian Temple Inscriptions*, Vol. II, No. 716), where also the name is partially lost, has, however, the letter *ka* at the beginning and so the name can be restored only as Kulasēkharadēva.

No. 37] EMAVATI PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF KULOTTUNGACHOLA (III), YEAR 2 273

to Madurai to get the kingdom for his nephew (*marumaganār*) Kulāśekhara. This Kongu Kulōttuṅga came to the throne in Śaka 1072 (1150 A.D.) as evidenced by an inscription¹ of his from Vijayamaṅgalam in the Coimbatore District giving the year 13+1 of his reign as corresponding to Śaka 1085. Thus the Pāṇḍyan civil war had already commenced and probably reached the second stage before his 17th year, i.e. 1166 A.D.² The time was thus favourable for the pretender Kulōttuṅga of the inscription now being edited to embark on his attempt to get the Chōla throne.

In this inscription, the Niḍugal Chōla chief Mallidēva Chōla-mahārāja figures as a subordinate or rather as acknowledging the overlordship, in a way, of the pretender Kulōttuṅga. This chief had been the loyal feudatory of the Western Chālukyas of Kalyāṇa who were the inveterate enemies of the Imperial Chōlas of Tanjāvūr. Thus, in the two inscriptions of this chief found at Hēmavati itself, dated respectively 1162 and 1168 A.D. in the years immediately preceding and following the date of the present record, he mentions himself as the feudatory of the Western Chālukyas. There must have been some special reason for Mallidēva-chōla to adopt this course in the intervening period. He being only a feudatory would not and could not have adopted this course unless it had the backing of his overlords, first the Western Chālukyas and later Kalachuri Bijjala.

A verse in the *Tamiḻ Nāṭalar Charitai*³ refers to the victory of the Chōla king Rājarāja II over Kalayānapura. It states that the gates of the cities Kapātapuram (i.e. Madurai, the capital of the Pāṇḍyas), Laṅkāpura (the capital of Ceylon) and Kalyānapura (the capital of the Western Chālukyan kingdom) were always open to him. Another verse in the final benedictory portion of the *Takka-yāga pparai*⁴ states that Rājagambhīra, i.e. Rājarāja II, removed the crown of the imposter (*bhṛashṭa*) and crowned the Raṭṭa to rule over the great 'seven and a half lakh country'. This incident though mentioned in literature is not referred to in his *meṅkīrtti*. The omission of any reference to this incident in the *meṅkīrtti* of his Tamil inscriptions which extend upto his 18th regnal year shows that the king had not undertaken the campaign against Kuntala upto that year and that consequently the campaign must have taken place on some subsequent date. An inscription⁵ from Drākshārāma dated in Śaka 1085 and the 18th regnal year of Rājarāja II (1163 A.D.) registering the gift of a lamp by Paṇḍāmbikā, queen of the Velanāṭṭi Chōla chief Rājāndrachōḍaya, contains a panegyric of this feudatory in which it is stated that he conquered Kuntala and the Kaliṅga kingdoms and that the rulers of those countries ran away as soon as they heard the news of his starting on an invasion. That being the first year of his rule his conquest of Kuntala must have been achieved only then (i.e. 1163 A.D.). Kuntala in those days referred only to the kingdoms with Kalyāṇa as its capital where Kalachuri Bijjala was then the reigning monarch who had by then usurped the throne of his erstwhile overlord, the Western Chālukya king Tailapa III, but had not yet completely brought the entire kingdom under his control. In 1162-63 A.D., while 'in the course of a state progress undertaken with a view to secure the possession of the southern provinces', he was encamped at Baḷḷigāṁve⁶ in the Shikarpur Taluk of the Shimoga District. The Western Chālukyas, deprived of their throne and capital, were then

¹ A. B. Ep., 1905, No. 598.

² [This date has been taken by Mr. K. V. Subramania Aiyar as that of the commencement of the war (above, Vol. XXV, p. 83).—Ed.]

³ Karattun=irattun=kalikkun=kalirudai=kaṇḍan vandān
irattun=kapāḍam ipi=tiṛappāy paṇḍ=ivaṇ-aṇaṅḡ
urattun=jirattun=kapāṭan-tirandiṭṭad=upḍ=Ilakkā-
purattun=Kapātapurattun=Kalyānapurattiṇṇuṁḡ (verse 128).

[The claim might have been an empty boast.—Ed.]

⁴ Pirattapaiyē paṭṭaṇ-g .t-siṭṭu=ppār-ṣṭarai-yilakkam purakka
Irattapaiyē paṭṭaṇ-gaṭṭi-viṭṭa Irāḡagambhīraḡai vāḷṭṭiṇavē (verse 774).

STI, Vol. IV, No. 1113.

Above Vol. V. p. 225

holding some outlying provinces with the help of some loyal feudatories. Just about this time Tailapa III died.¹ And we find Jagadekamalla III styling himself as the Western Chālukya monarch some time in 1163 A.D.² Tailapa III seems to have had other sons also. It was possibly to instal Jagadekamalla on the throne that Chōla Rājarāja II had to intervene in the affairs of the kingdom of Kalyāṇa. In the present state of our knowledge, it is very difficult to definitely postulate the course of events that took place and identify the king installed on the throne by the Chōlas. But this much seems certain that Rājarāja II intervened in the affairs of the kingdom of Kalyāṇa and installed one of the claimants on the throne. Naturally this would have been resented by the other candidate for the throne as also by the Kalachuri king Bijjala who had by that time usurped the Kalyāṇa throne. This is evident from the title *Rājigachōla-manobhanga*³ assumed in 1171 A.D. by the Uchchaṅgi Pāṇḍya chief Vijaya-pāṇḍya who was then ruling over Nolambavāḍi as a feudatory of the Kalachuris.⁴ The setting up in 1165 A.D. of Kulōttuṅga as a pretender to the Imperial Chōla throne was probably the outcome of the above.⁵

The donor, Śikkal-udaiya-Ṣeṭṭiyār, who had the grant given away by the hands of the king, i.e. Kulōttuṅga, is described in the record as *Vaḍḍha-vyavahāri-dētimukhya* which may be translated as 'the senior merchant and leader of the *dēti* community'. In some of the later inscriptions, this is expressed as *Śrīman-mahāpattaviyāpāri Ubhaya-nānā-dētikku mukhiyam āṇa* in Tamil⁶ and *Śrīman-mahavāḍḍavyavahāri ubhaya-nānā-dētiyargē mahāprabhu mukhyar appa* in Kannada.⁷ It would thus appear that Śikkal-udaiya-Ṣeṭṭiyār was also a member of the merchant-guild known as Nānādēsi and as '500 valiant men', which had its head-quarters at Aiyāvajī, the modern Aihole. An undated inscription⁸ from Pirāṇmalai in the Ramanathapuram District contains a panegyric of this body from which it will be evident that it had something to do with another organisation known as Śittiramēli-Periyāṇṭṭavar. Another undated inscription⁹ from Tirukōvalūr in the South Arcot District recording the transactions of the Śittiramēli-Periyāṇṭṭavar contains substantial portions of the above *prastāvi*. A record¹⁰ from Tittagudi in the South Arcot District dated in the 4th year of the reign of Rājādhirāja II registers the benefactions to the temple made jointly by the Śittiramēli-Periyāṇṭṭu of the 79 *nāḍus* and the *dīśai dīśai viḷaṅgu dīśai-āyirattu aiñṇūruvar*. Probably the two bodies Śittiramēli-Periyāṇṭṭavar and the Dīśai-āy irattu-aiñṇūruvar were two branches of the same parental organisation of the Nānādēsi.¹¹ The organisation Śittiramēli-Periyāṇṭṭavar which came into being about this time very soon

¹ Ibid., Vol. IX, p. 256; also *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XI (1882), p. 9.

² *Ep. Car.*, Vol. XI, Dg. 43. [This inscription is dated in 1164 A.D. The earlier part of the record praises a king named Jagadekamalla whose identification is problematical.—Ed.]

³ The same title is found assumed by one of his predecessors, viz. Tribhuvanamalla-pāṇḍya who was a subordinate of the Western Chālukya king Vikramāditya VI, to commemorate the frustration of the designs of Rājiga, i.e. Kulōttuṅgachōla I (*Ep. Car.*, Vol. XI, Hk. 68). But this does not seem to be a family title and it does not also appear to have been borne by the intervening members. The title was probably renewed now in view of the appropriateness of the situation. Rājiga here probably stands for Rājarāja II.

⁴ *Ep. Car.*, Vol. XI, Dg. 32 and 43.

⁵ It would be interesting to note in this connection that the *Kulōttuṅga-Kōvai* (K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *The Chōlas*, Vol. II, p. 116) mentions Saṅgamarāja and Nallama as the names respectively of the father and the elder brother of this Kulōttuṅga (III). These names sound more as of Telugu-Kannada origin.

⁶ *Ep. Car.*, Vol. X, Kl. 71.

⁷ Ibid., Nos. 72, 73.

⁸ *SII*, Vol. VIII, No. 442.

⁹ Ibid., No. 129.

¹⁰ Ibid., No. 291. This is perhaps the earliest mention of the Śittiramēli-Periyāṇṭṭavar in Tamil inscriptions. The record from Jambai in the South Arcot District (*A. E. Ep.*, 1906, No. 67) of the 3rd year of Tribhuvanachakravartin Kulōttuṅga mentioning the Śittiramēli-Periyāṇṭṭavar of 79 *nāḍus* has to be assigned to Kulōttuṅga III, taking Rājakēari as a mistake for Parakēari.

¹¹ The expression *ubhaya-nānādēsi* of the above inscriptions probably denotes these two branches.

Second Face

20 நத்யுலகருதகயகருத
 20 லகருதகயகருதகயகருத
 22 கருதகயகருதகயகருத
 22 யாஜநபகருதகயகருத
 24 யமலகருதகயகருத
 24 கருதகயகருதகயகருத
 26 கருதகயகருதகயகருத
 26 கருதகயகருதகயகருத
 28 கருதகயகருதகயகருத
 28 கருதகயகருதகயகருத
 30 கருதகயகருதகயகருத
 30 கருதகயகருதகயகருத

No. 37] HEMAVATI PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF KULOTTUNGACHOLA (III), YEAR 2 275

obtained a firm footing in the Tamil country and was very influential throughout the reign of Kulōttuṅga III. We may not therefore be wrong in surmising that this organisation paved the way for the ultimate success of Kulōttuṅga in getting the Chōla throne.¹

Our thanks are due to Dr. N. Venkataramanayya who helped us by drawing our attention to the Telugu records and also suggested the possibility of the identification.

TEXT

First Face

- 1 Harab̥ [||*] Svasti Śrīb̥ [||*] Tribhuva-
- 2 nachchakravartti Kulōttuṅ-
- 3 ga-śōladēvaṅk=iyāṇḍ=iraṅ
- 4 ḍ=āvad=āna Vyaya-samvatsarat[tu]
- 5 Āvaṇi-māsattu Nigarilāś[ō]²
- 6 |a-maṇḍalattu=Chohirai-nāṭtu=
- 7 p-Peruṇjeṅu-il tiru-virājyam pa-
- 8 ṇṇi=yaru|ugiṇṇa Śrīman-mahāma-
- 9 ṇḍalēsva(āva)raṅ=Uṇaiyur-ppura-
- 10 varādhīśvaraṅ Śrīmāhēśvara-
- 11 ṇ Tribhuvanamalla Malli-
- 12 dēva³-śō|amahārājarai⁴ Vaḍḍha-vyavah-
- 13 āri dēsi-[mu]khyar Śikkal-ṇḍaiya
- 14 śeṭṭiyār inda śrīnaga-
- 15 riya| Maṇḍēśvaradēvaṅku=t-
- 16 tiruv-amudupadikku=ddānam
- 17 panna vēṇḍi-kkon-
- 18 ḍu Mōrvāyḱku vaḍakkil
- 19 Vallayakṇiṇaiḱku=kkīja-

¹ [There seems to be no evidence in favour of this conjecture.—Ed.]

² The loop and *sa* are clear. Only the *ś* symbol is indistinct.

³ The letter *ḍ* in the Grantha script is in this line; the symbol for *ḍ* is engraved in the previous line.

⁴ The syllables *rājarai* are incised above the line.

Second Pace

20 kk-i[?] = ūral = a[udha]kuttaiyum = adiṟ =

21 kollaiyum araṭar āri-hasta-

22 ttālē Tirumaṅgīsvaram-uḍai-

23 yār sthānapati īśānaśivar kai-

24 yyi(yi)lē nīr-vārppittu = kkuḍu-

25 ttār Śikkal-uḍaiya-ṣeṭṭi-

26 yār [?] inda dharmattukk = aḷivu-pa-

27 ṇṇuvār Gaṅgā-tirattu śrī-

28 Vārāṇasīyilē Viśv(śv)ēvara-

29 dēvar sannidhiyilē brahma-hatyai-

30 yuṁ gō-hatyaiyum paṇṇa(ni)nār

31 pukka narakam puvuvār [?] Śivam = astu [?]

TRANSLATION

(Obisance to) Hara (Śiva). Hail! Prosperity! In the month of Āvaṇi of the cyclic year Vyaya, corresponding to the 2nd year (of the reign) of Tribhuvanaśakravartin Kulōttuṅgaśōḷadēva, *Vaḍḍha-vyavahāri dēvi-mukhya* Śikkal-uḍaiya-ṣeṭṭiyār having got the approval of the illustrious *Śrīman-Mahāmaṇḍalēvaran Uṇaiyūr-puravar-ādhiśvaran Śrīmāhēvaran* Tribhuvana-malla Mallidēva Chōḷa-mahārāja who is pleased to rule (his country with the capital) at Peruḷjēru in Śirai-nāḍu (a sub-division) of Nigarilāṣṭra-maṇḍalam, for a gift (of land to provide) for the sacred food offerings to the god Maṅgēśvaradēvar in this illustrious city (*śrinagari*), had the spring (ūral) including the garden (*kollai*) land comprised in it, to the north of Mōrvāy and east of Vallayak-kirai, placed in the hands of īśānaśiva, the *sthānapati* of the temple of the god Tirumaṅgīsvaram-uḍaiyār, with libation of water by the illustrious hands of the king. Those destroying this charity will go to the hell to which those who commit the murder of Brāhmaṇas and cows in the *sannidhi* of (the god) Viśvēśvaradēva at Vārāṇasi on the banks of the Gaṅgā (go). Let there be peace!

No. 20.—HOSUR INSCRIPTION OF VIRA-BALLALA, [SAKA] 1129

B. R. GOPAL AND SHRINIVAS RITTI, OOTACAMUND

This inscription, edited here with the kind permission of the Government Epigraphist for India, is engraved on a pillar in the Trikūṭeśvara temple at Hosūr in the Gadag Taluk of the Dharwar District, Mysore State. It was copied in 1926-27 and noticed in the *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy* for the year.¹ The record covers a space of about 1' 2.5" × 1' 2" and is in a fair state of preservation, though a few letters in the middle are worn out. It contains 19 lines of writing.

The record is in **Kannāḍa** and is written in prose throughout.

The **palaeography** of the record is regular for the period to which it belongs, i.e. early half of the 13th century A.D. However, the following points deserve notice. *Anuvāra* is used in place of *anunāsika* as in *Chikka-[Nara]singayyanṅaḷu*, line 7. The use of the prosthetic *ṇ* in *Yēḷunūrv-vara*, (line 9), may be noted. The cursive forms of *v* and *m* are used, e.g. *gāvūṇḍa*, (line 8) and *mukhyav* (line 9). The following may be noted in **orthography**: the doubling of letters preceded by *r* as in *sarvādihikāri* and *Chakravartti* (line 6, etc.), the use of *ś* for *sh* as in *āśāḍha*, (line 4) and *varuśa*, (line 3), and the wrong use of *l* for *ḷ*, e.g. *[Nara]singayyanṅaḷu* and *Muḷugunda* in line 7, *Tuppa-dahallī* in line 14, etc. The long *mā* in *saṁkramāṇa* in line 5 is a scribal error for *ma*.

The **purpose** of the record is to register a gift of land to the god Morakēśvaradēva by Chikka-Narasīṅgayya who is described as *Mahāpradhāna* and *Sarvādihikāri* and as the second son of the sovereign. He is stated to be governing Muḷugunda Twelve. The gift land was obtained by the donor from the Seven-Hundred of Hosavūr, headed by Mahābala-gāvūṇḍa. Mahābala-gāvūṇḍa along with others figures in another record² of this place, dated in 1192 A.D.,³ as the recipient of the income derived from taxes as a compensation for the damage caused to the town of Hosavūru, when king Vira-Ballāla had camped there. It is likely that the gift was made in the course of the king's campaign against Yādava Bhillana which took place between 1191 and 1192 A.D.

The record under review is dated in 1129, apparently of the Śaka era, **Prabhava, Āshāḍha sū. 11, Sunday, Karkkataka-saṁkramaṇa**. The details of the date are irregular. The *saṁkramaṇa* occurred on Wednesday, the 27th June in the year 1207 A.D., when the *tithi* was sū. 1, the month being Nija Āshāḍha. The given *tithi*, however, corresponds to July 7 of the same year when the week-day was Saturday and not Sunday as stated in the record. The details do not work out correctly in the Adhika Āshāḍha either.

The record is **important** inasmuch as it furnishes certain details pertaining to the Hoysala family which were hitherto not properly assessed. Chikka-Narasīṅgayya is introduced as the second son (*dvitīya kumāra*) of Vira-Ballāla. It is well known that Vira-Ballāla was succeeded by his son Narasīṅha II in 1220 A.D.⁴ If Chikka-Narasīṅgayya, apparently Narasīṅha II, was the second son of the king, who was his first son and what became of him? In his account of the Hoysalas, Fleet has referred to a record from Śravaṇa Belgola which mentions Sōmēśvara as a

¹ Appendix F, No. 116. This has also been noticed in the *ARASI* for 1926-27, p. 192.

² *A. R. Ep.* 1926-27, App. F, No. 113.

³ The details of the date, viz. Śaka 1114, *Paridhātī*, *Kārtika*, *Puṇṇami*, Monday, correspond to 1192 A.D., October 22. The week-day, however, was Thursday.

⁴ *Ep. Carn.* Vol. VII, Cl. 72; *ibid.*, Vol. V, Bl. 85.

kumāra or son of Ballāla.¹ But he dismisses the fact, not supported as it was by any other known record, with the remark that there was probably some mistake about either the original or the transcript.² Commenting on the same epigraph, Rao Bahadur R. Narasimhachar contended that Sōmēśvara mentioned in the record must have called himself the king's son by courtesy; for, Ballāla had no son of his own by that name. He has, however, shown that the record could be attributed, undated as it is, to 1206 A.D., judging from the internal evidence of the mention of Nayakirtti's disciples in this record as in some other dated records allied with this epigraph.³ It may be noted that the cyclic year Akshaya corresponding to 1205-06 A.D. cited in this record as the year from which the tax exemptions alluded to in it were to take effect, falls well within the reign-period of Ballāla II (1173-1220 A.D.). It may not be unreasonable to presume that the inscription itself should have been actually engraved and set up sometime prior to Akshaya inasmuch as its object was to proclaim the grant of exemptions of specified taxes and the proclamation itself was to take effect from the year Akshaya. This we will discuss in the sequel.

The date of Narasimha II's birth, viz. Śaka 1105, Śubhakṛit (1182 A.D.), is furnished by an epigraph from Alesandra.⁴

The earliest record⁵ mentioning him as administering in association with his father bears the date Śaka 1128, Krōdhana (=1205 A.D.).⁶ He should have been a young man about this period. To revert to the Śravaṇa-Belgoḷa epigraph, in the light of the categorical expression *dr̥iṭiyan̄ kumāraṁ* applied to Narasimha in the record under review, it appears that the Sōmēśvara mentioned in the former inscription was the elder son of Vira Ballāla. The record has been attributed to 1205-06 A.D. for reasons already referred to. But the cyclic year Akshaya from which or rather from the commencement of which (by inference) the tax-exemptions proclaimed in the record were to be effective and which corresponded to 1206 A.D. could not have been the year in which the record was set up. Allowing a reasonable time for the proclamation to be effectively made known to the public concerned, we may suppose that the inscription might have been set up some time in the year Krōdhana preceding the year Akshaya. But we have seen above that Narasimha figures already in Krōdhana actively in association with his father in the administrative activities of the kingdom in an inscription⁷ from Gañjigaṭṭe in Chitaldurg, which bears the date Śaka 1128, Krōdhana, Chaitra, paurṇamī, Monday, Saṅkramaṇa-vyatīpāta, the details corresponding to 1205 A.D., April 4, Monday, f.d.t., 47, on which day there occurred a lunar eclipse not mentioned in the record. Whether Sōmēśvara was still living on this date and was also associated with his father in the administrative activities of the kingdom, we do not know. If he was dead by this date, then his Śravaṇa-Belgoḷa record must have been set up at the very commencement

¹ *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 502, note 2.

² *Loc. cit.*

³ *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. II (rev. ed.), Int. p. 62; Sb. 327, 333 and 335.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, Ng. 32.

⁵ A record from Hachchalu (*ibid.*, Vol. IX, Kn. 67) has been ascribed to Narasimha II by Prof. Wilhelm Coelho in his book *Hoyasālambe*. This damaged record refers to Kumāra Narasimhadēva as 'ruling over the world'. Apart from the date and the mention of a Vira-Gaṅga Vira-Ballājadēva, no other details are available. It is dated in the cyclic year *Naḷa*, *Jyēshtha* śu. 10, Sunday. The Śaka year is not given. Vira-Gaṅga Vira-Ballājadēva does not seem to have borne any of the epithets of the king and it is inexplicable as to why he is mentioned after his son and that too during his own lifetime, as the cyclic year *Naḷa* falling in his reign-period, corresponds to 1190 A.D. The details of the date also do not work out correctly. On the other hand, the details regularly correspond to June 4, Sunday, in the year 1258 A.D., when Narasimha III was ruling. Therefore the record may be assigned to Narasimha III rather than to Narasimha II.

⁶ *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. XI, Cd. 23.

⁷ *Loc. cit.*

of the year Krōdhana itself or sometime prior to it. Further evidence by future research alone can settle these points. Since Ballāla's father himself was Narasiṃha, his own son is called Chikka-Narasiṃga yya.

The **geographical** names that occur in the record are **Muḷugunda**, **Hosavūr** and **Tuppadahaḷḷi** besides the well-known **Vāraṇāsi**, i.e. Banaras which is usually mentioned in the imprecatory portion of such records. Muḷugunda can be identified with modern Muḷgund in the Gadag Taluk and Hosavūr apparently is the modern Hosur, the findspot of the record. Tuppadahaḷḷi, however, cannot be identified, since no village of that name is now found in the vicinity of Hosur.

TEXT¹

- 1 ◎ Svasti śrīmatu Yādava-Nārāyaṇa-pratā-
- 2 pa-chakravartti Hoysaṇa **Vīra-Ballāla**(la)-
- 3 dēva-varuśa(sha)da 1129 neya Prabhava saṁ-
- 4 vatsarada **Āśā**(shā)ḍa(ḍha)-su 11 Ādivāra vi(vya)tīpāta Ka-
- 5 rkkāṭaka saṁkramā(ma)ṇadamdu śrīman-mahāpra-
- 6 dhānam sarvvādhikāri chakravarttiya dvitīyam
- 7 kumāra[m*] **Chikka**-[Nara]siṁgayyaṁgaḷu(lu) Muḷu(lu)guṇḍa-
- 8 haṁne(nne)raḍan=āḷu(lu)ttam Hosavūra Mahābala-gāvumḍa-
- 9 mukhyav=āgi Yēlu-nūrvvara kayyalu sarvvā(rvva)-bādha(dhā)-
- 10 parihārav=ā[gi] dhārāpūrvvakam māḍisi-komḍu
- 11 Śrī-Morakēśva(śva)ra-dēvara aṁga-bhōga-namḍā-dīvige-nivēdya-
- 12 kke biṭṭa bhūmi dēvara pūrvvada keyimdam baḍagalu
- 13 Komḍa[ra*]sana keyimdam mūḍalu brahmapu-
- 14 riya keyimdam teṁkalu Tuppadahaḷḷi(lḷi)-
- 15 ya baṭṭeyimdam paḍuvalu biṭṭa keyi hi-
- 16 riyakōlu mattaru 1 [!*] Yi-dhamma(rmma)vaṁ nāḍan=āḷuv-ara-
- 17 sugaḷu pratipālīsuvaru [!*] Pratipālīsadavarge Vā-
- 18 raṇāsiyalu sāyira-kavileyam komḍa pāta-
- 19 kav=aku(kku) ḷ

TRANSLATION

Lines 1-10. Hail! In the year 1129² of the illustrious Yādava-Nārāyaṇa Pratāpachakravartti **Vīra-Ballāladēva** of the Hoysala family and the year Prabhava, on Sunday, the 11th day of the bright half of **Āśāḍha**, when there were vyatīpāta (*yōga*) and **Karkāṭaka-saṁkramaṇa**, **Mahāpradhāna** and **Sarvvādhikāri Chikka-Narasiṁgayya**, the second son of the emperor, while administering (*the division of*) Muḷugunda Twelve, obtained with the pouring of water from the Seven-Hundred of Hosavūr headed by Mahābalagāvumḍa, land, free from all imposts.

¹ From ink impressions.

² Apparently this stands for the Śaka year.

Lines 11-16. (*And*) he made a gift (*of that land*) for the *aṅga-bhōga*, burning of a perpetual lamp and offerings to god Morakēśvaradēva. The gift land measures one *mattaru* by *Hiriyakōlu* (i.e. *the big rod*) and its situation is as follows : (*it lies*) to the north of the eastern field of the god ; to the east of the field of Koṇḍa[ra*]sa ; to the south of the field of Brahmapuri and to the west of the road to Tuppadaha||i.

Lines 16-19. The kings ruling over the country should protect this righteous deed. Those who do not, will incur the sin of slaughtering a thousand cows in Vāraṇāsī, i.e. Vārāṇasī.

No. 22—TWO INSCRIPTIONS OF PARANTAKA, YEAR 9

(1 Plate)

K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI AND T. N. SUBRAMANIAM, MADRAS

There are three Tamil inscriptions of Parāntakadēva, all dated in the 9th year of his reign, which 'pose one of the minor problems' in Chōla history.¹ Of these, the text of the one found at Tiruvālaṅgūḍu in the Chittoor District of the Andhra State has already been published.² The other two inscriptions, one from **Kōyil-Tēvarāyan-pēṭṭai** in the Tanjavur District (referred to in the sequel as **A**)³ and the other from **Tiruvaḍatturai** in the South Arcot District (marked **B** in the sequel),⁴ both in the Madras State, are now published from the inked impressions kindly placed at our disposal by the Government Epigraphist for India.

Inscription **A** is found engraved on the south wall of the central shrine of the Matsyapurīśvara temple at Kōyil-Tēvarāyan-pēṭṭai which is included in the present village of Paṇḍaravāḍai, a Railway station in the Papanasam Taluk, Tanjavur District. It is called Tiruchchēyalūr or Tiruchchēlūr in inscriptions and is said to be included in Rājakēsari-chaturvēdimāṅgalam, a *brahmadēya* on the southern bank of the river Kāvēri.⁵ This *Chaturvēdimāṅgalam* was evidently founded by the Chōla king Āditya I, after whom it was named and one of its hamlets was known as Paṇḍitavatsalachchēri after one of the surnames of his son Parāntaka I.⁶

The other record **B** is found on the south wall of the *maṇḍapa* in front of the central shrine in the Tirthapurīśvara temple at Tiruvaḍatturai, a village about four miles from Peṇṇāḡaḍam, on the north bank of the river Vellāru. This place is connected with the life of the Śaivite saint Tirujñānasambandha. The story is that it was at this place that, when he, as a tender child, was no longer in a position to continue his journey either on foot or on the shoulders of his aged father, the god miraculously intervened to offer him a palanquin and an umbrella, both made of pearls.⁷ This tradition finds support in the inscriptions wherein the god of this place is called Tirumuttin śivigai kuduttaruḷiya Nāyanār.⁸ In inscriptions as well as in the hymns of the *Tēvāram*, this village is known as Tiruvaḍatturai-Nelvāyil to differentiate it from other places bearing the name of Aṭatturai.

The two inscriptions are in the Tamil language and script with an admixture of Grantha letters here and there, and palaeographically they may be assigned to circa 1100 A.D.

The only orthographical peculiarity that deserves notice here is the use of double *chch* in *Tiruchchēlūr* in line 10. In the conjunct letter *chchē*, the doubled consonant is written after the vowel sign of *ē*. The letters *u* and *y* are used quite indifferently. The rules of *sandhi* have not been properly observed.

¹ K. A. N. Sastri, *The Cholas*, Vol. I, p. 165, note.

² *A. R. Ep.*, 1896, No. 16; *SIH*, Vol. V, No. 879.

³ *A. R. Ep.*, 1923, No. 261.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 1928-29, No. 225.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 1923, No. 276.

⁶ *Ibid.*, No. 264.

⁷ *Periappurānam, Tirujñānasambandhamūrti svāmīgāl purānam*, xv, 185-214.

⁸ *A. R. Ep.*, 1928-29, No. 213.

The **object** of inscription **A** is to record the gift, by purchase, of a piece of land to meet the expenses of offerings to the god Tiruchchēlūr-Mahādēva in Rājakēsari-chaturvēdimāṅgalam, a village in Nallūr-nāḍu, a sub-division of Nittavinōḍa-vaḷanāḍu, by Araiyaṅ Kaṇṇappaṅ *alias* Rājakēsari Pērayaṅ of Kālikuḍi, a village in Kīḷiyūr-nāḍu, a sub-division of Pāṇḍikulāśaṇi-vaḷa-nāḍu, in the 9th year of the reign of the king Parakēsarivarman *alias* Tribhuvanachakravartin śrī-Parāntakadēva.

Inscription **B** is incomplete and stops after mentioning the date, i.e. the 9th year of the reign of the king who is styled here as Rājakēsarivarman *alias* Chakravartin śrī-Pirāntakadēva.

Both these inscriptions contain a new *prasasti* or *meṅkkīrtti* which commences with the words *Pūmaṅgai vaḷara* in **A** and *Purī maṅgai vaḷara* in **B. Even though there are some slight variations in the wording between them in the first two metrical lines of the *meṅkkīrtti*, yet we can safely take both of them as identical, as these variations do not make any difference and as such variations are found in the standard versions of similar *meṅkkīrttis* of other Chōla kings also.¹ We have already mentioned that the king is styled Parakēsarivarman and Tribhuvanachakravartin in **A**, while he is named Rājakēsarivarman and Chakravartin in **B**. The third inscription of the king at Tiruvāḷaṅḍu, the text of which has already been published,² does not contain any *meṅkkīrtti*, but mentions him as Parakēsarivarman and Tribhuvanachakravartin as in **A**. Considering that the two complete records call him Parakēsarivarman and Tribhuvanachakravartin, we may not be wrong in assigning these titles to him, ignoring the title of Rājakēsarivarman of the incomplete record **B**.³**

The **importance** of these records lies in the problem of the identity of the king in whose time they were issued.

We have so far known only of two kings, grandfather and grandson, having the name Parāntaka. The former, more famous, with the title *Madirakōṇḍa*, was a Parakēsarivarman and the latter, otherwise known as Sundarachōla, was a Rājakēsarivarman. Neither of them had the title Tribhuvanachakravartin which came into vogue only during the time of Kulōttuṅga I. **Parāntakadēva** of the present records is quite different from the two Parāntakas mentioned above and lived at a much later period.⁴

The names of the territorial divisions mentioned in the record **A**, viz. Nittavinōḍa-vaḷanāḍu and Pāṇḍikulāśaṇi-vaḷanāḍu came into existence during the reign of Rājārāja I after whose titles *Nāṭyavinōḍa* and *Pāṇḍyakulāśaṇi* these divisions were named. Again the temple at Tiruvaḍatturai wherein the record **B** is found engraved does not contain any inscription earlier than the time

¹ K. A. N. Sastri, *The Cholas*, Vol. II, pp. 2, 61, 96.

² *SHI*, Vol. V, No. 879.

³ It was possibly due to some such mistakes having crept in, that the record was left incomplete.

⁴ *The Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy* for the year 1924 tries to identify the king of inscription **A** with Parāntaka I Madirakōṇḍa and says: "The importance of this inscription lies in the fact that it is the first stone record so far known of a Chōla king before the time of Rājārāja I containing an introduction or eulogy. This introduction is purely eulogistic without recounting any of the king's exploits. Generally in inscriptions commencing with historical introductions, the king is said to be seated on the throne with his consort whose title is also given. But in the present record which is dated in the 9th year, this fact is omitted. Perhaps we are to suppose that the king was not married till then" (p. 100). In the above review, the palaeography of the record does not appear to have been taken into consideration. Further, the mention of the king's consort occupying the throne along with the king is found to be made only in the inscriptions of Kulōttuṅga I and his successors. In the *meṅkkīrttis* of the Chōla monarchs prior to the time of Kulōttuṅga I, with the exception of the *meṅkkīrtti* beginning with the words *Vīramē tanaigāgarum* of Virarājendra, which *meṅkkīrtti* was also later adopted by Kulōttuṅga I as his own, the queen's title is generally not mentioned.

of Virarājendra-chōla. The Tiruvālaṅgādu inscription¹ already referred to, in mentioning Kulōttuṅgaśōla-vaṇaṇḍu in Śōlamanḍalam, makes it clear that the Parāntakadēva of this inscription must have ruled later than Kulōttuṅga I after whom the *vaṇaṇḍu* was named. Thus the king Parāntakadēva in whose time these records were issued cannot be placed earlier than the time of the Chōla king Kulōttuṅga I, and the palaeography of these records supports this conclusion.

We have not so far known of any Chōla king with the name Parāntaka about this time. On the other hand, we have references to a prince of the royal blood of that name ruling one of the provinces of the Chōla empire. Several inscriptions in the Telugu script found in the Bhīmēśvara temple at Drākshārāma in the Ramachandrapuram Taluk of the Godavari District in Andhra Pradesh mention a certain Parāntakadēva as ruling over the Eastern Chālukya country of Vēṅgī in the early years of the 12th century A. D. One of them² dated in Śaka 1034, corresponding to 1112-13 A. D., mentions the gift of fifty *inpa edlu* for burning a lamp in front of the god Bhīmēśvara by Parāntaka Brahmādhirāya for the benefit of his mother. There the donor is described as the military commander of Parāntaka, the head-ornament of the Chālukya-vaṇśa (*Chālukya-vaṇśa-tīlakaṣya Parāntakaṣya sēnādhipō dvijapatih*). The official title of the commander indicates that he rose to prominence during the days of Parāntaka whose name the general obviously adopted. Another inscription³ at the same place dated in Śaka 1038 (given by the chronogram *gajā-Rāma-vigraha-chandra*) registers the grant of the village Sīlā to meet the expenses of offerings to the goddess Pārvatī set up in the temple by king Parāntakadēva. In some other inscriptions found there,⁴ the king is introduced with the characteristic Eastern Chālukyan title Sarvalōkāśraya śrī-Vishṇuvardhana-mahārājulu, and is referred to as a *Chakracartī* ruling over the Chālukya kingdom (*Chālukya-kṣhīrī*).⁵ In addition, he has also the characteristically Tamil title Kōṇērinmaikoṇḍān.⁶ Another inscription⁷ dated in the 15th year of Kulōttuṅga I at Bhīmavaram in the same Taluk registers the gift of a lamp and twenty she-buffaloes by Mādhava *alias* Rājavallabha Pallavaraiyan, a minister of Parāntaka, to the temple of Nārāyaṇa founded by Vaiśya Maṇḍayya. Parāntaka⁸ under whom he was serving as a minister is described therein as *Śrīśa-samī Parāntaka-nripa Chālukya-rājya-sēnagatī prāptām akṣhātī*, i.e. 'while king Parāntaka who resembled the lord of Śrī (i.e. Vishṇu) was protecting the fortune, namely the Chālukya kingdom acquired [by him]'. This officer is perhaps identical with the Rājavallabha Pallavaraiyan who figures as the *sandhivigrahin* in the Smaller Leyden plates of Kulōttuṅga I issued in the 20th year of his reign.⁹ There is also an inscription¹⁰ of Parāntaka engraved on a pillar in the ruined Kanakadurgā-maṇḍapa at the foot of the Indrakila hill at Vijayavāḍa, dated in the 5th year of his reign coupled with Śaka 1027 and the cyclic year Manmatha, corresponding to 1115-16 A.D. This record, though damaged, seems to confer the office of the headmanship (*redḍikam*) of Vijaya-

¹ *SHI*, Vol. V, No. 879.

² *Ibid* Vol. IV, No. 1324.

³ *Ibid*, No. 1214.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Nos. 1271, 1272, etc.

⁵ *Ibid.*, No. 1226.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Nos. 1270 to 1274 etc. It is given there as *Kōṇērinmaikoṇḍān*.

⁷ Above, Vol. VI, pp. 219-223.

⁸ The editor of this inscription has taken Parāntaka mentioned in the Sanskrit verse at the beginning of the record as one of the surnames of Kulōttuṅga I referred to in the Telugu portion of the same record as *Sarvalōkāśraya-śrī-Vishṇuvardhana-mahārājulu* in whose 45th year of reign corresponding to Śaka 1037 the grant was made. But a careful reading of the record, as also of the Vijayavāḍa inscription referred to below, now reveals that they were different.

⁹ Above, Vol. XXII, p. 276, text lines 11-12

¹⁰ *SHI*, Vol. IV, No. 737.

vāḍa on a certain Bhīmāna who is described as the Vēṅgī-Chālukya-aṅkakūra¹ and whose brother Bodhana had originally obtained the same office from Kulōttuṅga I described therein as the son of king Rājamahēndra.² The record bears at its end a royal confirmatory order dated in the 47th year of a king who is described as *Samastabhuvanāśraya, Rājādhirāja, Rājaparamēśvara, Paramabhaṭṭāraka, Ravikulatilaka, Satyāśrayavarmanśya, Chālukyābharaṇa, Tribhuvanachakravarti, Permānādilēva*.³ This king can be no other than Kulōttuṅga I as evidenced by the titles *Satyāśrayavarmanśya, Chālukyābharaṇa* and *Ravikulatilaka* applied to him, and by the date mentioned in the inscription which agrees with the king's corresponding regnal year. This record would yield c. Śaka 1033 or c. 1111-12 A.D. for the accession of Parāntaka. It will be clear from the above that Parāntaka was ruling over the Vēṅgī country in the closing years of the reign of Kulōttuṅga I as a semi-independent ruler under the aegis of the Chōlas and that he was a prince of the Chōla-Chālukya line, probably one of the seven sons of Kulōttuṅga. We may safely identify Parāntaka of the Telugu inscriptions cited above with king Parakēsarivarman Parāntakadēva in whose reign the Tamil records under review were issued. Then, these two records of the 9th year will have to be assigned to c. 1119-20 A.D., corresponding to the 50th or the last year of the reign of Kulōttuṅga I.

We know that Kulōttuṅga I, on the death of his uncle Vijayāditya after a reign of 15 years, got possession of the Vēṅgī country in 1076-77 A.D. and appointed his sons in succession as viceroys there. The first to be so appointed, Rājarāja Mummaḍi-chōla, preferred living under the same roof as his parents to the enjoyment of a distant viceroyalty and at the end of a year relinquished his office. His younger brother Vira-chōla was then chosen as the viceroy, and he continued to rule there for six years from the date of his anointment in Śaka 1001 (1078-79 A.D.). From 1084 to 1089 A.D. another son of Kulōttuṅga, by name Rājarāja Chōḍagaṅga, the eldest, was the viceroy when he was succeeded by Vira-chōla again in his second term of viceroyalty. Vira-chōla was there till at least 1092-93 A.D.⁴ What became of the viceroyalty after that date is not clear. It is generally believed that Vikrama-chōla, another son of Kulōttuṅga I, who succeeded his father on the Chōla throne, became the viceroy of Vēṅgī and continued in that office till he was summoned to the south in 1118 A.D. by the aged Kulōttuṅga to become the co-regent (heir-apparent to the Chōla throne). No inscription of Vikrama-chōla issued during the time of his viceroyalty of Vēṅgī or directly referring to it has come to light so far. But that he was a viceroy for some time in Vēṅgī is borne out by his *meṅkkiritti* itself.⁵ The Pithāpuram inscription of Mallapadēva dated Śaka 1124 (1202-03 A.D.) states that Kulōttuṅga ruled for fifty years the five *Drāviḍas* together with the Andhra country and that, when Vikrama-chōla went to rule the Chōla country, the land of Vēṅgī became bereft of its lord (*Vēṅgī-bhāmīr=nāyaka-rahitā jātā*), i.e. fell into a state of anarchy. The inscriptions found at Drāksharāma point out that Parāntaka was the viceroy of Vēṅgī during roughly the last ten years of the reign of Kulōttuṅga I, and from the Tamil inscriptions edited below we may surmise that he was probably chosen as heir-apparent by Kulōttuṅga I and crowned as such with the title Parakēsarivarman and continued in that capacity till the last year of the reign of his father Kulōttuṅga I, corresponding to 1119-20 A.D.

¹ The *aṅkakūra* was an officer whose duty it was, when called upon to do so, to lead armies to battle on behalf of his master, to represent him on the battle-field and champion his cause. See N. Venkataramanayya, *The Eastern Chālukyas of Vēṅgī*, p. 245, note 1.

² *Rājamahēndra* was a title of Rājarāja-narēndra, the Eastern Chālukya king and the father of Kulōttuṅga I.

³ It is worth noting that many titles, characteristically Western Chālukyan, are borne by Kulōttuṅga I.

⁴ Above, Vol. V, p. 70 ff.; Vol. VI, p. 334 ff.; *SHI*, Vol. I, p. 49; *A. R. Ep.*, 1922, Part II, para. 6; K. A. N. Sastri, *The Chōlas*, Vol. II, pp. 30-32, 45.

⁵ *SHI*, Vol. II, No. 68.

⁶ Above, Vol. IV, p. 235, vv. 22-24.

But Kulōttuṅga was succeeded on the Chōla throne by Vikrama-chōla and not by this Parāntaka. If the statement in the Piṭhāpuram pillar inscription of Mallapadēva that Vikrama-chōla was ruling over Vēṅgī up to the time of his departure for the south to ascend the Chōla throne is to be accepted, then we have to identify this Parāntaka with Vikrama-chōla. The *meykkīrtti* of Parāntaka contains identical expressions and appears more or less the same as the earlier portion of the *meykkīrtti* beginning with the words, *Pūmādu puṇara*, etc., of Vikrama-chōla.¹ This may also be cited in support of the above presumption.²

But there are difficulties in accepting this identification. The *meykkīrtti* beginning with the words *Pūmādu puṇara* appears in the inscriptions of Vikrama-chōla even in the second year of his reign³ (thus practically from its commencement) and it contains a reference to his Kaliṅga expedition which took place in the reign of his father Kulōttuṅga I, when he (Vikrama-chōla) was only a child.⁴ But the *meykkīrtti* of Parāntaka of which we have the version brought up to the 9th year of his reign does not contain any reference to this Kaliṅga war. Moreover it is purely a eulogistic one of the more or less conventional type containing no reference to any event of importance. There is also no evidence, epigraphical or literary, that the title of *Parāntaka* was borne by Vikrama-chōla, though we know of his other titles like *Tyāgasamudra*.

Vikrama-chōla counts his regnal years from the date of his accession to the Chōla throne which took place on or about the 29th June, 1118 A.D.⁵ But we have seen above that Parāntaka counted his regnal years from some date in Śaka 1033 or 1111-12 A.D. and that such a reckoning was continued by him up to 1119-20 A.D., the date of the two records now under publication, i.e. even beyond the initial date of 1118 A.D. claimed for Vikrama-chōla.

Again, according to the Piṭhāpuram pillar inscription⁶ of Mallapadēva, Vikrama-chōla must have left his Vēṅgī viceroyalty and come over to the south before the date of his accession to the Chōla throne in 1118 A.D. But Parāntaka appears to have continued in Vēṅgī even after that date. An inscription⁷ from Drākshārāma registers a gift to the temple of Parāntakēśvara built there, and perhaps also points to the presence of Parāntaka there in the 49th year, 333rd day of the reign of Kulōttuṅga I, i.e. on or about the 7th May, 1119 A.D.

We have therefore to account for two persons, Vikrama-chōla and Parāntaka, both claiming to be Parakēsarivarmans and ruling as co-regents along with their father Kulōttuṅga I during the last two years of the latter's reign. This position is anomalous in Chōla history and has to be explained. It cannot be said that Kulōttuṅga I chose and anointed both of them as heirs-apparent. The Vijayavāḍa inscription⁸ referred to above clearly points out that Parāntaka was chosen as heir-apparent and entrusted with the governance of the Vēṅgī country, nearly seven years prior to the date claimed for the accession of Vikrama-chōla to the Chōla throne. Parāntaka's position, not only as successor-designate but also as ruler *de facto* was recognised both in the Telugu country of Vēṅgī and in the Tamil area of the Chōla dominion proper. On the south wall of the Kōḍaṇḍarāma temple at Madhurāntakam in the Chingleput District of the Madras State, there is a Tamil inscription⁹ dated in the 7th regnal year of a Parānta[ka]dēva

¹ *SII*, Vol. III, No. 80; Vol. VII, No. 832.

² Similar expressions are found in the *meykkīrtti* beginning with words *Pugaḷ māduviṅga* of Kulōttuṅga I also.

³ *A. R. Ep.*, 1909, No. 408; also Nos. 170 of 1908, 229 of 1929; *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. X, Sd. 9.

⁴ The original has the word *aim-badai-pparuvam*, i.e. the period of childhood when amulet shaped like the five weapons of Viṣṇu are worn.

⁵ Above, Vol. VII, pp. 4-5.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, pp. 226-42.

⁷ *SII*, Vol. IV, No. 1226.

⁸ *Ibid.*, No. 737.

⁹ No. 126 of 1896; *SII*, Vol. V, No. 991.

without any distinguishing title and without any *meykkīrtti* but in characters of about the 12th century A.D., registering the grant of land as *tiruvīḍaiyāṭṭam* to Tiruvayōttipperumāl of Śrī-Madhurāntaka-chaturvēdimaṅgalam, a *taṇṇiyūr* in Kaḷattūr-kōṭṭam, a sub-division of Jayaṅgoṇḍaśōḷamaṇḍalam.¹ This Parāntakadēva can be no other than the king Parāntakadēva of the two inscriptions now being edited.

It cannot also be said that Vikrama-chōḷa was chosen by his father Kulōttuṅga I to succeed him on the Chōḷa throne because of the demise of Parāntaka, for, we find from the Drākshārāma inscription referred to above² that Parāntaka was alive on or about the 7th May, 1119 A.D., i.e. more than ten months after the date of the accession of Vikrama-chōḷa.

The only alternative therefore left for us is to presume that Vikrama-chōḷa did not recognise the selection of Parāntaka as co-regent and claimed that he alone was the rightful person for that position. If that be the case, Vikrama-chōḷa could not have asserted his right and achieved his object by peaceful means. There must have been a civil war between these two brothers for the Chōḷa throne.

The Tanjavur temple inscription of Vikrama-chōḷa dated in the 4th year of his reign contains a significant passage in his *meykkīrtti* beginning with the words *Pūmālai miḍaindu*, which runs : 'He joyfully stayed [a while] in the Vēṅgai-maṇḍalam and put on the garland of victory over the northern region, and in the south he put on the sacred-jewelled crown by right so as to put an end to the commonness of the goddess of the sweet-smelling lotus-flower (i.e. Lakshmi) and the loneliness of the good earth-maiden who had the Poṇṇi (i.e. the river Kāvēri) for her garment.'³ It means in other words that Lakshmi, the wealth of the southern country, had become common (i.e., ownerless) and the land of the Kāvēri lonely (i.e. unaccompanied) and that both of them found a remedy for their situation in the coming of Vikrama-chōḷa. This very same passage, describing the state of the southern region at the time of the accession of Vikrama-chōḷa to the throne is also found in the *meykkīrtti* of Kulōttuṅga I beginning with the words *Pugaḷ sūḷṇḍa puṇari*,⁴ thereby indicating that Vikrama-chōḷa had to face the same situation⁵ as prevailed at the time when Kulōttuṅga I ascended the Chōḷa throne.⁶

¹ A foot-note to the text of this record published in the *SI*, quoted above, states that 'the characters in which the inscription is engraved appear to be of a later date than that of Parāntaka' (evidently I or II). The mention of the name Jayāṅgoṇḍaśōḷamaṇḍalam in the record for Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam clearly points out that the record cannot be placed earlier than the time of the Chōḷa king Rājarāja I, after whose title *Jayāṅgoṇḍa* the territorial division was named.

² *SI*, Vol. IV, No. 1226.

³ *Ibid.*, Vol. II, No. 68. The relevant portion of the original text is given below arranged in the metrical form :

Vēṅgai-maṇḍala-ttāṅg=mid=irundu
vaḍa-tīṣai vāḡai sūḍi=tteṇ-riṣai-
ttē-maru-kamala-ppōmagaḷ poḍumaiyūm
Poṇṇiy-āḍai-nāṇṇilaṇ-pāvaiyīṇ
taṇṇimaiyūm taviraṇ=punīdat-tirumaṇi
maḷuḍam=urimaiyīr=chōḷi.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. III, No. 68.

⁵ The chief queen of Vikrama-chōḷa is mentioned in the *Vikrama-śōḷan-ulā* (Kaṇṇi 40) and the *Tamiḷ-Nāṭaler Charitai* (verse 142) as *pen chakravartti* (i.e. a female *chakravartin*). This title is not applied to any other queen. We have already stated that the practice of mentioning in the *meykkīrtti* the queen seated along with the king on the throne came into use only in the time of Kulōttuṅga I. This was necessitated probably because, being a Chāḷukyan by birth, he claimed a right to the Chōḷa throne not only as the grandson of a Chōḷa emperor, but also as the consort of a Chōḷa princess. A similar situation possibly arose for Vikrama-chōḷa also, of which we do not have the details.

⁶ Relying on this passage, Dharendra Chandra Ganguly has suggested (*The Eastern Chāḷukyas*, pp. 129-30) that there was a civil war for the Chōḷa throne during the last days of Kulōttuṅga I and that Vikrama-chōḷa, one of the contestants came out successful.

The indifferent use of both the titles Rājākēsarivarman and Parakēsarivarman for Vikrama-chōla might also be construed as pointing to such a conclusion; but it may also be merely the result of a mistake of the kind, of which other instances are also known. Kulōttuṅga, being a Rājākēsarivarman, his immediate successor on throne should have been a Parakēsarivarman. The occasional use of the title Rājākēsarivarman by Vikrama-chōla¹ presupposes the existence of another king with the title Parakēsarivarman between him and Kulōttuṅga even though Vikrama-chōla did not perhaps recognise such a position and, claiming himself as the direct successor of his father Rājākēsarivarman Kulōttuṅga I. used the title Parakēsarivarman which is generally found applied to him in his inscriptions.

There are about half a dozen undated inscriptions of Parāntakadēva at Drākshārāma registering the oaths of fealty taken by certain persons to serve Parāntakadēva faithfully.² The occasion which necessitated such a step is not clear. But it is significant to note that these oaths were taken to serve faithfully Parāntakadēva personally and not in respect of the throne or kingdom of the Chōla or Chālukya as the case may be, probably indicating that there was another person at that time claiming equal rights as Parāntakadēva and that the oath was meant to safeguard the interests of their liege-lord Parāntakadēva against the other person.

It may also be said that the political condition of the country at this period was favourable to Vikrama-chōla for embarking on a civil war.

We know that towards the end of his reign, Kulōttuṅga I lost some portions of his territory, both in the west and in the north. In the west, the province of Gaṅgavāḍi was lost to the Hoysalas. Bittiga Vishṇuvardhana, the Hoysala ruler of the period claims the title *Taḷakāḍu-konḍa* which is applied to him for the first time in an inscription dated in 1117 A.D.³ and in the same year he is described as ruling in Taḷakāḍu and Kōlāla (Kolar) and over the whole of Gaṅgavāḍi Ninetysix Thousand as far as Koṅgu.⁴ This province which was under the Chōlas at the time and was regularly administered as a division of the Chōla empire was conquered for the Hoysala by *Donḍa-nāyaka* Gaṅgarāja. This event is graphically described in several of the Hoysala inscriptions.⁵ The success of the Hoysalas was complete and this was followed by the expulsion of the Chōlas from Gaṅgavāḍi. That this campaign was not in the nature of a mere raid and that the Hoysala was well-pleased with the result will be evident by his assuming the title *Taḷakāḍu-konḍa* and by the issue of gold coins bearing the legend *śrī-Taḷakāḍu-gonḍa*.

The victory gained in Gaṅgavāḍi was pursued by the Hoysalas even in regions beyond its frontiers. Of Puṇisa-rāja, another general of the Hoysalas, who also seems to have taken part in the expedition against Gaṅgavāḍi, it is said in an inscription dated 1117 A.D. that he 'frightened the Todas [of the Nilgiris], drove the Koṅgar underground (or to the low-country), slaughtered the Pōluvas, put to death the Maleyālas, trifled king Kala (Kalapāla) and offered the peak of the Nilagiri to the goddess of victory.'⁶ It also adds that on receiving the king's order, Puṇisa 'seized Nilādri, and pursuing the Maleyālas captured their forces and made himself master of Kērala before showing again in Poṅgal-nāḍu.' The Pōluvas slaughtered by him are evidently the Pōluvas, a community of the Koṅgu country,⁷ round about Arināsi. The region also came to be

¹ E.g., *A. R. Ep.*, 1908, Nos. 426, 431; *ibid.*, 1926, No. 144; *ibid.*, 1909, Part II, para. 46; *ibid.*, 1926, part II, para. 27.

² *SHI*, Vol. IV, Nos. 1270-75A.

³ *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. III, Ml. 31; also Vol. IV, Yd. 6.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. IV., Ch. 83.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol. II, (rev. ed.) Sh. 240. The same account is given in Vol. III, Ml. 31 also dated in 1117 A.D.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Vol. IV., Ch. 83.

⁷ *A. R. Ep.*, 1923, Part II, para. 59.

known as Pūluva-nāḍu and places like Śēvūr in the Avināśi Taluk and Perumānallūr in the Gopichettippalaiyam Taluk of the Coimbatore District are said to be in the Pūluva-nāḍu.¹ Similarly, Poṅgal-nāḍu captured by Puṇṇa in the course of the campaign seems to be the Poṅgalūrkkā-nāḍu of the Koṅgu inscriptions. The village of Kiraṇūr in the Palāṇi Taluk of the Madurai District was included in those days in the Poṅgalūrkkā-nāḍu.² The Hoysala inscriptions of this period mention Koṅgu, Chēram and Ānamale as forming the southern extremities of Viṣṇuvardhana's kingdom. Viṣṇuvardhana claims to have squeezed Madurai in the palm of his hand³ and extended his victorious march even up to Rāmēśvaram.⁴ One record states that, 'on the Pāṇḍya flourishing his sword', Hoysalēśa 'cut him down with his own sword, and left only half a man to look on in the Tigula army.'⁵

This does not appear to be a mere hyperbole, as we find an echo of Viṣṇuvardhana's invasion in the inscriptions of the Tiruchirappalli District. A record⁶ from Āḍuturai in the Perambalur Taluk dated in the 4th year of the reign of Parākrama Pāṇḍya renews with the additional privilege for some money collection, an old charter said to have been issued to certain *Paḷḷi* residents in the 4th regnal year of Vikrama-chōḷadēva under peculiar circumstances. It is stated that 'during the war of Periya-vaḍugaṇ, when the images of gods and Nāyaṇmārs were carried away to be deposited at Dōrasamudra (Haḷēbīḍ in Mysore), [the *Paḷḷis*] rescued them, reconsecrated them in the temple, and agreed to provide for the expense of maintaining the worship of these images, making it a part of their communal obligation, in return for which act of service, the members of the community were to enjoy 'the temple honours of silk *parivaṭṭam* and *aruḷappāḍu*'. It is also said that the above arrangement was approved and sanctioned by Perumāḷ Kulōttuṅga Chōḷadēva,⁷ thereby indicating that the rescue of the idols was effected immediately after they were removed and within the life-time of Kulōttuṅga I. It is not clear from the inscription who the Periya-vaḍugaṇ waging war in the Tamil country was; but the mention of Dōrasamudra makes it evident that the Hoysalas were among the invaders. Another damaged inscription⁸ from Karūr, one of the capitals of the Koṅgu kingdom, dated in the 3rd year of the reign of Vikrama-chōḷa, corresponding to 1120-21 A.D., states that the idol of Kūṭṭaṇār (i.e. Naṭarāja) in the temple of Tiruvānilai-Āḷuḍaiya Nāyaṇār at Karuvūr in Veṅgāla-nāḍu, a sub-division of Vīraśōḷa-maṇḍalam which had been lost in the [days of the] revolt (*kalahattil sēman=tappiṇamaiyil*) was brought back after a search and set up by the Śiva-Brāhmaṇas of the temple who also made provision for worshipping the same. Evidently the country seems to have suffered very much in the hands of the Hoysalas who were probably unscrupulous in striking terror in the hearts of the people.⁹

¹ Ibid., 1909, No. 184. See also Nos. 192, 211, 338 and 339 (pp. 185, 204, 308 and 309) of *South Indian Temple Inscriptions*, Vol. I, published by the Madras Government Oriental Manuscripts Library. This region is also referred to as Pūrva-nāḍu and possibly the Pūrva-rājar mentioned in the Velvikūḷi plates of the Pāṇḍya king Neḍuṇḷaḍaiyan (above, Vol. XVII, pp. 291-308) are the rulers of the region.

² *SHI*, Vol. V., Nos. 262 to 284.

³ *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. VI, Cm. 160.

⁴ *A. R. Ep.*, 1913, Part II, para. 47.

⁵ *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. V, Bl. 171. The mention of the *Tigula* or Tamil army under the command of the Pāṇḍya precludes the possibility of identifying him with an Uchchaṅgi chief.

⁶ *A. R. Ep.*, 1913, No. 35.

⁷ Ibid., Part II, paragraphs 46-47.

⁸ *SHI*, Vol. IV, No. 387.

⁹ There are inscriptions of the 47th and 49th years of the reign of Kulōttuṅga I (e.g. Nos. 620 and 647 of 1909 respectively at Tiruchchirai and Kōnērāṇapuram in the Tanjavur District) stating that the lands of tenants who had deserted the villages unable to pay the taxes for over two years were confiscated and sold to the temples, and these are significant considering the time and the large number of such cases (see also Rangacharya, *A Topographical List of Inscriptions in the Madras Presidency*, Tj. 74, 1219).

The Hoysala incursions into the Chōla dominion were not restricted to the southern part. They appear to have carried on the expedition in the eastern direction also in the course of which Terēyūr and Kōyāttūr (modern Laddigam in the Chittoor District) became subject to Vishṇuvardhana who is also credited with the conquest of Kāñchī, on which he took the title of *Kāñchigonda* which is very often met with in his inscriptions.¹ That this was not again a mere boast will be clear from the statements found in his inscriptions that 'he made proclamations of his victories over numerous kings by sound of drum in Kāñchīpura',² that 'he was like a fierce forest-fire to the territory of the Toṇḍai chieftain',³ and that 'after conquering Kāñchī and Madurai he burnt Jananāthapura'.⁴ It is also said that he slew an Andhra king.⁵

It is significant to note that the capture of Kāñchī and the burning of the city of Jananāthapura are claimed not only by the generals of Vishṇuvardhana, but also by the generals of another monarch, viz. Vikramāditya VI, the Western Chālukya ruler of Kalyāṇa, at about the same time. We know that the Hoysalas were from the very beginning the feudatories of the Western Chālukyas of Kalyāṇa and that they continued to be so even at that time. It is therefore quite possible that the Hoysalas were waging war in the northern front as the subordinates and under the banner of their suzerain power, the Western Chālukyas.

Viewed in this light, the Periya Vaḍugaṇ mentioned in the Āḍuttuṇṇai inscription⁶ referred to above as waging war in the heart of the Tamil country would only mean the 'big (or elder) or great northerner', i.e. the Western Chālukya king Vikramāditya VI. Similarly, the exploits of 'displaying his valour before Māṇikyadēvi of the Chakrakūṭa throne', 'burning the city of Jananāthapura through his general' and the like in the north that the Hoysala is credited with, should be deemed to have taken place when he was in the service of his overlord Vikramāditya. Vikramāditya was waiting long only for an opportunity of making reprisals for his earlier failure in his wars against Kulōttuṅga I. Such an opportunity presented itself now. His plan was evidently to take advantage of Kulōttuṅga's preoccupation with the affairs in the south and create a diversion in the north by proceeding against the kingdom of Vēṅgi and its vassal-states.

The exact course of the events of this campaign is not clear. But that at the end of this campaign, practically the whole of the Telugu country came under the sway of Vikramāditya VI is evident from the provenance of his inscriptions. A stone record⁷ from Kollūru in the Tenālī Taluk of the Guntur District dated in the cyclic year Manmatha, the 40th year of the reign of Tribhuvanamalladēva (Vikramāditya VI), i.e. 1115-16 A.D., refers to his famous general Anantapālayya and mentions the officers such as the *mantrin*, *purōhita*, *sēnāpati*, etc., in whose presence, the king made a certain gift. There are inscriptions of the next year Durmukha, the Chālukya-Vikrama year 41, at Māgoḷa and Raṅgāpuram in the Hadagalli Taluk of the same District, in one of which Padmaladēvi, a queen of Vikramāditya VI, is referred to as ruling over the *agrahāra* of Māṅgoḷa.⁸ In Śaka 1039 (December, 1117 A.D.), the Kākatiya chief Prōḷa of Anumakoṇḍa acknowledges the supremacy of the Western Chālukya ruler and records that the Anumakoṇḍa territory was conferred on his father Bēta some time before by the same sovereign.⁹ About a year later, in the cyclic year Viḷambin, corresponding to the Chālukya-Vikrama year 43 (December, 1118 A.D.), we find *Mahāsāmantādhipati Mahāprachandandaṇḍanāyaka* Anantapālayya actually

¹ See, e.g., *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. VI, Cm. 160.

² *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 331.

³ *Inscriptions at Śravaṇa Belgōḷa*, No. 53 (old).

⁴ *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. VI, Cm. 160.

⁵ *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 213.

⁶ *A. R. Ep.*, 1913, No. 35.

⁷ *SIJ*, Vol. IX, No. 193.

⁸ *Ibid.*, Nos. 194 and 195.

⁹ *Above*, Vol. IX, p. 256.

ruling over Vēngī 14000 as a subordinate of Vikramāditya when a certain Nāyaka made some gift to god Agastyēśvaradēva at Kommūru, in the Bapatla Taluk of the same District.¹ About 1120 A.D., Anantapāla's wife made a gift to the celebrated shrine of Bhīmēśvara at Drākshārāma.² The gifts made by Velanāṇṭi Rājendra in the same year and by Mayilamma, the wife of a Telugu-Chōḍa chief, in the year after that, at Drākshārāma are recorded in inscriptions dated in the Chālukya-Vikrama era.³ Another inscription from Tripurāntakam⁴ in the Markapuram Taluk of the Kurnool District, dated in the Chālukya-Vikrama year 51, Patābhava (corresponding to Tuesday, June 22, 1126 A.D., a solar eclipse occurring on this date), states that Anantapālarasa, the *Doḍḍanāyaka*, was ruling over Vēngī 12,000 and Emmedale 6,000 as a subordinate of Vikramāditya. This record states that Anantapāla had the pleasure of seeing his nephew and son-in-law Gōvindarasa who was ruling over Konḍapalli 300, pursue the Chōḷa, conquer the Chōḷa country and carry away as booty a large number of elephants, soldiers, treasures and all the belongings of the Chōḷa king. Gōvindarasa also attacked Jananātharājapura, another name of Drākshārāma, then the provincial capital of Vēngī, and brought from it everything of Kumāra, captured Dōcheya and Goṅka (probably the *aṅkakāras* of the Chōḷa viceroy)—a feat which was considered as amounting to the capture of the person of the king himself, and burnt Vēngīpura.⁵ Anantapāla is said to have earned, as a consequence, the title *Chōḷa-kaṭaka chūrakāra*. The same victory is also claimed by Echapā, a subordinate of Anantapāla, who is said to have pursued the Chōḷa forces from the village Uppinakatte in Vēngī to Kāñchī and gained for himself the title *Chōḷa-rājya-nirmūlana*.⁶ It will thus be seen that Vēngī was completely conquered by Vikramāditya VI who carried his arms even as far as Kāñchī. This eclipse of the Chōḷa-Chālukya power in Vēngī continued till the death of Vikramāditya VI in 1126 A.D. Thus Vikramāditya VI and his Hoysala subordinate Viṣṇuvardhana, together overran the entire Chōḷa empire in the west and north. It was at this time when the whole dominion of the Chōḷas was overrun by foreign invasion resulting in much loss of territory that Vikrama-chōḷa began to assert his right to the Chōḷa throne and wage the civil war with his brother or half-brother Parāntakadēva. It may even be supposed that these troubles started after he proclaimed himself as the rightful heir to the Chōḷa throne. An inscription on a pillar in front of the Chōḷēśvara temple at Niḍubrōlu in the Guntur District registering the gift of land and lamps to the temple of Goṅkēśvara at Chērakumballi or Ikshupalli by Mārāya Paṇḍa, the general of Velanāṇṭi Goṅka, is dated in Śaka 1054 and the 17th regnal year of Tribhuvanachakravartin Vikrama-chōḷa yielding Śaka 1038 (1115-16 A.D.) as the date of his accession, three years earlier than the date usually assigned to him.⁷ And Kulōttuṅga I was alive when these two sons of his were fighting one another for the throne. We do not know what his attitude towards them was or whom he supported. But it is natural to presume that having already chosen Parāntaka as heir-apparent and associated him with the government, he would have espoused the cause of that son as against Vikrama-chōḷa unless it be that Parāntaka had in the meanwhile turned a traitor: there is indeed no ground to suppose such a situation. On the other hand, the inscriptions of Parāntaka show in unmistakable terms that his administration had the entire approval of his father and the reigning monarch, Kulōttuṅga I.

Then Vikrama-chōḷa would have had to contend against both his brother Parāntakadēva and his father Kulōttuṅga I to achieve his object. His ultimate success, even during the lifetime of his father, clearly implies that he must have had the active support not only of some strong

¹ *SII*, Vol. IX, No. 196.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, No. 1211.

³ *Ibid.*, Nos. 1216, 1228.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. IX, No. 213.

⁵ *Ibid.*, No. 213.

⁶ *JAHRS*, Vol. XVIII, p. 59; *Proc. AIOC*, Session X, p. 421.

⁷ *SII*, Vol. VI, No. 123.

and influential local faction, but also of some strong foreign power, mightier than that of the Chōla. We have pointed out elsewhere¹ that Vikrama-chōla was the son of Kulōttuṅga, not by Madhurāntakī, the Chōla princess, but by a Hoysala princess. The invasion of the Chōla dominion by Hoysala Vishṇuvardhana with the support of his ally and overlord the Western Chālukya Vikramāditya VI who was the avowed enemy of the reigning Chōla monarch Kulōttuṅga I was perhaps partly motivated by the Hoysala king's desire to install Vikrama-chōla, his nephew, on the Chōla throne. The Hoysala bore the brunt of the war in the south as well as in the north, just before the formal proclamation of the accession of Vikrama-chōla.

It is also to be noted in this connection that the regions of Gaṅgavāḍi in the west and Vēṅgi in the north lost by the Chōlas in the closing years of the reign of Kulōttuṅga I were not recovered by Vikrama-chōla. So far as Gaṅgavāḍi was concerned, the bulk of it was lost for ever. And as for Vēṅgi, so long as Vikramāditya VI was alive, the Chōlas do not appear to have set their foot in it and their erstwhile subordinates, the local rulers, acknowledged the suzerainty of the Western Chālukyas. Towards the end of the reign of Vikramāditya VI, we find an Eastern Chālukya prince Sarvalōkāśraya Vishṇuvardhana entrusted with the administration of Vēṅgi. An inscription on a stone pillar now in the Rajahmundry Museum,² which once probably belonged to the temple of Virabhadreśvara at Paṭṭēsam, registers the gift of 25 cows to the temple by a resident of Penugonḍa on a day in Śaka 1067 coupled with the 21st regnal year of Sarvalōkāśraya Vishṇuvardhana-mahārāja, corresponding to the 25th December 1145 A.D. This would yield Śaka 1047 or 1125-26 A.D. as the date for his accession. We have records of Chālukya Vikramāditya VI dated in his 51st regnal year³ which commenced in June 1126 A.D., and his son and successor, Sōmēśvara III ascended the throne some time between July 24 and October 5 of the same year. The Western Chālukyas were in complete occupation of Vēṅgi when this Eastern Chālukya prince commenced his rule there. An inscription⁴ in Sanskrit incised on a pillar lying in front of the Kēśavasvāmin temple at Yenamalakuduru in the Gannavaram Taluk of the present Guntur District records the gift of the town of Vijayavāḍa to the temple of Mallēśvara by Bhīma, the son of Boddana. It is stated therein that Boddana obtained the town as a gift for the prosperity of his family from the Chōla king Tripurāntaka and the Kaṇṇāṣa king (*Kaṇṇāṣa-bhūbhujah*), i.e. the Western Chālukya monarch. Another record,⁵ a Telugu version of the same, incised on the same pillar gives some additional particulars. It states that Bhīma belonged to the Pallava family and gives his genealogy for three generations. But it is not known who this Chōla prince Tripurāntaka was. The fact that the grant made by him was confirmed by the Western Chālukya king would show that he was ruling over Vēṅgi as a subordinate of the Western Chālukya and this could have happened only after the conquest of that country by Vikramāditya VI. We have already noticed that Vijayavāḍa was originally granted by Kulōttuṅga I to a certain Boddana and that the gift was renewed by Parāntaka and confirmed by Kulōttuṅga I in 1115-16 A.D. in favour of Bhīmana who was the brother of the above Boddana and had been enjoying the property even during the life-time of his brother. The same was now conferred on Boddana by Tripurāntaka-chōla and confirmed by the Western Chālukya king, probably Vikramāditya VI. Tripurāntaka's name is not found elsewhere and he is a Chōla prince unknown hitherto. In an inscription⁶ from the Telingana districts a general of Kumāra Sōmēśvara, son of Vikramāditya VI, states that he captured the Chōlaga and his younger brother. Probably Tripurāntaka

¹ Above, Vol. XXXI, pp. 227-28.

² *SIH*, Vol. X, No. 116.

³ *Ibid.*, Vol. IX, No. 213.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, No. 91.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, No. 100.

⁶ *Telengana Inscriptions*, No. 35; *JOR*, Vol. XXV, pp. 59-61.

was that brother whom subsequently Vikramāditya VI set up to rule over Vēngī. It is quite likely that this prince was set up to rule over Vēngī during the last days of Vikramāditya VI, presumably to continue the hold of the Western Chālukya rule over the area permanently and to prevent the return of the country to the Imperial Chōlas.

Thus at the time of Vikrama-chōla's accession to the throne, the Chōla empire had lost Gaṅga-vāḍi in the west and Vēngī in the north. Probably such cession of territory to the Chālukya was the price which Vikrama-chōla had agreed to pay for the help rendered to him by Vishṇuvardhana and Vikramāditya VI in securing the Chōla throne. It is true that evidences are not quite clear and that some of the foregoing statements may not be capable of individual proof at present ; but there is nothing implausible in the surmises made, the correctness of which will have to be confirmed by future discoveries.

Our thanks are due to Dr. N. Venkataramanayya who helped us by drawing our attention to the Telugu records referred to in the discussion above.

TEXT¹

A

- 1 Svasti-Śrī [j*]Pūmaṅgai vaḷara Puvimaṅgai punara
- 2 Jayamaṅgai maguḷa² Pugaḷmaṅgai ka³ malara-ttann-a-
- 3 diy-iraṇḍu[n*]-taraṇipar sūṭṭa(da) peṇ-muḍiyodu[m]=mu⁴ puga-
- 4 luḍan sūḍi=taṇ-gōn varaviḷ⁵ śeṅgōl na-
- 5 ḍāṭṭa(tti)* tiṅgaḷ-veṇ-kuḍai-kiḷ vijaiya-siṁ-
- 6 bāsaṇattu viṅṅirundaruḷiya Kō-Pparakēsari-pa[u*]
- 7 marāṇa Tribhuvanaachakkaravattigaḷ śrī-Parāntakadē-
- 8 va[r*]kku yāṇḍu 9-dāvaḍu Nittavinōḍa-vaḷanā-
- 9 ṭ⁷ ṭṭu Nallūr-nāṭṭu Rājakēsari-charu[p*]pēḍimaṇ-
- 10 galattu T[i]rucheḷēlūr Mahādēva[r*]kku Pāṇḍi-
- 11 kulāṣaṇi-vaḷaṇāṭṭu Kiḷiyūr-nāṭṭu [Kā]ḷi-
- 12 kuḍi-[k*] kuḷigaḷḷa(lā)ḷa Araiyaṇ [Ka*]ṇṇa[p*]pan⁸[n=ā]-
- 13 ṇa Irājakēsari Pērayanēn⁹ amudu-
- 14 paḍikku ṇāṇ koṇḍu-viṭṭa nilam=āvaḍu-[*] Rā-
- 15 jakēsari-charu[p*]pēḍimaṅgalattu Kalākala[ch*]-

¹ From the ink-impression.

² Read *magiḷa*.

³ This *ka* is redundant.

⁴ Read *peṇ-muḍi-yoliyida*. It is written correctly in B.

⁵ Read *maraviḷ*.

⁶ The phrase *tiṅai varambāga* has been omitted here. See B, line 2.

⁷ The first *ṭ* is superfluous.

⁸ The *n* following *pa* is superfluous.

⁹ [The reading appears to be *Pōyanēn* (i.e. *Bhōjanēn*) here as well as in line 29.—D.C.S.]

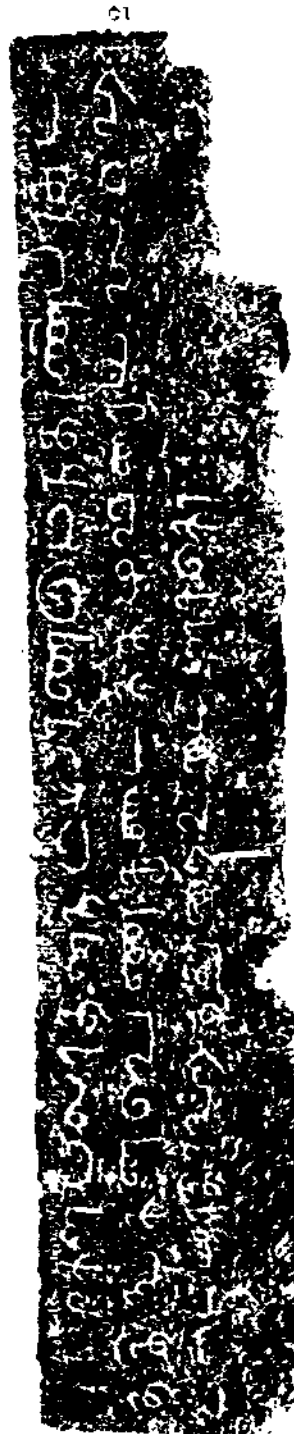
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|----|----|----|----|----|
| 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 |
| 4 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 4 |
| 6 | 6 | 6 | 6 | 6 |
| 8 | 8 | 8 | 8 | 8 |
| 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 |
| 12 | 12 | 12 | 12 | 12 |
| 14 | 14 | 14 | 14 | 14 |
| 16 | 16 | 16 | 16 | 16 |
| 18 | 18 | 18 | 18 | 18 |
| 20 | 20 | 20 | 20 | 20 |
| 22 | 22 | 22 | 22 | 22 |
| 24 | 24 | 24 | 24 | 24 |
| 26 | 26 | 26 | 26 | 26 |
| 28 | 28 | 28 | 28 | 28 |

Scale : Nine-fortieths

I
FIRST PIECE



SECOND PIECE



THIRD PIECE



Scale - One-fifth

- 16 chēri Kavusiyaṇ Nārāyaṇan Nārāyaṇanār-pakkal
- 17 ṇāṇ¹ vilai-koṇḍu-viṭṭa ṇilam=āvaḍu [l*] Ādi(t*)ta-
- 18 vadikku mēṛku Rājakēsari-vāy-
- 19 kkālu[k*]ku teṛku aṇj[ā]ṇgaṇṇā-
- 20 ṛṛu iraṇḍāṇ=chadirattu= kṛeya-
- 21 m[pa]lambaḍi ṇilam kālēmukkāṇi[k*]
- 22 kī[l]*=eṭṭu mā [l*] i-ṇṇilam kālē-
- 23 mukkāṇi[k*]kīl eṭṭu māvu[k*]kum vī-
- 24 lai iṭṭu-[k*] koṇḍa kāsū āṛu [l*] i-k-
- 25 kās=āṛum=iṭṭu-[k*]koṇḍu i-ṇṇilam
- 26 chandr-ādi[t*]tavarai i-[d*]dēva[rk*]ku amudupaḍi še-
- 27 lvadāga=[k*] koṇḍu vittēṇ Araiya-
- 28 ṇ Kaṇṇa²ppaṇāṇa³ Rājakēsari Pērayaṇēṇ⁴ [l*]

TRANSLATION

A

Hail! Prosperity! While the goddess with the (lotus) flower (i.e. Lakshmi) prospered; while the goddess of Earth wedded (the king); while the goddess of victory beamed with joy; while the goddess of Fame was resplendent; while (all other) kings bore (on their heads) his two feet; while he put on with fame the shining golden crown and wielded the sceptre in the tradition of (his) forebears; while he was seated on the victorious throne under the white parasol extending up to the (four) quarters; in the 9th year (of the reign) of (this) king Parakēsarivarman alias the emperor of the three worlds (Tribhuvanachakravartin) the prosperous Parāntakadēva:

The following land was purchased and given away as gift by me, Araiyaṇ Kaṇṇappaṇ alias Rājakēsari Pērayaṇ, a resident of Kālikuḍi, a village in Kīḷiyūrnāḍu, a sub-division of Pāṇḍikulāsani-vaḷanāḍu for the (daily) offerings to the god Tiruchchēlūr-Mahādēva in Rājakēsari-charuppēdimāṅgalam (chaturvēdimāṅgalam) in Nallūr-nāḍu, a sub-division of Nittavinōḍa-vaḷanāḍu. The (piece of) land purchased (for being given away as gift) by me from Kavusiyaṇ Nārāyaṇan alias Nārāyaṇan of Kalākalachchēri in Rājakēsari-chaturvēdimāṅgalam to the west of Ādittavadi, to the south of the channel (vāykkāl) Rājakēsari and comprised in the second square of the fifth kaṇṇāṛu and measuring 1/4, 3/80, 1/800 (or 231/800) (kālēmukkāṇik-kīl-eṭṭu mā). The price (fixed and) paid for this land of 231/800 (measurement) was six kāsus. This (price of) six kāsus was paid and the land given for offerings to the god till the sun and moon last, by me Araiyaṇ Kaṇṇappaṇ alias Rājakēsari Pērayaṇ.

¹ The letter nā is written underneath ṇ.

² The first ḷ is superfluous.

³ This ṇa is written like the Grantha letter, i.e. two 'e's one below the other.

⁴ The letter ṇa is written below ṇa.

⁵ The letter ṇ is written below ṇ. [See above, p. 196, note 9 —D.C.S.]

B

- 1 Svasti Śrī [||*] Puvimaṅgai vaḷara Pūmaṅgai puṇara Jayamagaḷ maguḷa¹ Pugaḷ
[ma*]gaḷ malara taṇṇ-aḷiy=iraṇḍum²=taraṇipar sūḍa pon-muḍi oli³yida puga(l)⁴=udaṇ
sūḍi
- 2 taṇ-gōṇ marabiḷ seṅgōḷ naḍūtti=[t*]uṣai varambāga=ttiṅga⁵-veṇkuḍaik-kīḷ viśaiya-s[ī]mbāsa-
nattu viṇṇirundaruḷiya⁶ Kōv=[I*]rājakēsari-
- 3 panmarāna chak[ka*]ravatthi(tti)gaḷ śrī-Pirāntakadēvaṅku yāṇḍu 9 āvaḍu [||*]
Udaiyār Tiruvaṇatturaj Uḍaiyār Kō⁶

¹ Read *magiḷa*.

² This *m* is superfluous.

³ The letters *la* looks like *na*.

⁴ The first *l* is superfluous.

⁵ The letter *la* looks like *na*.

⁶ The inscription stops abruptly here.

DEPARTMENT OF ARCHÆOLOGY

EPIGRAPHIA INDICA

VOL. XXXII

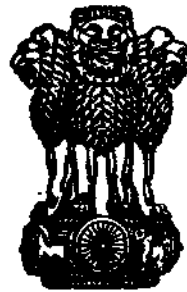
PART V

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EDITED BY

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Government Epigraphist for India



सत्यमेव जयते

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No. 23—SIRRAMBAKKAM INSCRIPTION OF PARAMESVARAVARMAN, YEAR 1

(1 Plate)

P. B. DESAI, DHARWAR

This inscription was found at **Sirrambakkam** alias *Teṅkāraṇai*, a village in the Tiruvallūr Taluk, Chingleput District, Madras State. It was copied by a member of the office of the Government Epigraphist for India in the course of the epigraphical survey of the Taluk in 1947-48. It is registered as No. 83 of Appendix B and noticed at page 1 of the *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy* for that year. I edit the record here for the first time with the kind permission of the Government Epigraphist for India.

The epigraph is engraved on a slab of stone used as a step at the entrance of the Chelliamman temple in the above village. The slab is almost square in dimensions measuring about 29 inches long and 28.5 inches broad. In the central part of the stone is carved a floral design consisting of melon-shaped petals arrayed within the space formed by two concentric circles. The diameter of the inner circle is about 8 inches and that of the outer one 15.5 inches. The space inside the inner circle is left blank. The margin on the four sides of this design contains the writing. The inscription is made up of six lines, two of which are incised in the upper space, followed by two more in the right. Next comes one line at the bottom and another towards the left. The record is partly damaged and a few letters in lines 3 to 5 are obliterated. As the inscription speaks of the erection of a temple, it seems likely that this inscribed slab was originally fixed into a wall of that temple.

With the exception of the four letters of the Grantha alphabet, viz., *ṣ*, *m*, *h* and *j* in the first line, the **characters** are archaic Tamil of the unornamental variety and belong to the 7th century. They may be compared with those employed in the cave inscription at Vallam¹ and some of the labels on the rocks near Pūñjēri.² Among the individual letters may be noted the initial *a* in line 5 and cursive *y* in line 6.

The **language** is Tamil. We may note the honorific plural *varummar* of Sanskrit *varman* in line 1. The vowel-ending plural form *Sōmāśiyāru* in the compound *Sāmāśiyāru-marumagaṇ* is also noteworthy. Two similar forms are met with in the Vallam cave inscription, namely, *Mayēndirappōttareśaru-aḍiyāṇ* in line 3 and *Vayundappiriareśaru-magaṇ* in line 4. The full import of the expression *Tūṇaṇ-giḷavar* in line 2 is not known. The word *kiḷavar*, which, however, forms part of it, may stand for 'chiefs' or 'headmen.' The expression *taḍumā* in line 6 is difficult to explain.

The inscription refers itself to the first regnal year³ of *Mahārāja* Paramēśvaravarman. Considering the palaeography of the epigraph and the historical facts known about the Pallavas of Kāñchī, who had risen to power at this time and were wielding authority in the region represented by the present record, we are justified in identifying this *Mahārāja* Paramēśvaravarman with the Pallava ruler Paramēśvara I (circa 670-700 A. D.). The **date** of our epigraph would thus be **about 670 A.D.**

¹ *SHI*, Vol. II, No. 72 and Plate X.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. XII, No. 23 A and Plate II.

³ The expression *talaittu* from *talai* is used adjectively in the sense of 'first'. The same usage may also be noted in the familiar phrase *talaittu kuḷandai* meaning 'first child'. For epigraphic usage of the word *talai* meaning 'first,' we may note the expression *Ani-talai-ppiraiyāl* in the Takkōlam inscription (above, Vol. XIX, p. 87).

The object of the epigraph is to record the construction of a temple by the sister's son of Sōmāśiyār¹ who appears to claim some distinction. The name of this relative is partially preserved in the expression *Kumā[raṇ]*. This appears to be the earliest known reference to the construction of a structural temple in the Tamil country.

The epigraph is of importance on account of the fact that it is one of the few early inscriptions on stone written in archaic Tamil. Added to this is another fact that it is also one of the few inscriptions referring to the reigns of the early Pallava rulers and citing the regnal years. The epigraphs of the early Pallava kings of the Śimhavishṇu line are characterised by the following notable features. They are incised generally on rocks and in caves; their script is Pallava-Grantha of the ornamental variety and their language is Sanskrit. Most of them are of the nature of mere labels comprising royal titles and epithets. Even if we take into account a few more Tamil inscriptions of the early period belonging to private agencies,² purely Tamil epigraphical records as such containing specific allusions to the contemporary rulers are conspicuous by their paucity. Only two such instances have come to our notice so far. One is the Vallam cave inscription mentioning Pallava Mahēndravarmaṇ I and the other the Tirukkalikūṇṇam epigraph referring to his successor Narasiṃhavarmaṇ I.³ The present record, therefore, makes a welcome addition to this meagre list.

There is probably only one place-name mentioned in the record and it is Ālavāy. This place is usually identified with Madura. But if we connect the word *Ālavāyil* with *eḍuppitta* occurring later, it will show that the temple was constructed at Ālavāy which may have been an early name of Tenkārāṇai, the provenance of the record.⁴

TEXT⁵

Upper Side

1 Śrī-Mahārāja-Paramēśvaravarummaṅku yāṇḍu talaittā-

2 vadu Tūṇaṅ-giḷavaruḷ-Ālavāyil Sōmāśiyā-

Right Side

3 ru-marumagaṇ Kumā[raṇ]

4 ḍuppitta kō[yil]

Lower Side

5 aḷi[vu]m še-

Left Side

6 ydār taḍumāv=ēṅka [i*]

¹ Sōmāśiyār may be contracted either from Sōmayājiyār or Sōmājiyār.

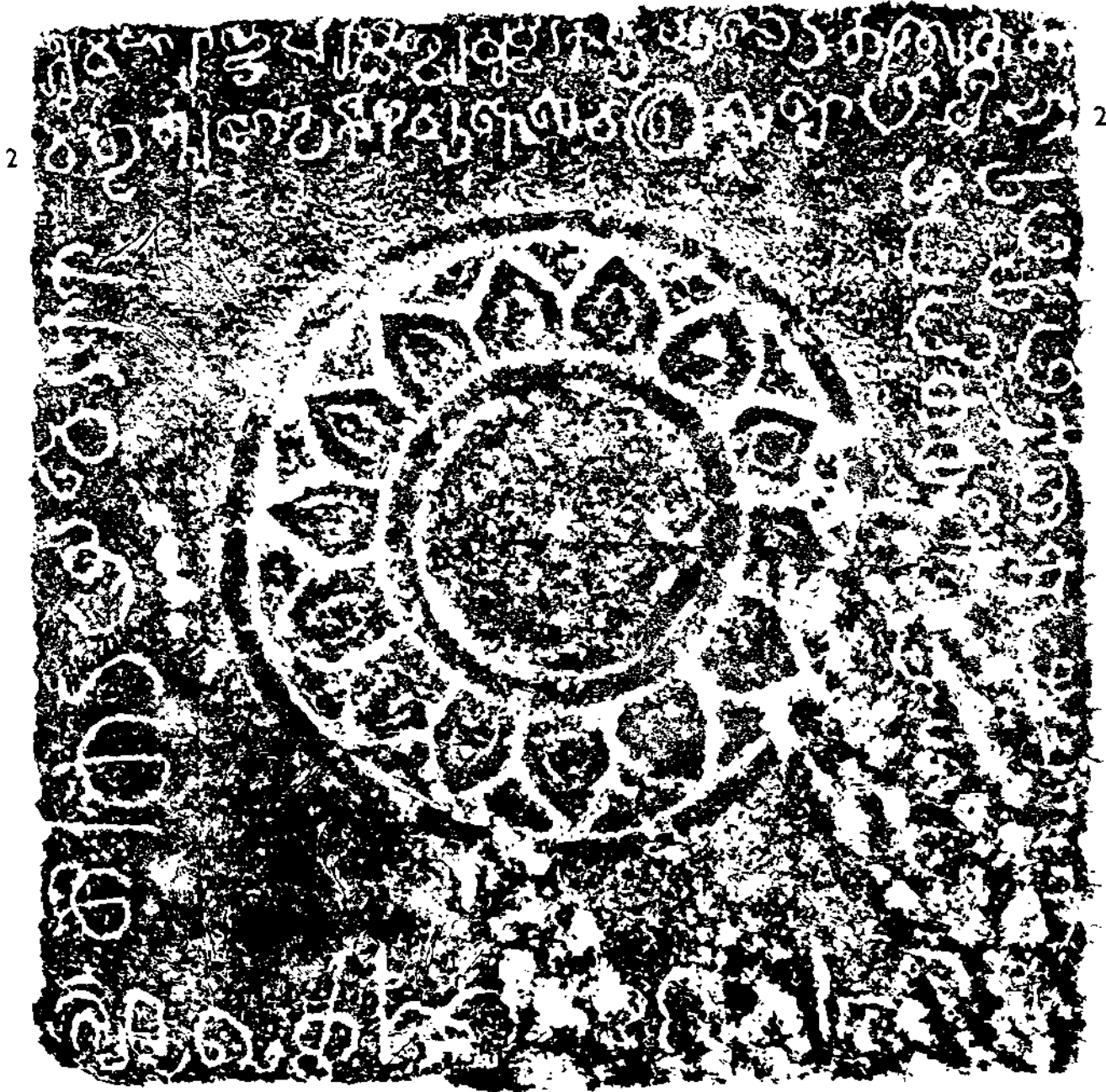
² For instance, Tirumayyam inscription (*SII*, Vol. XII, p. 3, n. 1); Pūñjēri records (*ibid.*, No. 23 A); *A.R.Ep.*, 1937-38, Nos. 133, 140, etc.

³ *A.R.Ep.*, 1932-33, p. 55.

⁴ [The language of the record seems to mean that Sōmāśiyār hailed from the locality called Ālavā il. -D. C. S.]

⁵ From impression.

SIRRAMBAKKAM INSCRIPTION OF PARAMESVARAVARMAN; YEAR I



Scale: One-fourth

B. CH. CHHABRA
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No. 31—TWO PANDYA INSCRIPTIONS FROM DINDIGUL

(2 Plates)

H. K. NARASIMHASWAMI AND K. G. KRISHNAN, OOTACAMUND

The two epigraphs edited below come from the villages **Rāmanāthapuram** and **Perumbullī** in the Dindigul Taluk of the Madurai District, Madras. **Rāmanāthapuram** is about 6 miles due east of Dindigul, a railway station on the Tiruchirapalli-Madurai line of the Southern Railway and **Perumbullī** is about 9 miles due north east of **Rāmanāthapuram**. The **Rāmanāthapuram** record was copied as early as the year 1905¹ and the **Perumbullī** inscription, recently during the collection tour in February 1956.² Both the epigraphs are engraved on boulders which show on their engraved faces clear signs of having been dressed for the purpose. The **Rāmanāthapuram** record with bold deep-cut characters is remarkably well preserved while the **Perumbullī** epigraph which is comparatively less deeply engraved and is on the flat top of a boulder is exposed to the effects of the weather, which has resulted in some damage to the writing in certain crucial passages of the text. Nevertheless, the main theme of the record can be substantially reconstructed. The two epigraphs together furnish certain interesting details which help us to understand some important chronological sequences in the early Pāṇḍyan history that were hitherto only conjectured. Both the epigraphs are written in simple chaste **Tamil**, a feature that is characteristic of the early lithic records of this dynasty. Palaeographically both the epigraphs may be assigned to about the middle of the 9th century. However, a close comparison of their alphabet would show that the **Rāmanāthapuram** inscription could be assigned to a period at least about three decades earlier than the **Perumbullī** record. This, it will be seen, conforms perfectly with the conclusions arrived at in the sequel.

The **Rāmanāthapuram** inscription consists of 11 lines which occupy a rectangular space 3'-4" × 2'-1" of the boulder. Crude sketches of a fish, a bow and a lamp-stand are engraved on the proper right side of the inscription while on the proper left only a lamp-stand is depicted opposite the one on the right side. The fish is no doubt the emblem of the Pāṇḍyas. The bow by its side, the emblem of the Chēras, apparently signifies the Pāṇḍya overlordship over the Chēras.

As for its contents, the epigraph records that **Parāntaka-Ppallivēḷān** alias **Nakkam-Pullān** who accompanied king **Māraṇ-Jaḍaiyaṇ** on an expedition to **Idavai** in the **Chōḷa** country, constructed a tank called **Pullān-ēri** after his own name, (providing it) with revetment and the main outlet. But some work having still remained over, **Pullā-Nakkaṇ** completed it. That (i.e., the main) work was done by the stone-mason **Vaḍugaṇ-Kūrṇaṇ**. His son having completed the remaining work, **Pullā-Nakkaṇ** gave the latter as **kāṇi** two pieces of land irrigated by the village tank in the two divisions of **Pallī-nāḍu**, each sowable with a **padakku** of paddy.³

The **Perumbullī** record (in 18 lines) commences with the mention of a place by name **Kuḷumbūr** and of the chief **Pallivēḷān** who probably fell fighting, apparently in an encounter at this place.

¹ *A. R. Ep.*, No. 690 of 1905.

² *Ibid.*, No. 290 of 1955-56.

³ The passage has been construed in another way also. It is said that "Nakkam-Pullān granted to him as **kāṇi**, land in the two divisions of the Panni (for **Pallī**)-nāḍu and **padakku** paddy per field watered through the channel from the headworks of this tank." *South Indian Temple Inscriptions*, Vol. II, No. 1090.

Pallivēḷāṇ's son, Parāntaka-Ppallivēḷāṇ is stated to have served in the campaign at Idavai. The latter's son, Aṇḍavēḷāṇ Kuṇḍambar-Ādittan Pulla-Nakkaṇ served Mahārāja Kō-chChadaiya-Māraṇ. He was associated with the king in the campaigns at Viḷiṇam, Idavai and Tirukkuḍamūḷḷu. Pulla-Nakkaṇ's son was Pallivēḷāṇ Nakkam-Pullaṇ whose activities are then described in greater detail. In this connection are mentioned Siṃhalarāja, Sāḷagrāma, a Varaguna-mahārāja who is described to have killed a huge elephant whose name appears to be Ayirāvaṇam and lastly Senniḷam. Pallivēḷāṇ Nakkam-Pullaṇ is stated to have led nineteen¹ elephants to the battle field at the last mentioned place. Unfortunately the portion of the inscription describing the events connected with these places and persons is so damaged that it is difficult to make out an accurate picture of the events. The record then recounts how the king honoured Nakkam-Pullaṇ highly by bestowing on him gifts for his services and conferring on him the title *Kumaraṇ*. Then Nakkam-Pullaṇ and his son are stated to have made a gift of land to a person whose name ends with Tirumalai. The wording of the concluding part which again is badly damaged, seems to be couched somewhat on the same lines as the Rāmanāthapuram epigraph and probably contained the details of the extent of land granted to the donee.

To begin with the donor of the Perumbulli inscription and his son, it will be apparent that Pallivēḷāṇ Nakkam-Pullaṇ served with distinction Varaguna-mahārāja. Leaving for a later discussion the services rendered by this chief to the king, we may attempt to establish the identity of this Varaguna-mahārāja. Nakkam-Pullaṇ's father, Aṇḍavēḷāṇ Kuṇḍambar-Ādittan Pulla-Nakkaṇ served under Kō-Chchadaiya-Māraṇ.² If the kings Kō-Chchadaiya-Māraṇ and Varaguna mahārāja were related as father and son, as they indeed appear to, then Śadaiya-Māraṇ may be identified with Śrīmāra Śrīvallabha who, according to the Sinnamanur Plates of Rājasimha³ was the father of Varaguna II. The fact that the Viḷiṇam and Kuḍamūḷḷu campaigns of Śrīmāra Śrīvallabha mentioned in this charter and those of Pulla-Nakkaṇ in which he is said to have served Śadaiya-Māraṇ in the Perumbulli record are identical establishes the identity suggested above. The Perumbulli inscription mentions, in addition, another campaign, namely that of Idavai. The Sinnamanur plates, it may be noted, do not mention this campaign.

The predecessor of Aṇḍavēḷāṇ was Parāntaka-Ppallivēḷāṇ. The Perumbulli inscription mentions him merely by his title while the Rāmanāthapuram record gives, in addition, his name as Nakkam-Pullaṇ. The former epigraph refers to his expedition to Idavai while the latter specifies that he accompanied king Māraṇ-Jadaiyaṇ on an expedition to Idavai in the Chōḷa country, obviously the same as the Idavai of the Perumbulli inscription. The Idavai campaign of Nakkam-Pullaṇ *alias* Parāntaka-Ppallivēḷāṇ with Māraṇ-Jadaiyaṇ was in all probability different from that of his son Pulla-Nakkaṇ with Śadaiya-Māraṇ. Māraṇ-Jadaiyaṇ, the overlord of Parāntaka-Ppallivēḷāṇ Nakkam-Pullaṇ may easily be identified with Varaguna (I), the father and predecessor of Śrīmāra-Śrīvallabha, the grandfather of Varaguna II and Parāntaka Viranārayaṇa Śadaiyaṇ all of whom are mentioned in the Larger Sinnamanur plates.³

Parāntaka-Ppallivēḷāṇ's father is referred to merely as Pallivēḷāṇ. This was perhaps only his title similar to that of his son or grandson. Probably his name was Pulla-Nakkaṇ, judging from that of his grandson. Pallivēḷāṇ is associated with the name of Kuḷumbūr but the details

¹ This probably indicates the number of the conventional divisions of a regiment in the army.

² A certain Aṇḍanāṭṭu-vēḷāṇ figures in four inscriptions of Māraṇ-Jadaiyaṇ *alias* Varaguna-Mahārāja from Lāḷṇḍi (above, Vol. XX, p. 52), Tiruvellārai (A. R. Ep., No. 84 of 1910), Tiruchirāppalli (A. R. Ep., No. 413 of 1914) and Javanthāthapuram (above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 42) respectively, all of which are dated in the same year viz. 4+9th year of the Pāṇḍya king. Obviously the *vēḷāṇ* who figures in all these records in the same capacity must be one and the same person. But whether he is identical with Aṇḍavēḷāṇ Kuṇḍambar-Ādittan Pulla-Nakkaṇ of the Perumbulli record is not certain.

³ *SII*, Vol. III, p. 451, ll. 20-23.

regarding his deeds here are unfortunately lost. However, the Vēlvikkudi plates make up what the Perumbulli record lacks, for, they refer to Kuḷumbūr as one of the battle fields where Māra-varman Rājasimha, the predecessor of Jaṭilavarman Parāntaka Neḍuñ-jaḍaiyaṇ defeated the Pallava king and captured his countless huge elephants and horses. It may be noted here that the mention of the battle of Kuḷumbūr in these records establishes indirectly the identity of Varaguṇa I with Jaṭilavarman Parāntaka Neḍuñjaḍaiyaṇ of the Vēlvikkudi plates and Jaṭila, son of Māra-varman Rājasimha of the Madras Museum plates.¹ We thus see that four successive Pāṇḍya kings² down from Māra-varman Rājasimha were served successively by four successive chiefs beginning with Paḷlivēḷaṇ. The identities established above may be conveniently set in a tabular form as shown below.—

| Sl. No. | King | Rāmanāthapuram inscription | Perumbulli inscription | Remarks |
|---------|--|--|--|---|
| 1 | [Māra-varman Rājasimha] | .... | Paḷlivēḷaṇ ; fought at Kuḷumbūr and fell (1) | Cf. <i>Kuḍāda Pallavarai-k Kuḷumbūruḷ ilāḷiya eṇṇiṇṇaṇḍa mal-kaiṇṇuṇ ivuṇṇaḷum pala kavaraṇḍuṇ</i> of the Vēlvikkudi grant, above, Vol. XVII, p. 301, lines 77-78. |
| 2 | Mārañ-Jaḍaiyaṇ (Jaṭilavarman Parāntaka Neḍuñjaḍaiyaṇ <i>alias</i> Varaguṇa I). | Parāntaka-Ppaḷlivēḷaṇ <i>alias</i> Nakkam-Puḷḷaṇ who accompanied Mārañ Jaḍaiyaṇ in the campaign against Iḍavai in the Chōḷa country. | Parāntaka-Ppaḷlivēḷaṇ who carried out the expedition against Iḍavai. | .... |
| 3 | Chaḍaiya-Māraṇ (Śrīmāra Srivallabha) | Puḷḷa-Nakkaṇ who completed the building of a tank called Puḷḷaṇ-ēri undertaken by his father Nakkam-Puḷḷaṇ (mentioned above). | Andaveḷaṇ Kurumbar. Adittan Puḷḷa-Nakkaṇ who rendered several services to Chaḍaiya-Māraṇ at Viḷiṇam, Iḍavai, Tirukkudamūkkū. | Cf. <i>Tēṭ-gamaḷ-poliṇ-Kuṇṇ-ūṇṇuṇ Ṣiṅgaḷatūṇ Vi-ḷiṇattūṇ vāḍāda vāḷai tūḍi ... Kōṅḷalarpoliṇ Kuḍamūkkir = pōr-kuritu vand-ēdirṇḍa Gaṅga-Pallava-Chōḷa-Kāḷiṅga-Māḡadhāḍiḷaḷ</i> of the Larger <i>Sinnamanur plates</i> (SII, Vol. III, p. 455.) |
| 4 | Varaguṇa-mahārājaṇ (II) | .... | Paḷlivēḷaṇ Nakkam-Puḷḷaṇ, who served Varaguṇa-mahārāja, and the former's son. With reference to the former's services, <i>Siṇḡaḷarāja Sāḷagrāma, Ayirāvapaṇ</i> and <i>Sennilam</i> are mentioned. | Cf. accounts in <i>Cūḷavarn-ṇa</i> , Chapters I and II. |

To revert now to the donor Paḷlivēḷaṇ Nakkam-Puḷḷaṇ and his overlord, Varaguṇa-mahārāja, we have already noted that the king conferred a status befitting the chief in appreciation of the services that he rendered his liege. The very first act that Nakkam-Puḷḷaṇ did seems to have something to do with a *Siṇḡaḷarāja*. The nature of this act is unfortunately not clear as the

¹ Above, Vol. XVII, pp. 291 ff. ; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXII, pp. 57 ff.

² The pedigree of the Pāṇḍya kings as made out by the two inscriptions proves the correctness of the scheme suggested by Prof. Sastri in his *Pāṇḍyan Kingdom*, p. 40 ff.

writing on the rock here has peeled off.¹ However, the events of the period as could be gleaned from the Ceylonese Chronicle and the contemporary sources enable us to have a fair idea of the relationship that must have prevailed between the Pāṇḍya, Siṃhaḷa and the Pallava kings of the period and therefore of the nature of Nakkam-Pullaṅ's act in question. The Ceylonese chronicle *Cūlavamsa*² while re-counting the contemporary events says that as a reprisal to the Pāṇḍya king's invasion and plunder of Ceylon during the reign of Sēna I and in response to an appeal from 'a prince of the Pāṇḍu family'³ reported to have been ill-treated by the reigning king, Sēna II sent a commander with enormous forces, who not only recaptured all the treasures but also enthroned the prince after defeating the Pāṇḍya king who died of the wound received in the battle. The above account has been construed by scholars in different ways. One view holds that the Pāṇḍu prince referred to in the Chronicle was Ugra Pāṇḍya and that Varaguṇa II was the ruling king.⁴ Another view identifies the Pāṇḍu prince with Māyā-Pāṇḍya and the ruling king with Śrīmāra-Śrīvallabha.⁵ There is also a view, recently expressed, which identifies the Pāṇḍu prince with Varaguṇa II himself and the contemporary Pāṇḍya king with Varaguṇa's father Śrīmāra Śrīvallabha.⁶ Yet another view presupposes the existence of a prince otherwise unknown, who was installed on the Pāṇḍya throne by the Siṃhaḷa king after the latter defeated Śrīmāra.⁷ The wording of the record, mutilated as it is, in respect of the relationship that prevailed between the Pāṇḍya and the Siṃhaḷa kings,⁸ seems to lend support to the late Mr. Venkayya's view that it might have been Varaguṇa II who sought and obtained the Siṃhaḷa king's help.⁹ However, the inscription does not give us any clue as to the circumstances that necessitated Varaguṇa to seek the help of the Siṃhaḷa king, if ever he did so. He was no pretender to the Pāṇḍya throne but was its legitimate heir, being the elder of the two sons of his father and predecessor Śrīmāra; nor is there any indication in the copper-plate charters or lithic records of the family that there was ever a dissension either between the father and the sons or among the brothers themselves, to postulate that the aggrieved prince who sought the help of the Siṃhaḷa to regain his throne might have been Varaguṇa. We are not in a position to visualise a situation when Varaguṇa, the legal heir to the Pāṇḍya throne was overlooked and ill-treated by the king and therefore sought the help of his father's erstwhile enemy to regain his throne.¹⁰ Who then was the Pāṇḍya prince who was supported by the Siṃhaḷa king? What was Varaguṇa's position with reference to the

¹ The actual wording of the text as can be made out on the stone reads, *Siṃhaḷa-rāja . . . [lā] ellān=jeydu* (l. 7-8). This, put in apposition with the phrase *paṇi-palavun-jeydu* (ll. 11-12) points to both these acts as those of Nakkam-Pullaṅ, the one in respect of the Siṃhaḷa king and the other in respect of his liege Varaguṇa-mahārāja. Were the former also a friendly act like the latter, the relationship between the Siṃhaḷa and the Pāṇḍya monarchs could not obviously have been otherwise than friendly. But the improbability of this has been shown below by a discussion of the events of the period.

² *Cūlavamsa*, Chapters L and LI, Gieger's translation, pp. 138 ff.

³ The expression *Pāṇḍurājakumārakō* in the text of the Chronicle is capable of yielding the meaning 'a prince of the Pāṇḍu royal family' or 'a son of the Pāṇḍu king'.

⁴ *Historical Sketches of Ancient Deccan*, pp. 140-41. This view does not fit in with any scheme of the Ceylonese Chronology proposed so far.

⁵ *The Pandyan Kingdom*, p. 72. The author has since changed his views for reasons not stated. He makes Varaguṇa II, a pretender to the throne for which there is no warrant; vide *History of India*, Part I, p. 233; *History of South India*, p. 154.

⁶ This view has failed to take into account the statement in the *Cūlavamsa* that the prince who was supported by the Ceylonese was ill-treated by the Pāṇḍya king. There is no evidence whatever that Varaguṇa was ever ill-treated by his father, the ruling king. All these views were expressed by Mr. Venkayya; *A. R. Ep.* 1908, p. 56; cf. *Ey. Zeyl.*, Vol. V, pp. 103-5.

⁷ *South Indian Temple Inscriptions*, pp. xxxv-xxxviii (see also p. xxxviii, f.n.1).

⁸ See note 1 above.

⁹ *A. R. Ep.*, 1908, p. 56.

¹⁰ *Cūlavamsa* (Gieger), Part I, p. 150.

contemporary rulers? That Varaguṇa was a contemporary of Nripatuṅga is proved by the Tiruvadi inscription¹ dated in the 18th year of the reign of the Pallava king. The Bahur Plates² dated in the 8th year of Nripatuṅga refer to the aid rendered by the Pallava king to a Pāṇḍya. The passage *yat-prasādāj-jitā sēnā Pāṇḍyēna samarē purā* of the record suggests that the Pāṇḍya could have been no other than the one who figures in the Tiruvadi inscription, i.e. Varaguṇa II and that the Pallava by whose favour the other (i.e. Pāṇḍya) obtained an army formerly was his ally.³ What could have been the occasion for the Pallava to have gone to the aid of the Pāṇḍya? In all probability it was the occasion of the Ceylonese intrusion on behalf of the 'ill-treated' Pāṇḍu prince who sought their aid. Nakkam-Puḷḷaṇ claims to have led a contingent of elephants to Śeṇṇilam to the succour of his liege Varaguṇa-mahārāja. The record is silent about the source of this reinforcement. Could it have been the favour of the Pallava? Granting that the arguments advanced above are admissible, the event that appears to have culminated in Varaguṇa-mahārāja regaining his throne may be reconstructed thus: an unknown Pāṇḍya prince, obviously a pretender appealed to the Siṃhala king Sēna II for help; the Singhalese army, under its commander met the Pāṇḍya king Śrīmāra in battle, wounded him and having set up the Pāṇḍu prince on the throne, was marching back to its country. At this juncture Varaguṇa-mahārāja, the legitimate heir, aided by Pallava Nripatuṅga with a contingent of elephants led by Nakkam-Puḷḷaṇ, routed the pretender as well as the Singhalese⁴ and regained the throne. It appears thus that this might be the event recorded in the Perumbullī epigraph and therefore the act of Nakkam-Puḷḷaṇ towards the Siṃhalarāja in the context of the situation discussed could hardly have been friendly. Indeed it could not have been otherwise in view of the continued loyal relationship that existed between the members of this family and the Pāṇḍya kings for four generations.

Among the places mentioned in the records viz. Kuḷumbūr, Iḍavai, Viḷiṇam, Tirukkudamūḷku, Śālagrāmam, Śeṇṇilam, and Paḷḷi-nāḍu, the identity of Kuḷumbūr or Śeṇṇilam is still unknown. Śeṇṇilam is one of the places where the Pāṇḍyas are known to have fought with their foes on more than one occasion. Māravarman, the father of Kō-chChadaiyaṇ Raṇadhiraṇ fought here against an unnamed enemy.⁵ Parāntakaṇ Vira Nārāyaṇaṇ Śadaiyaṇ, the successor of Varaguṇa II is also known to have shown his prowess in archery in the battle-field of Śeṇṇilam.⁶

As for Iḍavai two different identifications have been proposed so far. One of them identifies the place with Iḍavai in Maṇṇi-nāḍu on the basis of an inscription of a later date which gives also the other name of the village as Śōlāntaka-chaturvēdimāṅgalam.⁷ The other identifies it with Iḍaiyārrumaṅgalam in the Lalgudi Taluk, Tiruchirapalli District on the basis of nearly contemporary inscriptions copied from the region.⁸ Both the identifications have got their own merits

¹ S. I. I., Vol. XII, No. 71; A. R. Ep., 1922, p. 1071.

² Above, Vol. XVII, pp. 10 ff; S. I. I., Vol. II, p. 513 ff.

³ The absence of any records of Nripatuṅga dated between his 26th (above, Vol. IV, p. 180 f.) and 41st (A. R. Ep., 1943-44, No. 138) regnal years, the provenance of Aparājita's inscriptions ranging upto his 18th regnal year within parts of the Chingleput and the Chittoor Districts, and Varaguṇa's encounter with Aparājita at Śrīpurambiyam, and the uncertainty of the latter's relationship with the members of the main line, all these factors seem to point to Varaguṇa's sustained friendship with Nripatuṅga.

⁴ It is natural that the *Chalavanna* keeps silent over the reverses of its armies on this occasion as well as over the fate of the Pāṇḍu prince. Could the former be Ugra-pāṇḍya?

⁵ Above, Vol. XVII, p. 300, line 56.

⁶ S. I. I., Vol. XII, p. 455, ll. 117-118.

⁷ A. R. Ep., 1941, No. 42 See SII, Vol. XIV, No. 57.

⁸ Above, XXVIII, p. 41.

and drawbacks. There are numerous places called Iḍayātti, Iḍayāttimaṅgalam, Iḍaiyāttūr, Iḍaiyār in Tanjore District and Iḍaiyār and Iḍaiyāttanḱuḱi in Tiruchirappalli District, all of which are situated along the border land lying between the traditional (sometimes shifting) frontiers of the Chōla and the Pāṇḍya countries. Until all these places are explored, it is very difficult to locate Iḍavai beyond doubt for, the names of each one of these villages can be shortened to the identical form of Iḍavai. Viḷiṇam has been identified with a fishing village of the same name in South Travancore.¹ Tirukkuḍamūkkū is the well-known name of Kumbakōṇam in Tanjore District. The epithet Aṇḍavēḷāṇ applied to Pulla-Nakkaṇ is evidently a shortened form of Aṇḍanāṭṭu-vēḷāṇ and means the vēḷāṇ of Aṇḍa-nāḍu. An idea of the spread of this territorial division may be had from inscriptions² copied from the area around Virupākshi, Periyakōṭṭai, Tēvattūr and Porulūr in the Palani Taluk, Madurai District which refer to these places as situated in Aṇḍa-nāḍu. Other places that are known to be included in Aṇḍa-nāḍu from inscriptions copied outside this area are Perumaṇālūr, Chellūr, Tirumāḍavanūr, Kuvaiyasinganallūr *alias* Mēyūr Tiruppattūr, Perumūr and Tirutturutti.³

Sālaigrāmam may be identified with Sālaigrāmam of the Paramagudi Taluk in Ramanathapuram District in view of the fact that this village lies on the route which an army from Ceylon would have to take on its march towards or retreat from the Pāṇḍya capital. It may be noted here that the god of the place is called Varaguṇa-Ivara in the inscriptions of Śaḍaiya Māraṇ and Vira-Pāṇḍya.⁴ The village is called Sālaigrāmam in those inscriptions.

The Rāmanāthapuram inscription records that the gift lands lay in the two divisions (*kūṇṇu*) of Paḷli-nāḍu. The village Perumbulli, referred to as Perumballi in another inscription⁵ on a rock lying on the bund of a large lake at the outskirts of the village perhaps lent the name Paḷli-nāḍu to the tract around it.

Rāmanāthapuram Inscription

TEXT

- 1 Śri Kō Māraṇ-Jaḍaiyaṇoḱu Śōla-nāṭṭ-Iḍavai yāt-
- 2 tirai śeyda Parāntaka-Ppaḷlivēḷāṇ-āiṇa Nak-
- 3 kam-Pullaṇ-ṇaṇ-pērār-Pullaṇ-ēri eṇṇu
- 4 kuḷam-ākki-kkaṇ-kōdi-kkumuḷi śeyvittu-kkurai-
- 5 ppaṇi niṇṇadu murrū=pperuttāṇ Pulla-Na-

¹ S. I. I., Vol. III, p. 130, note 7 and p. 450.

² A. R. Ep., 1916, Nos. 678, 400; 1907, No. 95; above, XXV, p. 40; A. R. Ep., 1907, Nos. 502 and 507.

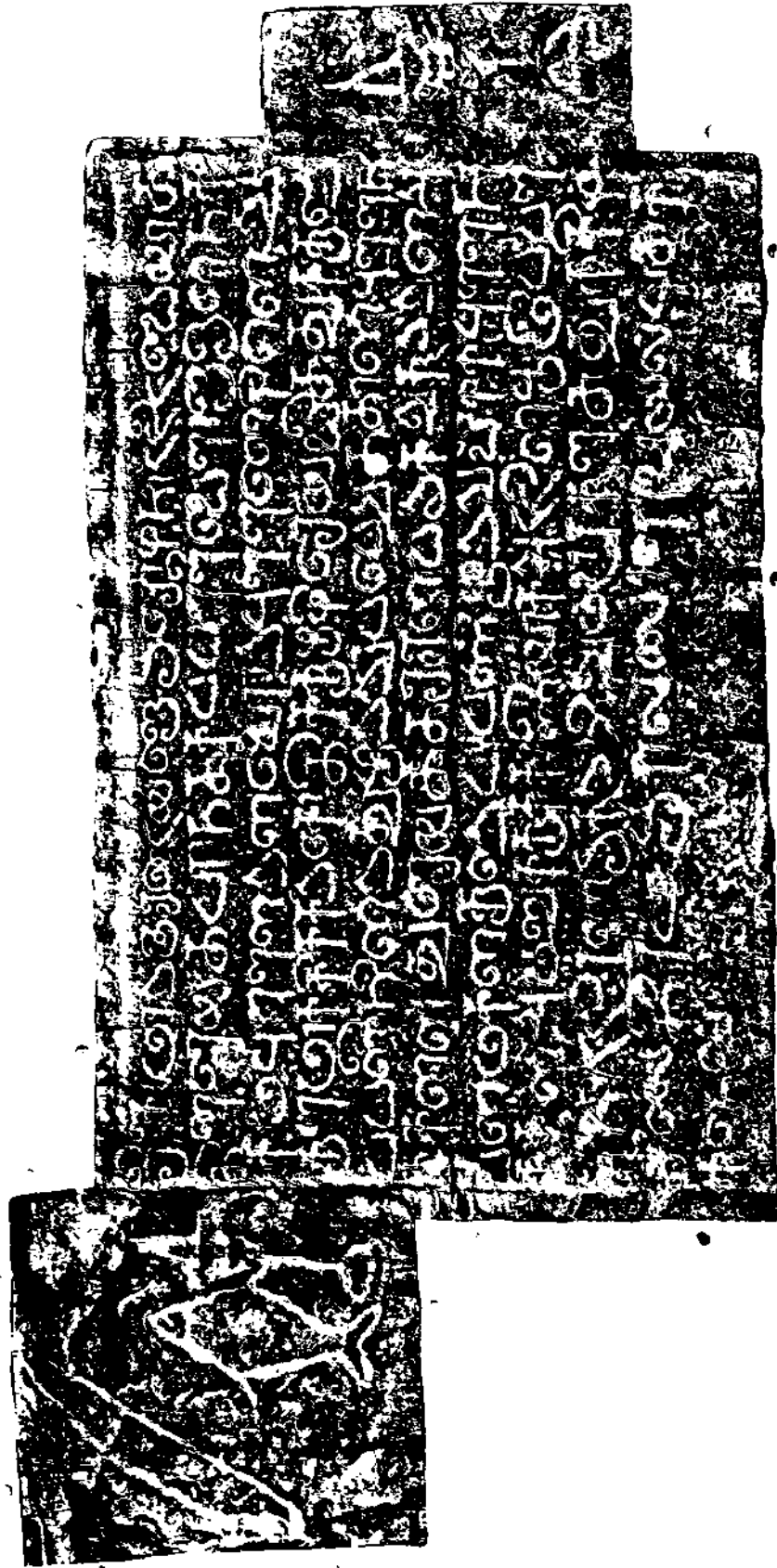
³ Above, XXVIII, pp. 85 ff. As one of the two inscriptions refers to a former grant of Sālaigrāmam to god Varaguṇa-Ivara by Perumāṇḍigaḷ Śivalluvadēvar, i.e. Śrīmāra Śrīvallabha, it is rightly inferred that the god was named after Varaguṇa I, the father of Śrīmāra Śrīvallabha.

⁴ A. R. Ep., 1956-57, App. B, No. 144. The inscription engraved in characters of the 9th or 10th century reads :—

¹ Perumballi-pperuṇḱuḷan-tiḱal

² yāḷgal.urru . . . Virāṭṭkharar po . . .

TWO PANDYA INSCRIPTIONS FROM DINDIGUL—PLATE II
RAMANATHAPURAM INSCRIPTION



Scale : Three-twentieths

2

4

6

8

10

12

14

16

18

PERUMBULLI INSCRIPTION



Scale: Seven-ninths

2

4

6

8

10

12

14

16

18

- 6 kkanṇa(na)du śeyda tachchaṇ Vādugaṇ-Kūṟṟaṇ [i*] a-
 7 vaṇ magan kūrai-ppaṇi muṟṟuvikka Pulla-Na-
 8 kkaṇ avanukku=kkāṇiy-āga aṭṭina būmi-Ppa(Pa)-
 9 li-nāṭṭ=iraṇḍu kūṟṟilum ūr-kū(ku)lattu-kki]-
 10 talai-nṟ-pāḍu-kāll-orō-vayal padak-
 11 ku nel [i*]

Perumbulli Inscription

TEXT

- 1 Śrī¹ [i*] Kuḷumbūr-ēṟṟukku=ppaṭṭu=kkā . . . ta
 2 Paḷlivēḷāṇ magan Iḍavai yāt[tirai]²
 3 muṟṟuvitta Parāntaka-Ppaḷlivēḷāṇ-avaṇ [magan Vā]²-
 4 ḷiṇattum-Iḍavaiyu(yilu)n=Tirukkuḍamukkilu-mahār[ā]ja[r Kō]²-
 5 Chchadaiya-Māṟṟaṅku=ppaṇi palavuñ=jeydu [mu]²-
 6 ṟṟuvitta Aṇḍavēḷāṇ-Kaṟumbar-Ādittan-[Pu]-
 7 ḷa-ḷa(Na)[kka]²n=avaṇ magan Siṁhalarāja . . . lai e[1]-
 8 lāñ=jey[du]...m Saḷagrāmat[tu] Ayi-
 9 rāvaṇam=e[nṇu=ma]²hāmadam(da) ? gajāt-tiṇḍi=ppaḍu-
 10 tta Varagu[ṇa mahārāja]²nukku navā-daśa-gaja[m] koṇḍu
 11 ēṇṟu Śenni[lattu]²-kkāṭṭi=kkuḍattu=ppaṇi pala-
 12 vuñ=jeydu Ku[mara]n=ēṇṇu[n] . . . mattoḍu sanmāna-
 13 saṟkāram perṟu=ppiṇar na mahāhu-[v]āṇa Pa-
 14 ḷivēḷā-Nakkam-Puḷḷaṇ-ṟaṇakkun=taṇ maga-

¹ This Grantha letter is engraved in an ornate fashion against the space at the beginning of both the lines 1 and 2.

² The letters indicated in brackets are conjecturally restored. They are not clear on the impressions.

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EPIGRAPHIA INDICA

[Vol. XXXII]

15 nukkum Jāta .. ēe .. ādan Tirumalaikku=ttā-

16 nun=ta[n magann¹]m=irund=attina [būmi] ve[-

17 laṛayi[n] . . . du kuḷam-idaṇ [kī] nīr-

18 parandu vi[la(lai)]nda [vaya]¹

¹ The letters indicated in brackets are conjecturally restored.

No. 3—RAMESVARAM INSCRIPTION OF NISSANKAMALLA

(1 Plate)

S. PARANAVITANA, PERADENIYA, CEYLON

(Received on 27.5. 1961)

This inscription is engraved on the surface (3 feet 10 inches square) of a stone *āsana*, now used as a *bali-pīṭha* and placed close to the *dhvaja-stambha* of the Rāmanāthasvāmin temple at Rāmēśvaram in the Ramanathapuram District, Madras. It was copied in 1905 by the Superintendent for Epigraphy, Madras, who queried whether it is written in the Vaṭṭeḷuttu script.¹ I learnt of this inscription from Shri K. V. Subrahmanya Ayyar when I was attached to the office of the Government Epigraphist for India, from 1923 to 1925, as a scholar of the Ceylon Government. Shri Subrahmanya Ayyar remarked on the peculiar manner in which the writing had been executed and said that the script appeared to him to be Sinhalese. Though I was anxious at that time to have a look at the inscription, I could not get an estampage to be examined before I left India to join the Archaeological Survey of Ceylon. Some time after, when I was Epigraphical Assistant to the Archaeological Commissioner, Ceylon, Shri C. R. Krishnamacharlu, then Superintendent for Epigraphy, Madras, kindly sent me, at my request, an estampage of the record. An examination of this revealed that the inscription is in the **Sinhalese language and script** and that it is of **Niśsaṅkamalla**. A brief notice of this record has been included in the 'Epigraphical Summary' of the *Ceylon Journal of Science*, Section G, Vol. II, Part 2, pp. 105-06. The estampage sent by the Superintendent for Epigraphy is preserved in the collection of the Archaeological Commissioner in Colombo. In January 1960, Shri K. G. Krishnan, Assistant Superintendent for Epigraphy, Ootacamund, who kindly supplied me with a second estampage, requested me to furnish him with the text and translation of the inscription to be included in the *South Indian Inscriptions*. I supplied him with a Romanised transcript and an English translation. The full decipherment of what is still preserved of this record revealed that, in spite of its fragmentary character, it is not without interest to the student of Ceylon history and archaeology, and I wrote to Dr. D. C. Sircar, Government Epigraphist for India, for his permission to make it the subject of an article to a learned journal in Ceylon. While very kindly acceding to my request, Dr. Sircar invited me to contribute an article on this record to the *Epigraphia Indica*, and it is as a result of this kind invitation that the present paper has been written.

The letters are inscribed between ruled lines, 1 inch to 1½ inches apart, and range in size between 1 inch and 1½ inch. The writing, commencing at the upper right hand corner, is continued rightwards on all four sides before a second line is begun below and about an inch to the right of the point at which the first began, the result being that the lines progressively decrease in length. The writing is continued in this manner towards the centre of the surface until a space of 5 inches square is left. This space is occupied by the engraving of a lotus, in each of the eight petals of which there had been a Tamil letter. Only one of these is now legible, and their significance is therefore lost to us.² In numbering the lines, in the text, each one of them is taken as running through all the four sides of the stone. This peculiar method of arranging the writing is seen on a number of stone *āsanas* of Niśsaṅkamalla found at Polonnaruwa and other places in the Island.³

¹ A. R. Ep., 1905, No. 90; see p. 34.

² [They appear to be mason's marks.—Ed.]

³ See, e.g. Ep. Zey., Vol. II, Plates 26 and 38.

The use to which the *āsana* has been put for some time has been detrimental to the writing and, even when estampages of the record were prepared over half a century ago, about half of it had become almost totally illegible. I understand that the writing on this *āsana* is completely effaced now.

The script is Sinhalese of the **second half of the twelfth century** and conforms to the type with which we are familiar from numerous epigraphs of that period. The individual letters in this record, however, are somewhat smaller in size than those in other records of the time. The **language** is Sinhalese of the same period and, as is usual, contains a fair admixture of Sanskrit *tatsamas*. In style, there is a definite striving after literary effect.

The inscription bears **no date**; but, as will be shown later, its date can be fixed within the limits of four or five years by internal evidence. It contains an eulogy of a king styled **Kāliṅga-chakravarti**, who is referred to in the *Chūlavamsa* by the name of **Kitti Nissanka**¹ and, in the epigraphical records, by the name of **Niśsaṅkamalla** with additions of various magniloquent epithets.² He was a scion of the **Kāliṅga-varṇsa**, with which a number of Sinhalese rulers, including Mahinda IV and Vijayabāhu I, had contracted matrimonial alliances.³ The Kāliṅga from which this royal stock hailed, as I have demonstrated elsewhere,⁴ was not the well-known Kāliṅga in India, but a region in the Malay Peninsula, referred to in Sinhalese historical writings by the name of Jāvaka and Tambaliṅga (Tamaliṅgamu) also.⁵ But this Malayan royal family had been founded by immigrants from Kāliṅga in India and was probably related to the Eastern Gāṅgas.

Niśsaṅkamalla, son of Śrī-Jayagōpa and Pārvatī-mahādēvī of Sinhapura (Singora), was invited to Ceylon by Parākramabāhu and trained in royal accomplishments. He is referred to as the *bāna* of Parākramabāhu, a term which may mean sister's son (Sanskrit *bhāginēya*) or son-in-law. Most probably, he was related to Parākramabāhu as son-in-law, having espoused a princess named Subhadra who was actually a daughter of that monarch, or else bore a relationship to him enabling her to be called a daughter of his.⁶ Parākramabāhu, when he died in 1136 A.D. after a reign of thirty-three years, was succeeded by Vijayabāhu II. But this monarch was murdered at the end of one year, and Niśsaṅkamalla, assuming control of the Sinhalese kingdom in **1137 A.D.** reigned for nine years.⁷

Niśsaṅkamalla was no favourite of the chronicler and his reign has been dealt with perfunctorily in only nine verses. But, as if he had a premonition of the treatment he would receive from the author of the *Chūlavamsa*, Niśsaṅkamalla makes up for this neglect by the numerous and lengthy epigraphs he has left behind, not only in the capital city of Polonnaruva, but also at other places throughout the length and breadth of the Island.⁸ These epigraphs extol, in hyperbolic language, the greatness of the family of Niśsaṅkamalla, his own accomplishments and virtues, his extraordinary liberality, his solicitude for the welfare of his subjects, the administrative reforms that he effected, his religious benefactions and the magnificent buildings that he erected for the glory

¹ See *Chūlavamsa*, Chapter 80, verse 18.

² See *Ep. Zey.*, op. cit., pp. 89, 95, 115, 148, 174 and 288.

³ *Chūlavamsa*, Chapter 54, verses 9-10; Chapter 59, verses 29-30, 46-50.

⁴ See S. Paranavitana, 'Ceylon and Malaysia in Medieval Times' in the *Journal of the Ceylon Branch of the R. A. S.*, N. S., Vol. VII, Part I, pp. 1-42.

⁵ *Ep. Zey.*, op. cit., p. 115.

⁶ For the relationship between Niśsaṅkamalla and Parākramabāhu, see H.C.P. Bell in the *Ceylon Antiquary and Literary Register*, Vol. V, pp. 24-30, and *The Concise History of Ceylon* (University of Ceylon), p. 238.

⁷ *A History of Ceylon* (University of Ceylon), Vol. I, pp. 508 ff.

⁸ *Chūlavamsa*, Chapter 80, verses 18-26. For inscriptions of Niśsaṅkamalla, see *Ep. Zey.*, Vol. I, No. 9; Vol. II, Nos. 13-30 and 42; Vol. III, Nos. 11 and 35.

of Buddhism, and his military exploits. The present document is but a brief sample of the magniloquent claims of this monarch. All these effusions of Niśsaṅkamalla's panegyrists were due not solely to a desire to satisfy the megalomania of the ruler, but were to a great extent meant to be propaganda designed to secure the Island dominion to the Kāliṅga dynasty. At least with regard to most of the buildings, for the construction of which Niśsaṅkamalla claims credit, the veracity of the statements in the epigraphs is established by monuments yet extant.¹

In his earlier inscriptions, Niśsaṅkamalla refers to Parākramabāhu with respect as his senior kinsman.² In many of the later epigraphs, however, he charges Parākramabāhu with oppressive rule, claims to have relieved the people of the burdens of taxation imposed on them by his predecessor, and casts sneers at him. In many matters such as architectural undertakings and religious reforms, he has tried to excel the achievements of Parākramabāhu.³ Like Parākramabāhu, he claims to have conquered the Pāṇḍya country, to commemorate which achievement he constructed a tank named Paṇḍu-vijaya.⁴ Though the loudness with which Niśsaṅkamalla has blown his own trumpet has made him suspect with historians, there is no doubt that he was a man of tireless energy and achieved much within his brief reign of nine years.

Among the achievements for which Niśsaṅkamalla claims credit in the present epigraph, the tours of inspection within his realm, the *tulābhāra* gifts, the unification of the Saṅgha, the restoration of the Mahāthūpa at Anurādhapura, the standardisation of the grain-tax, the introduction of copper-plate grants, the expeditions to the Pāṇḍya country and the building of a shrine at Rāmēśvaram are referred to in numerous inscriptions of his, published as well as unpublished.⁵ But this repetition in the contents of his inscriptions does not allow one to fill the portions illegible in one inscription from corresponding passages in other better preserved records. For his scribes, as if intently to avoid dullness, have introduced variations in vocabulary and phraseology in stating one and the same fact. Thus, in most published records referring to the Pāṇḍya expeditions, the word *de-varekā* is used in the sense of 'on two occasions';⁶ but the present record has the synonymous *de-iṭṭekā* in its place. What is stated succinctly in one document is given with greater elaboration in another.

Thus the paragraph referring to the restoration of the Ruvanvāli Dāgāba (Mahāthūpa) at Anurādhapura opens by quoting the words which the king is said to have uttered, viz. 'Do you see how a certain king has caused it to be re-built'. This is clearly a sneer at his predecessor, Parākramabāhu, who is credited in the chronicle with the restoration of this monument.⁷ The *stūpa* is likened to 'a lotus to the Pihiti kingdom'. The king is said to have ensured the success of this architectural undertaking of his by pleasing the workmen, evidently by paying them handsome wages. He is also said to have established a monastery encompassing the Dāgāba. These details are probably also given in the Vānduruppe-vihāra inscription in Muller's *Anc. Ins. Ceyl.*, pp. 102 f.

In the passage referring to the regulation of the grain-tax, this record has the phrase *maḍaran satarā-aka* in place of *maḍaran sataraka* in other documents,⁸ establishing beyond doubt that *sataraka* has to be broken up as *satarā-aka* and that the whole phrase has to be translated as 'four

¹ For the monuments of Niśsaṅkamalla, see S. Paranavitana, *Art and Architecture of the Polonnaruwa period*, pp. 23 and 29 ff.; *A History of Ceylon* (University of Ceylon), Vol. I, pp. 594 ff.

² *Ep. Zey.*, Vol. II, pp. 115 and 189.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 81, 95, 116 and 175.

⁴ *Ceylon Journal of Science*, Section G, Vol. II, p. 187.

⁵ Cf. *Ep. Zey.*, Vol. II, pp. 120, 178 and 290.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 151 and 154.

⁷ *Chūlavamsa*, Chapter 78, verse 97.

⁸ *Ep. Zey.*, Vol. II, pp. 110 and 286.

aka coins of *maḍaran*' and not as four *maḍaran*, as Wickremasinghe has understood it.¹ Similarly, *sakak* and *tunaka* have to be analysed as *sa-akak* and *tun-aka* and translated as six *akas* and three *akas* respectively, as Codrington has done.² As these are shown to be compounds of a numeral with the designation of a coin or weight, *maḍaran*, which precedes them, cannot mean a coin, as Wickremasinghe's translation leads one to assume.³ *Maḍaran* should therefore be of the same connotation as the modern 'mud-money', 'a due paid in cash to a landlord by a tenant on being assigned a field for cultivation',⁴ or is equivalent to the term *māḍharatran*, 'gold equal in fineness to the *māḍha* coin', occurring in a Sinhalese literary work of the fourteenth century.⁵

In line 5, we are told that the subjects of Niśsaṅkamalla, far from taking part in any traitorous activities, were overjoyed on the reflection that he was a scion of the dynasty to which belonged **Sulu-Kaliṅgu, Veli and Kaḷava**. 'Sulu-Kaliṅgu' is the Sinhalese form of the Pali *Chulla-Kāliṅga*, the hero of the *Kāliṅgabōdhi-jātaka*, who, after a romantic youth, became a *chakravartī* monarch at Dantapura in Kāliṅga.⁶ In numerous inscriptions, Niśsaṅkamalla boasts that he was descended from the Kāliṅga-chakravartī who had the power of transporting himself by air, by means of the *chakra-ratna*, as it has to be understood. This Jātaka has received elaborate poetic treatment in Sinhalese prose and has been inserted with little justification in the *Dharmapradīpikā*, a commentary on the Pali *Mahā-bōdhiramsa*, in explaining the phrase *Dantapurē rājā hutvā*.⁷ It is possible that this was a piece of political propaganda by the author who probably appropriated for the purpose a literary work already existing in his time. This fact may not be without significance in deciding the date of the *Dharmapradīpikā* which, on other grounds, has been assigned to the twelfth or thirteenth century.⁸ *Veli* and *Kaḷava* may be names of other kings of the Kāliṅga dynasty well-known at that time; but I cannot find these names, or their Sanskrit or Pali equivalents, in literary or epigraphical sources. This reference to Sulu-Kaliṅgu and others among his forebears has not been met with in any other inscription of Niśsaṅkamalla.

The reference to Niśsaṅkamalla's introduction of the practice of issuing copper-plate charters contains nothing new. The account of the king's two expeditions to the Pāṇḍya country is introduced with familiar phraseology;⁹ but the boast 'who indeed are those over the whole earth that can stand in front of the Kāliṅga-chakravartī', and the statement that the tribute sent by the princes of South India was preceded by an oath undertaking to pay tribute are not found in other records. It is also interesting to note that the word *vela*, found in several other records of Niśsaṅkamalla,¹⁰ is used here in a context clearly indicating its meaning to be 'oath'. It is no doubt akin to Tamil *vēlai* in *vēlai-kkāra*, and may be the same as Sanskrit *vēlā*, 'limit', 'boundary', with the secondary meaning of 'agreement', 'covenant', just as Sanskrit *maryādā*, originally meaning 'limit', 'boundary', etc., developed these secondary meanings. The *Vēlai-kkāras*, thus, would be the counterparts of the warriors called *Samśap'akas* in the *Mahābhārata*.¹¹

The present record gives the information that Niśsaṅkamalla remained in the Pāṇḍya country for three months, presumably on two expeditions, and repaired a dilapidated shrine. In the

¹ *Ep. Zey.*, Vol. II, pp. 117 and 289.

² H. W. Codrington, *Ancient Land Tenure and Revenue in Ceylon*, Colombo, 1938, p. 32.

³ *A History of Ceylon* (University of Ceylon), Vol. I, p. 548.

⁴ H. W. Codrington, *op. cit.*, p. 34.

⁵ *Pansiya-panas-jātaka*, Colombo ed., 1929, p. 1662.

⁶ Jātaka, No. 479, Jātaka Translation, Vol. IV by W. H. D. Rouse, pp. 142-148.

⁷ *Dharmapradīpikā*, ed. Ven. Sri Dharmarama Nayaka Thera, 6th ed., 1951, pp. 296 ff.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. ii; C. E. Godakumbure, *Sinhalese Literature*, Colombo, 1955, pp. 46-51.

⁹ *Ep. Zey.*, Vol. II, pp. 142, 148 and 155.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 111, 112 and 133.

¹¹ S. Sorensen, *Index to the Names in the Mahābhārata*, London, 1904, p. 611; s.v. *Samśap'akas*.

corresponding statements in other records.¹ the impression given is that the *dēvālaya* was built anew by him. The reference to an alms-hall built at Rāmēśvaram is also found in other records;² the present epigraph states that he acquired a village and dedicated it to the alms-hall. The missing portions of the relevant paragraph probably contained a reference to his going through the *tulābhāra* ceremony which, we are told by the Adam's Peak inscription, was conducted at a place named Dāvakuḷam,³ evidently in the vicinity of Rāmēśvaram.⁴ The statement that Niśsaṅkamalla, during these expeditions, visited the islands of **Puvagu** (modern Puṅguḍutivu), **Miṇinak** (Maṇināga), **Kappa** and **Kāra** (Karai-tivu) occurs only in this epigraph. The *āsana* itself, we are told, was the one on which the king sat, and was named Nṛitya-gīta-dāna-vinōḍa, obviously after a *virūḍa* of the king. It is specifically called *vīr-āsana*, 'a hero's throne'.

The interest of the inscription lies, not so much in what it states, but in its mere presence at the place where it has been found. The contents indicate that it has been found more or less in its original setting. The people of Rāmēśvaram who were then, as now, no doubt Tamils, would not have been able to read and understand the inscription. Even if it was read and explained to them, only those references to Niśsaṅkamalla's visits to the Pāṇḍya country, the repair of the temple by him and his charitable activities there would have interested them. What Niśsaṅkamalla claims to have achieved in Ceylon would have left them cold. The inscription therefore must have been addressed to Sinhalese who, at Rāmēśvaram, could only have been soldiers in an army of occupation. For, it is difficult to think of Sinhalese who had gone to arid Rāmēśvaram as colonists; nor is there any clear evidence for the presence of a Sinhalese community of traders, or even of pilgrims. And, the presence of a Sinhalese army of occupation at Rāmēśvaram at this time can be explained from the events during the two or three decades preceding the date of this inscription.

We have seen above that Niśsaṅkamalla came to the throne in 1187 A.D. and reigned for nine years. This record mentioning, as it does, many of Niśsaṅkamalla's activities after he ascended the throne, must have been set up towards the close of his reign, at least during its second half, i.e. in or after 1192 A.D. It is well-known to students of South Indian history that, in or about 1169 A.D., Parākramabāhu the Great, the uncle or father-in-law of Niśsaṅkamalla, despatched a powerful expeditionary force to the Pāṇḍya country to fight on behalf of a Pāṇḍya ruler who had solicited his assistance. This army, under the command of Laṅkāpura, landed at a place called Talabilla (modern Dhanushkōṭi), captured Rāmēśvaram and entrenched itself in a stronghold at Kundukal, a few miles beyond Rāmēśvaram. From this base, the Sinhalese army advanced, crushed all opposition and captured Madhurā. Parākramabāhu's nominee was installed on the Madhurā throne, and the Sinhalese general advanced beyond the Pāṇḍya borders to the realm of the Chōḷas. After a series of brilliant victories, as we are informed by the Chōḷa records, the Sinhalese army was defeated by a Chōḷa general and forced to retreat. But the Pāṇḍya prince Kulaśekhara, on whose behalf the Chōḷas intervened, eventually came to Parākramabāhu's side. And when he was ousted and his rival, the original protégé of the Sinhalese king, was placed on the throne of the Pāṇḍyas, he too, after a short while, allied himself with Parākramabāhu against the Chōḷas.⁵ This alliance with Parākramabāhu, one after the other, of the Pāṇḍya princes who gained the throne with Chōḷa support, risking the consequences of Chōḷa enmity not to speak of being reproached for ingratitude, seems to be inexplicable unless it is believed that the Sinhalese king

¹ *Ep. Zey.*, Vol. I, p. 134; Vol. II, pp. 120 and 156.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. II, pp. 120, 178 and 290.

³ [The word *dēvakula* means a temple.—Ed.]

⁴ *The Concise History of Ceylon*, Vol. II, p. 20.

⁵ For this war, see Nilakanta Sastri, *The Chōḷas*, 2nd ed., Madras, 1955, pp. 366-72.

was able to convince them, by a show of military strength, that coming over to his side was to their advantage. And this could not probably have been done if Parākramabāhu had no military forces in South India itself.

It may be true that, as the Chōḷa inscriptions assert, Laṅkāpura suffered a crushing blow from the Chōḷas, he himself losing his life; but the remnants of the Sinhalese army could have retreated to the strong fortress of Kundukal which they could have defended until reinforcements arrived from Ceylon. It therefore appears that the Sinhalese hold on Rāmēśvaram continued throughout the reign of Parākramabāhu up to that of Niśśaṅkamalla. At any rate, Niśśaṅkamalla himself does not claim to have captured Rāmēśvaram; if he did so, his panegyrists would not have failed to make much out of such an achievement. As his numerous inscriptions are silent on this, the inevitable conclusion is that he retained control of this strategic point as a result of the military campaign of his predecessor. Thus the two visits of Niśśaṅkamalla to South India would have been undertaken to inspect the Sinhalese garrison already stationed there. Prudence would have dictated that, in order to face any possible hostile reception from the Pāṇḍya or an attack by the Chōḷa, he was accompanied by an adequate force.

Some of Niśśaṅkamalla's records picturesquely describe how, when he arrived in South India, the mother of the Pāṇḍya ruler sent messengers requesting him to take over the whole of the realm, leaving just one village for the maintenance of her family.¹ This may be rhetoric; but the Pāṇḍyas at this time were yet in a weak condition after nearly two centuries of conflict with, and subjection to, the Chōḷas. They had to wait for another two decades for their remarkable resurgence under Sundara-pāṇḍya. In need at any time of Sinhalese assistance against Chōḷa aggression, the Pāṇḍyas would have received Niśśaṅkamalla with a show of friendship, if not subservience as claimed by him, when he visited Rāmēśvaram.

On both these visits, Niśśaṅkamalla spent only three months in the Pāṇḍya country. The restoration of the *devūlaya* cannot therefore have been carried out while he was sojourning in the Pāṇḍya country. At the time when the present inscription was indited on a throne at Rāmēśvaram, which Niśśaṅkamalla made use of, the restoration was an accomplished fact. He may therefore have issued orders for this undertaking during his first visit; before his second visit, it had been brought to completion. The interval between the two visits must therefore have been considerable, at least two years.

The shrine at Rāmēśvaram figures also in the Chōḷa account of the campaign of the generals of Parākramabāhu I in the Pāṇḍya country. The Ārpākkam inscription mentions that the Sinhalese troops under Parākramabāhu's general looted the treasures of the temple, and put a stop to the worship.² The act of Niśśaṅkamalla in renovating the temple and making liberal donations to the Brāhmanas was no doubt meant to reconcile the local inhabitants. In this also, we see another instance of his adopting a policy diametrically opposed to that of his predecessor.

In his inscriptions, Niśśaṅkamalla also claims to have received presents from the Chōḷa country on the occasion of his visit to South India.³ The Chōḷa inscriptions, on the other hand, claim victories over the Sinhalese about this period. In an inscription⁴ of Kulōttuṅga III (1178-1216 A.D.), it is claimed that the Sinhalese soldiers had their noses cut off and rushed into the sea. A record⁵ of the same monarch's twentyfirst year states that he 'adorned with his feet the crown

¹ *Ep. Zey.*, Vol. II, pp. 152 and 156.

² *A. R. Ep.*, 1899, pp. 8-9.

³ *Ep. Zey.*, Vol. II, pp. 152 and 156.

⁴ *SIH.*, Vol. III, p. 212.

⁵ *A. R. Ep.*, 1902, No. 170.

RAMESVARAM INSCRIPTION OF NISSANKAMALLA



(from Photograph)

of the Ceylonese king in order that it may prosper'. A record of the sixteenth year states that the warriors of Kulōttuṅga began to guard all places in response to the order: 'Capture Īlam in the South, so that the *teṇṇavar* may come and prostrate themselves and the head of the Siṅga-lavan may be cut off.'¹ To what extent this order was carried out we are not told in the later inscriptions. These vague claims, without details as to time and place, do not help us in pursuing the course of hostilities between the Sinhalese and Chōlas towards the close of the reign of Parākramabāhu I and during the reigns of Vijayabāhu II and Niśsaṅkamalla. At any rate, the first of these claims refers to a time before Niśsaṅkamalla himself came to the throne, and the military operations on which the other statements are based need not have affected the Sinhalese garrison at Rāmēśvaram.

The internal troubles which followed the end of Niśsaṅkamalla's reign in 1196 A.D. sapped the military strength of the Sinhalese, and the Chōlas seem to have taken advantage of that position. It is recorded that General Kittī, who maintained Queen Lilāvati on the throne from 1197 to 1200 A.D., repulsed the Chōlas on three different occasions when they landed in the Island and advanced for some distance into the interior.² The Sinhalese after this were no longer in a position to maintain the garrison at Rāmēśvaram. We do not know when and how the Sinhalese troops stationed there relinquished their hold on the fortress. The place must have been occupied, within a decade of the date of this record, either by the Chōlas or by the rapidly recovering Pāṇḍya power.

TEXT³

- 1 Śrī sinha-vikrama āti **Tri-Sinhaleśvara Kālīṅga-chakravartti**-[svāmīn-vahanse ra]-jaya patān paṭan avu[rudu]ven **Lamkāva** sisārā gam niyam-gam rājadhāni ādi-vū no-ek prasiddha-sthāna hā jala-durgga paṅka-durgga [vānā-durgga] **Samanōja** ādi-vū giri-durgga at-sambulū-pakak se balā vadārā[bi]so-varūn-vahan-
- 2 se hā maha[pā]nan vahanse ātu[lu-vū pa]s-denā vaha[nse ek yā tulābhā]ra nāṅgi havurudu patā pas-tulābhārayak bāgin di dukpatū[n sū]vapat koṭā suvapatuu śrīmat koṭā tun rājajeyhi no]-ek buddhālaya namvā tun-nakā samāṅga koṭā lo-[sasun] sāmurdha (mṛiddha) koṭā.....rajadāru-kenakun karāvū-
- 3 ye pe[n]e dā yi vadārā ananta-vastu vi[yadam karavā] mehekaruvan ānanda karavā Pihiti-rajayata piyumak se vū Ruvan[vāli-maha]-dahagab-vaha[nse] karavā ehi sisārā boho [saṅgun pi]rivan ganvā mahā-vihāra yā yi nam tabbā ge[nā].....
- 4 [utte] amuṇe aya ek=amuṇu-tun-pālak hā maḍa-ran sākak hā mānde amuṇakata ek=amuṇu de-pālak hā maḍaran sātara-aka hā pas[se amu]nakata aya ek=amuṇu pāla hā maḍaran tun=aka bāgin aya gannā niyā[ye]n vyava[sthā koṭā].....
- 5 [kirittiyen] pataja **Suḷu-kālīṅgu Veli-Kalavan**-udu mevun kulā raja-daruvo namā yi param-āna[ndaa]lālā [ya]m [kena]kun karana pereliyak tabā to[si]n alaṭi siṭi [prajāvan].....
- 6 hira [-sanda-pamuṇu vēyan] miyan ādin visin sopadra[va] vū talpatā liyā diyehi hāndi hiri se no koṭā un-un-ge [vaṁ]s-ānugata vā [e] kalavun [nama] da dun raja-daruvan nama da boho kalak pa[va]tnā niyāyen tāmbra(mra)-śāsana pavat karavā].....

¹ A. R. Ep., 1907, No. 288. For a discussion of these references to Ceylon in the inscriptions of Kulōttuṅga III, see Nilakanta Sastri, op. cit., pp. 384 f.

² Journal of the Ceylon Branch of R.A.S., Vol. XXI, pp. 384-387.

³ From impressions. Macron over e and o has not been used in the transcript and the foot-notes hereon.

⁴ The letters missing on the stone from this point have been restored up to karavā, according to the passage as it appears in the Dambulla rock inscription. See Ep. Zey., Vol. I, p. 131.

- 7[gam-val] nishkaṇṭaka koṭā semehi tabā [dva]ndva-[yuddhā]śā[ye]n Jambu-
dvīpayāta de-idekā vādā tun-masak muḷullehi vādā hindā Apratimalla yana
viruduva....
- 8 Kāliṅga-cakravartīn-vahanse idiriyehi siṭino nam muḷu poḷovā kavuru da
apa visin kaḷamanā nam paṇḍuru dena veḷa pera vā evū paṇḍuru genā ni.....
.....
- 9 [de]sayehi jirṇṇa devālaya karana paridden ananta vastu devā mehi Niśsaṅka-
śvara nam yut devālayak namvā.....
- 10 ye ayaṭa nagā gam-varak=ut genā satrayāta lavā vadārā nāvātā laksha-gaṇa
suru vālayehi aturuvā maṇḍapaya sarahā ama.....
- 11 Puvagu-divayina Miṇṇak-divayina Kappa-divayina Kāra-divayina ādi-vū
no-ek divayin balā vadāra ma.....
- 12 vaḍan supip]-piyum se karavā nra(nṛ)tya-gīta-dāna-vinoda nam vira-sim-
[hāsanaye]hi.....

TRANSLATION¹

(Line 1) Hail ! The Sovereign Lord **Kāliṅga-chakravartī**, who possesses the prowess of a lion and who is the Lord of the **Three Siṃhalas**,² in one year from his accession to the sovereignty toured round **Lanikā** and inspected thoroughly, as if they were an *āmalaka* fruit on (the palm of his) hand, many well-known places such as villages, market-towns, seats of royalty as well as places difficult of access on account of water, places difficult of access on account of marshes, places difficult of access on account of forests and places difficult of access on account of mountains such as **Samanola** (Sumana-kūṭa, i.e. Adam's Peak)³.....

(Lines 1-2) He gave annually five *tuḷabhāras*, the five personages including..... Their Majesties the Queens and His Highness the Heir-apparent (*maha-pāṇan*)⁴ having ascended the scale pans; thus he made the poor affluent and the affluent illustrious. He caused to be erected shrines of the Buddha in the **Three Kingdoms**⁵; he unified the sects (of the *Saṅgha*)⁶ and thus he made the State and the Church prosper.....

¹ In the translation, some of the clauses ending with absolutes have been treated as sentences ending in finite verbs so as to make the style less cumbersome in English.

² *Pihiti* (Pali *Patitthā*), *Māyā* and *Ruhuna* (Pali *Ruhana*) were the three kingdoms into which Ceylon was divided in ancient times.

³ The tours undertaken by Niśsaṅkamalla in his kingdom are referred to in a number of his inscriptions. See *Ep. Zey.*, Vol. II, pp. 141 and 148.

⁴ The *tuḷabhāra* gifts of this king are referred to in several of his inscriptions in very much the same phraseology as in this document; see, e.g. *ibid.*, pp. 18 and 175. According to these references, the five personages who ascended the scale-pans were the king, his principal queen Subhadrā, the second queen Kalyāṇavatī, his son Virabāhu, the heir-apparent, and his daughter Sarvāṅgasundarī.

⁵ The same as 'the Three Siṃhalas'.

⁶ The three *Nikāyas* were the *Mahāvihāra*, *Abhayagiri* and the *Jetavana*. The credit of unifying these three sects is given in the chronicle to Parākramabāhu I; but, in several of his inscriptions, Niśsaṅkamalla too claims to have done this. See *Ep. Zey.*, Vol. I, p. 134, Vol. II, pp. 81-82.

(Lines 2-3). Having uttered 'Do you see how¹ a certain king has caused it to be restored' he caused vast treasures to be spent, made the workmen to rejoice and effected the restoration of the great *dāgāba*, the sacred Ruvanvāli,² which is like unto a lotus for the *Pibiṭi* kingdom. Around that *dāgāba* he made the members of the Saṅgha take up residence in *pirivanas*, and gave the name of *Mahāvihāra* (to that monastery).

(Line 4). He enacted a law that the (grain)-tax on an *amuṇa* (sowing extent) of the best grade (of fields) should be (not in excess of) one *amuṇa* and three *pāḷas* and six *akas* as *maḍaran* (levy), on an *amuṇa* of middle grade (of fields), one *amuṇa* and two *pāḷas* and four *akas* as *maḍaran*, and on an *amuṇa* of the lowest grade (of fields) the tax to be one *amuṇa* and two *pāḷas* and three *akas* as *maḍaran*.

(Line 5). He caused supreme joy (to the people) by their reflection : **King Suḷu-Kaliṅgu, Veli and Kaḷava** of widespread fame are indeed kings of the lineage of this (*king*) ; and, far from there being any sort of disturbance caused by any one, the subjects being stirred with emotion.³

(Line 6). He introduced the practice of granting charters written on copper-plates so that heritable lands, granted to last as long as the sun and the moon endure, may not become like lines drawn on water, on account of the grant being written on palm-leaves which are in danger from termites and rats, but ensured that, associated with the lineages of those (concerned) the names of those who have done deeds (to merit such grants), and the names of the kings who granted such gifts do last for a long time.⁴

(Line 7). Having eradicated thorns⁵ in the villages as well as in the forests, and having placed the country in tranquility, he being desirous of single combats, proceeded to Jambudvīpa (India) on two occasions, and tarried there for the full duration of three months his *viruda* of Apratimalla⁶

(Line 8). 'Who indeed are those over the whole of the earth that can stand in front of Kāliṅga-chakravartī ? What remains to be done by us therefore is to accept the tribute sent (to us) with an oath of paying tribute (in the future)'⁷

¹ This is obviously a sarcastic reference to his predecessor Parākramabāhu I who is recorded in the *Chūlavamsa* (Chapter 78, verse 97) to have repaired this *dāgāba*. Niśśankamalla's inscription at Ruvanvālisāya (*Ep. Zey.*, Vol. II, pp. 70 ff.) gives a detailed account of his work there.

² This is the shrine originally built by Duṭṭhagāmaṇi in the second century B. C., and is referred to in the *Mahāvamsa* as Mahāthūpa.

³ This paragraph does not appear in any of the king's known inscriptions. What it conveys is that the people were so impressed by the fact that Niśśankamalla was a scion of the Kāliṅga dynasty, to which belonged a *Chakravartī* king of old, that none thought of stirring up trouble in his kingdom. *Suḷu-Kaliṅgu-Veli-Kaḷavan* has been taken as a copulative (*dvandva*) compound with the case-termination *an*, attached to the last name *Kaḷava*. It is also possible to take the stem form of the last name as *Kaḷavan* with the case-termination *u* attached to it. In that case, the indeclinable which follows the compound has to be taken as *du* and not *udu*, as has been analysed in the above interpretation. *Kaḷava* may be etymologically the same as *Kaḷabhra*.

⁴ For Niśśankamalla's claim to have introduced the practice of granting charters on copper, see *Ep. Zey.*, Vol. I, p. 133 ; Vol. II, pp. 133 and 239.

⁵ For similar claims by the king in other inscriptions, see *ibid.*, Vol. II, pp. 118, 133 and 136. For the expression 'having eradicated thorns' (*nishkanṭaka koḷā*) see, *Arthasāstra*, Shamashastry's trans., second ed., pp. 245 ff.

⁶ What is stated is that as none accepted the king's challenge to a single combat, he justified his title of *Apratimalla*, which is given in a number of inscriptions, e.g. *Ep. Zey.*, Vol. II, p. 148.

⁷ This passage does not occur in any other inscription, though similar boasts are found in many records, *ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 120.

(Line 9). He gave incalculable treasure to repair a dilapidated shrine (*devālaya*) in the country, and erected here the shrine named Niśsaṃkeśvara.¹

(Line 10). Having raised it to the revenue of he acquired a gift-village, and assigned it to the alms-hall (*satra*) ; again, having spread hundreds of thousands of *suru*. on the *vāla*, and having decorated the pavilion.²

(Line 11). He was also pleased to inspect numerous islands including Puvagu Island, Miṇinak Island, Kappa Island and Kāra Island.³

(Line 12). Having made the faces of appear like full-blown lotuses. on this throne of heroes named Nṛitya-gīta-dāna-vinoda (literally one who rejoices in dance, singing and gifts).

¹ Cf. *Ep. Zey.*, Vol. II, pp. 120 and 289.

² The words *suru* and *vāla* occur nowhere else, and the significance of the phrase is not clear.

³ These are the Sinhalese names of islets between North Ceylon and South India. Puvagu-divayina is most probably the modern Puṅguḍu-tivu. Miṇinak is Maṇināga in Pali and appears to have been used at times for Nāga-dīpa, the ancient name of the Jaffna Peninsula. Kappa-divayina is referred to in old Sinhalese writings ; but there does not appear to be a modern name corresponding to it. Kāra-divayina is the Kāra-dīpa of Jātaka No. 480 ; it is now known as Karai-tivu.

2

CRUOY AMPIL INSCRIPTION OF CHITPASENA



01

No. 14] BANGKOK MUSEUM STONE INSCRIPTION OF MAHENDRAVARMAN 113

Below I give the text and translation of the present inscription :

TEXT

- 1 Yaś=śrī-**Mahēndravarmmm**=ūti
- 2 Mahēndra iva viśrutaḥ [¹
- 3 sa Śaṅkarataṭāk-ākhyā-
- 4 ū=chakhān=ōmañ=jalāsūyam [²

TRANSLATION

"He, who is known as the illustrious Mahēndravarman, famous like Mahēndra (i.e. Indra, the chief among the gods), excavated this reservoir of water, named Śaṅkara-tatāka".

¹ This punctuation is represented by a horizontal stroke in between the two dots of the *visarga*.

² This punctuation is indicated by a small cross.

No. 15—TWO PANDYA INSCRIPTIONS FROM TIRUPPARANGUNRAM

(1 Plate)

K. G. Krishnan, Ootacamund

(Received on 21-7-1961)

Tirupparangunram, a suburb about four miles south-west of Madurai is a well-known centre of pilgrimage for the devotees of Lord Muruga. The hill enshrining this deity abounds in antiquarian relics of considerable historical interest. The Brāhmī inscriptions¹ on the beds in the cavern on this hill are the earliest records available here for study. There are also Jaina sculptures worked on an inaccessible part of the hill.² These inscriptions do not throw much light on the history of the place beyond indicating that the caverns were resorted to by the Buddhist or Jaina mendicants who always preferred such lonely places for their meditation in the early centuries of the Christian era. A later monument on the top of the hill is a building which is believed to be the tomb of a fakir popularly called Sikander.³ During the recent past the hill had been the centre of military activities of the European powers in their struggle for domination.⁴ In Tamil literature the place has been described as a great centre of pilgrimage, as it is today, for the devotees of Lord Muruga or Subrahmanya. The *Paripāḍal*, an anthology of verses grouped with the Saṅgam classics contains graphic descriptions of the place, the deity and also of the people who were attracted to this sacred place from various parts of the country.⁵ The inscriptions published here pertain to the foundation of the rock-cut cave temple on the hill. This rectangular cave-temple facing north contains three cell-shrines respectively for Śiva at the western end facing east, Durgā in the centre of the south wall facing north and Viṣṇu at the eastern end facing west. On the wall behind the *linga* in the Śiva shrine is a representation of Somās-kanda in bas-relief.⁶ The shrine at the east contains a seated image of Viṣṇu. The scooped spaces on the wall on either side of the shrine of Durgā contain sculptures of Subrahmanya to the east and Vināyaka to the west. There are two pillars at the entrance into the cave temple. Lower down there is an excavated shrine for Jyēṣṭhāi reaching to the back wall of the monolithic cave.⁷ The worship of Jyēṣṭhāi was evidently very popular in the Tamil country during the period of the inscriptions edited here as images of this goddess are also known to exist at Tiruvellaivāyil,⁸ Mylapore⁹ and Kumbhakōṇam.⁹

The subjoined inscriptions named A and B are engraved respectively on the lintel of the entrance into the Durgā shrine and on the eastern pillar, both in the rock-cut cave temple of Subrahmanya on the hill. Inscription A is in **Sanskrit** verse engraved in **Grantha** characters.

¹ *A. R. Ep.*, 1908, App. C. No. 38; *ibid.*, 1909, App. B, No. 33; 1931-52, Nos. 140-142.

² *Ibid.*, 1909, part ii, para. 4.

³ *Ibid.*, 1939-40 to 1942-43, Part ii, para. 156.

⁴ *Pattappāṭṭu, Tirumaruṅṅappadaṭṭu*, lines 1-77; *Paripāḍal*, verse 8, 17, 18, 19 and 21.

⁵ Some cave temples of the Pallavas have similar panels containing sculptures in bas-reliefs. See *Ancient India*, No. 14, pp. 122, 139 and 132.

⁶ *South Indian images of gods and goddesses*, pp. 216-18 and n. 1 on p. 218. For further information see *Journal, Madras University*, Vol. XXXII, pp. 156-59.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 217.

⁸ *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Vol. I, Part II, plate CXXI.

⁹ *Ibid.*, plate CXXIII.

It is dated in the month of **Taisha** of the **Kali year 3874**, equated with the **sixth year**, evidently of the reign of a king whose name is not clear. It records the excavation of a glorious abode for god Śaṁbhu and the consecration of the deity on the said date by **Gaṇapati alias** Śāmantha Bhīma described as a *vaidyā-mukhya*¹. Inscription B² which is in **Tamil** engraved in **Vaṭṭeḷuttu** characters of about the 8th century A.D. records the excavation of the sacred temple and a tank by **Śāttan Gaṇapati alias** Pāṇḍi-Amṛta-maṅgalav-araiyaṇ, who is described as a *raiyya*, a resident of Karavantapura and the *mahāsāmanta* of the king **Māraṇ-Jaḍaiyaṇ** in whose **sixth regnal year** the record is dated. It further records that the shrines for Durgādēvi and Jyēshṭhai were caused to be excavated by Nakkaṇ Kōṟri, the *dharmaṇḍi* of Śāttan Gaṇapati.³

The **palaeography** of the two inscriptions may be considered here. A comparison of their alphabet with that of the Ānaimalai inscriptions, both in Grantha and Vaṭṭeḷuttu—a feature which compares very well with the present records—reveals that the Tirupparangunram Grantha inscription exhibits a more ornamental variety of the alphabet while its Vaṭṭeḷuttu counterpart displays an upright or vertical tendency in the form, whereas in the Ānaimalai records we find the cursive forms so characteristic of the alphabet. This upright form of the letters with pointed bottoms may be favourably compared with the same feature, despite a few minor differences, in the forms of *ṭa* and *ya*, in the Trivandrum Museum stone inscription⁴ and the Kalugumalai record of Māraṇ-Jaḍaiyaṇ.⁵ A feature of **orthographical** importance is the spelling of the word *āṇa* (lines 6-7) and *kōḷḷum* (lines 8-9 and 13-14) in which the vowel *i* is used in place of the full consonant *yi*, even though the words *ā* (for *āgu*) and *kō* warrant the use of a hiatus in respect of the syllable *iṇ* and the word *il* respectively.⁶

These two records studied together reveal the fact that they deal with the same subject-matter, one in Sanskrit and the other in Tamil with some additional details. The shrines for Śaṁbhu, Durgā and Jyēshṭhai having been excavated, the inscriptions point out, the deity Śaṁbhu was consecrated in the month of Taisha (December 22nd-January 19th) in the 6th year of Māraṇ-Jaḍaiyaṇ which fell in Kali 3874⁷ (773-74 A.D.). Here is yet another important landmark in the chronology of the early Pāṇḍya kings, the one already known being that of the Ānaimalai inscription⁸ of this king (Māraṇ-Jaḍaiyaṇ) dated Kali 3871, Kārttika Pausṇa (i.e. Rōvati), Sunday, regularly⁹ corresponding to 770 A.D., November 4. These two dates enable us to indicate the period when Māraṇ-Jaḍaiyaṇ should have ascended the throne. That the later date must have fallen in the 3rd year of reign of Māraṇ-Jaḍaiyaṇ is obvious when it is construed with the former.¹⁰ This is indirectly confirmed by the identity of the *ājñāpti* Māraṇ-Kāri of the Vēlvikuḍi plates of

¹ *A. R. Ep.*, 1951-52, No. 142. The interpretation of the text in the remarks column is defective. See text below.

² *Ibid.*, 1908, No. 37. The text has been published in *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XXII, p. 67. Māraṇ-Jaḍaiyaṇ of this record was identified with Jatilavarman of the Madras Museum plates. See *SHI*, Vol. XIV, No. 3.

³ *T. A. S.*, Vol. I, p. 158, n. 28. The argument given there in favour of making Nakkan-Korri, the queen of Māraṇ-Jaḍaiyaṇ is untenable. The expletive particle *maru* indicates only the beginning of another sentence whose subject-matter is different. The absence of a regal title for the lady also indicates that she was the wife of Śāttan Gaṇapati. *SHI*, Vol. XIV, No. 3 and n. Also compare line 3 of Inscription B.

⁴ *T. A. S.*, Vol. I, plate facing p. 158.

⁵ *SHI*, Vol. XIV, No. 31.

⁶ Cf. above, Vol. VIII, p. 320, line 11 and plate.

⁷ It may be noted that the date is expressed partly in words and partly in chronograms (*caṇu*, i.e., 8 and *vēda*, i.e., 4).

⁸ Above, Vol. VIII, pp. 317 ff. Here the date is expressed in words.

⁹ *QJMS*, Vol. X, p. 183.

¹⁰ *The Pāṇḍyan Kingdom*, p. 59, n. 2. The statement made there requires to be revised in the light of the present record.

the king's 3rd regnal year and his namesake who figures as the *uttar mantrian* of the king in this (Āṇaimalan) record which states in the Tamil part of its text, that this dignitary having passed away after the completion of the rock-cut temple, his brother completed the consecration of the deity (Narasimha) therein. Now, taking the month Taisha (December 22-January 19) as the last in the 6th year of Māraṇ-Jaḍaiyan's reign, the exact *tithi* or day being unspecified, and November 4, as the last in the 3rd, it can be shown that this king identified with Varaguṇa I¹ must have commenced to rule sometime between December 22, 767 A.D. and November 4, 768 A.D.

It will not be out of place here to discuss the light that the inscriptions and the sculptures throw on the date of the *Paripāḍal*, an anthology of 22 poems, which is grouped with the Sangam classics and which contains eight verses on Śevvēl or Murugavēl or Subrahmanya and Tirupparaṅkunram. The original anthology of this work with 70 poems is said to have contained thirty-one poems on Murugavēl and Paraṅkunram of which only eight are now extant.²

The poems speak of Tirupparaṅkunru in high praise as the abode of Lord Subrahmanya where all gods, not to speak of the people, throng to have his favour. One of the poems (No. 19, line 28) refers to *chudelil-ambalam* which was perhaps a hall, the walls of which had paintings drawn on them. This hall is again referred to in another poem (No. 19, lines 48-54) as *chuttu-nilai-maṇḍapam*. This *maṇḍapa* is stated to have been embellished with several paintings (*chittiram*) depicting stories such as that of Rati and Kāma, Ahalyā who was transformed into stone by Gautama on account of her defilement by Indra, etc. It therefore appears that at the time when these poems were composed the worship of Murugavēl at Tirupparaṅkunram was immensely popular. The inscriptions published here, as already pointed out, do not mention Subrahmanya at all,³ and the sculpture of Subrahmanya occupies a less prominent place, i.e. on the wall to the east of the shrine of Durgā, as a subsidiary deity. If the Śevvēl or Murugavēl described in the *Paripāḍal* pertains to this sculpture,⁴ it may be reasonably surmised that the poems of the *Paripāḍal* which describe this god may be assigned to a date much later than the date (773-774 A.D.) of the foundation inscriptions edited here.⁵

Śāttan-Gaṇapati, the founder of the cave-temple is also described as Pāṇḍi-Amirta (Amṛita)-maṇḍalav-araiyan and as a *mahāsāmanta* of the king. He is said to be a resident of Karavantapuram which is the well-known Kaḷakkudi in Tirunelveli Taluk, Tirunelveli District. He is also described as a Vaidya-mukhya, the chief among the Vaidyas. Māraṇ-Kāri, the *ājñapti* of the Vēlvikuḍi plates also belonged to the Vaidya family of Karavantapuram and bore the title Mūvēnda-maṇḍala-ppēraraiyan⁶. His brother Māraṇ-Eyinaṇ who succeeded him to the position of *uttara-mantrian* bears the title Pāṇḍi-maṇḍala-vīśai-araiyan. Another chief of this family, Dhīrataran Mūrtti Eyinaṇ was the *ājñapti* of the Madras Museum plates dated in the 17th regnal year (781-85 A.D.) of this king⁷. Mūrtti Eyinaṇ is described also as the *mahāsāmanta* of the king. He bears the title Vīramaṇḍala-ppēraraiyan. Śāttan-Gaṇapati who was the *mahāsāmanta* according to the present record in the 6th year (773-74 A.D.) of this king, bears the title Pāṇḍi-Amṛita-maṇḍalav-araiyan which has a close affinity with another title Pāṇḍi-Iṇḍomaṇḍala-ppēraraiyan of Śaigaṇ

¹ Regarding the identity of Varaguṇa I with Jaṭila-Parāntaka Neḷuṇḍaiyan, see above, Vol. XXXII, pp. 269 ff.

² *History of Tamil Language and Literature*, by Professor S. Vaiyapuri Pillai, p. 26.

³ The only reference to this deity occurs in a late inscription (*A. R. Ep.*, 1941-42, No. 251) dated 1792 A.D.

⁴ For a detailed examination of the cult of Murugan, see *Journal, Madras University*, Vol. XXXII, pp. 159-77.

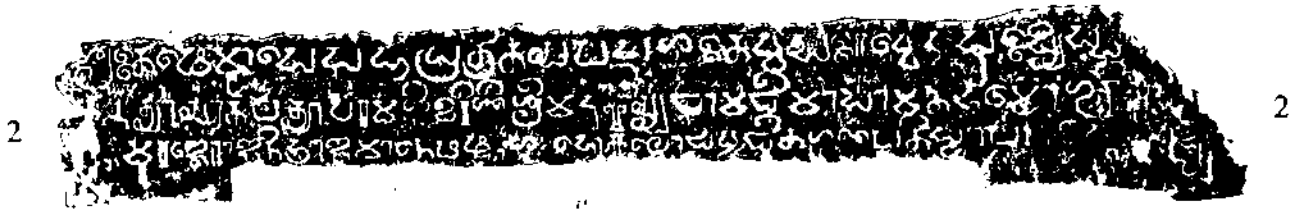
⁵ One of the poems (No. 11) in this anthology on Vaigai furnishes astronomical details which have been equated after an elaborate examination to the 17th June, A.D. 634. *An Indian Ephemeris*, Vol. I, pp. 100-09.

⁶ Above, Vol. VIII, p. 318 ff.

⁷ *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XXII, pp. 57 ff.

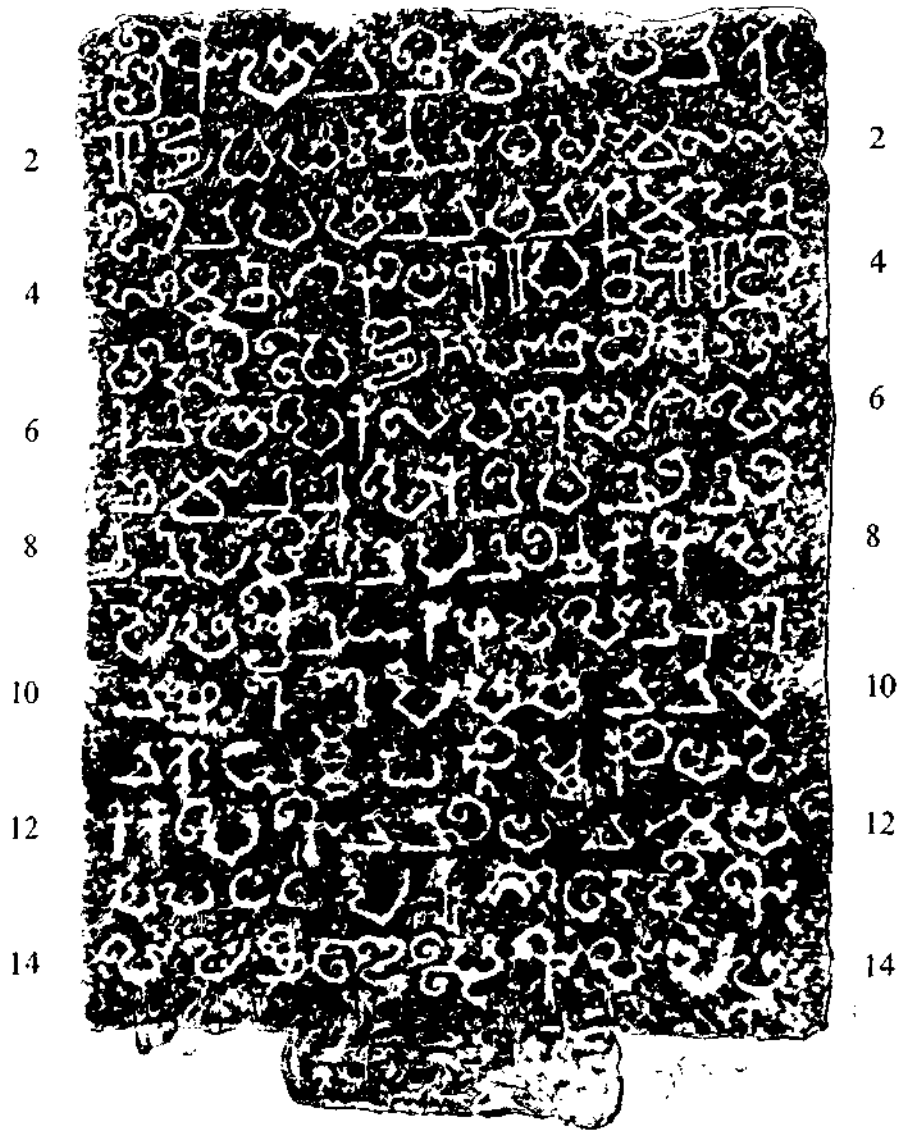
TWO PANDYA INSCRIPTIONS FROM TIRUPPARANGUNRAM

A



Scale : One-seventh

B



Scale : One-fifth

No. 31.— DATES OF CHOLA KINGS.

By F. KIELHORN, Ph.D., LL.D., C.I.E.; GÖTTINGEN.

(Continued from page 73.)

When my account of the ten Chôla dates, published above, pp. 66-73, had already been printed, Dr. Hultzsch sent me for examination the texts and translations of the following fresh Chôla dates. Five of these new dates (Nos. 11-15) belong to the reign of the king Râjâdhirâja; and the four other dates (Nos. 16-19) are of the reign of the king Kulôttunga-Chôla III.

A.— RAJADHIRAJA.

11.— Inscription on a stone behind the Sômésvara temple at Minḍigal in the Kôlâr district.¹

1 Svasti śrī [||*] Saka-varisha 97[0]nôya Sabbajitu-saiva-
2 tgaradal śrīmat-Vira-Pâṇḍiyana taleym Sêrama-
3 na sâleyn[un*] kôṇḍa kôv=Irâjakêsaripadmar=âna. uḍeyâr śrī-Râjâdhi-
4 râjadêvargge yâṇḍa muvattanôya.

"In the year Sarvajit (*which corresponded to*) the Śaka year 97[0], (*and*) in the thirtieth year (*of the reign*) of king Râjakêsarivarman, *alias* the lord, the glorious Râjâdhirâjadêva, who took the head of the glorious Vira-Pâṇḍya and the palace of the Chêra king."

This date does not admit of exact verification, and all that can be said about it in this respect, is that the Jovian year Sarvajit by the southern luni-solar system does correspond to the given Śaka year 970 as a current year (= A.D. 1047-48). The date nevertheless is of great value, because the Śaka year 970 current (or 969 expired) is also joined here with the 30th year of the king's reign. For, assuming this statement to be correct, the first year of Râjâdhirâja's reign must, at any rate partly, have coincided with Śaka-Saṃvat 940 expired, and the 26th year of the king's reign in the date No. 12 must approximately correspond to Śaka-Saṃvat 965 expired; the 27th year in the date No. 13 to Śaka-Saṃvat 966 expired; the 29th year in the date No. 14 to Śaka-Saṃvat 968 expired; and the 32nd year in the date No. 15 to Śaka-Saṃvat 971 expired.

12.— Inscription in the Vaidyanâtha temple at Tirumalavâdi in the Trichinopoly district.³

1 || Svasti śrī [||*] Tiṅgal=êr
8 Jayankonḍa-Śôlan-eṇṇum madi-keḷu . kôv=Irâjakêsaripadmar=âna uḍaiyâr
śrī-Râjâdhirâjadêva-
9 rkku yâṇḍa [2]ôṇḍadu
10 inyâttai⁴ Mina-nâmaru Budan-kilânai perṇa U-
11 ttiratti-nâṇḍu irâ.

"In the [2]6th year (*of the reign*) of the wise king Râjakêsarivarman surnamed Jayankonḍa-Chôla, *alias* the lord, the glorious Râjâdhirâjadêva,— at night on the day of Uttara(-Phalguni), which corresponded to a Wednesday in the month of Mina in this year."

¹ No. 279 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for the year 1895.

² Read *śrīmat-Vira*.

³ No. 75 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for the year 1895.

⁴ Read *in-ôttai Mina-nḍayarra*.

By what has been stated under No. 11, this date, which is of the 26th year of Rājādhirāja's reign, would in the first instance be expected to fall in Śaka-Samvat 965 expired, and, as a matter of fact, the calculation for that year does yield satisfactory results. In Śaka-Samvat 965 expired the month of **Mina** lasted from the 22nd February to the 22nd March A.D. 1044, and during this time the moon was in the *nakshatra* **Uttara-Phalguni** on **Wednesday**, the 14th March A.D. 1044, by the equal-space system from 9h. 51m. after mean sunrise (and therefore certainly at night), and by the Brahma-siddhānta and according to Garga the whole day.

13.—Inscription in the Nīlvanēśvara temple at Tiruppaṅgili in the Trichinopoly district.¹

1 || Svasti śrī [||*] Tiṅga[-ēr
17 Jayañkoṇ[ḍa]-
18 Ś[ḍ]aṅ nyarnda-perum-puṅa[-kkōv-[-rājakēśaripannmar-āṇa u[ḍai]-
19 [yār śrī]-Rājādhirājadēvarkku yāṇḍu [2]7vadu
21 Kumba-nāya[ṅ]u a]para-pakshattu
22 navamiyūm Buduṅ-kikūmaiyyūm peṇṇa M[ālati]-nā].

"In the [2]7th year (of the reign) of Jayañkoṇḍa-Chōla, the king whose great fame was rising, Rājakēśarivarman, *alias* the lord, the glorious Rājādhirājadēva,—on the day of **Mūla**, which corresponded to a **Wednesday** and to the ninth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of **Kumbha**."

This date, of the 27th year of Rājādhirāja's reign, would in the first instance be expected to fall in Śaka-Samvat 966 expired, and here, again, the calculation for that year does yield satisfactory results. In Śaka-Samvat 966 expired the month of **Kumbha** lasted from the 22nd January to the 20th February A.D. 1045, and during this time the 9th *tithi* of the dark half ended 7h. 22m. after mean sunrise of **Wednesday**, the 13th February A.D. 1045, when the moon was in the *nakshatra* **Mūla** (by the equal-space system) for 13h. 5m. after mean sunrise.

14.—Inscription in the Rājagōpāla-Perumāḷ temple at Maṇimaṅgalam in the Chingleput district.²

1 || Svasti śrī || Tiṅga[-ēr
7 Jayañkoṇḍa-Śōḷa[ṇ-u]nyarnda-perum-puṅa[-kkōv-Arājakēśarivanmar-
āṇa uḍaiyār śrī-Rājādhirājadēvarkku yāṇḍu 29[ā]vadu
[Dha]nu-nāyaṅgu pūrvva-pakshattu dvitigaiyūm Buduṅ-kikūmaiyyūm peṇṇa
Tiru-
8 vōṇatti-nā].

"In the 29th year (of the reign) of Jayañkoṇḍa-Chōla, the king whose great fame was rising, Rājakēśarivarman, *alias* the lord, the glorious Rājādhirājadēva,—on the day of **Śravaṇa**, which corresponded to a **Wednesday** and to the second *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of **Dhanu**."

This date, of the 29th year of Rājādhirāja's reign, would be expected to fall in Śaka-Samvat 968 expired. In Śaka-Samvat 968 expired the month of **Dhanu** lasted from the 25th November to the 23rd December A.D. 1046, and during that time the moon, as required, was in the *nakshatra* **Śravaṇa** on a **Wednesday**, *viz.* on **Wednesday**; the 3rd December A.D.

¹ No. 20 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for the year 1892.

² No. 6 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for the year 1892.

³ Read =Iraja°.

1046, by the Brahma-siddhanta from sunrise, and by the equal-space system and according to Garga from 3h. 17m. after mean sunrise; but the *tithi* which ended on the day so found, 11h. 54m. after mean sunrise, was the third, not the second *tithi* of the bright half. Considering that Wednesday, the 3rd December A.D. 1046, answers two of the requirements of the date, and that no satisfactory results can be obtained for either of the surrounding years Śaka-Saivāt 967 and 969 expired, I feel no hesitation in accepting that day as the true equivalent of this date, and in maintaining that the writer of the date has erroneously quoted the second instead of the third *tithi* of the bright half.

15.— Inscription in the Vaidyanātha temple at Tirumalavāḍi.¹

1³ Ja[ya]ñkoṇḍa-Śōlan a-
2 yaru[da]-perum-puṇa] kō Rāja[k]ēsariva[uma]-āna u[ḍ]ai-
3 yār śrī-Rājādhirājādēvarkku
4 yā[n]ḍa [3]2āvadu
6 [iv]v-ātt[ai]
7 [Viru]chchiga-nāyaru Viyālu-kkila[mai] peṇra Tiruvōṇatti=nān-
8 ru.

“In the [3]2nd year (of the reign) of Jayañkoṇḍa-Chōla, the king whose great fame was rising, Rājakesarivarman, alias the lord, the glorious Rājādhirājādēva,—on the day of Śravana, which corresponded to a Thursday in the month of Vriśchika in this year.”

This date, if really of the 32nd year of Rājādhirāja's reign, would in the first instance be expected to fall in Śaka-Saivāt 971 expired; but the date is incorrect both for that year and for the surrounding years Śaka-Saivāt 970 and 972 expired. In Śaka-Saivāt 971 expired the month of Vriśchika lasted from the 26th October to the 24th November A.D. 1049, and during this time the moon was in the *nakshatra* Śravana on Friday, the 3rd November A.D. 1049, by the Brahma-siddhanta from sunrise, and by the equal-space system and according to Garga from 3h. 17m. after mean sunrise. In Śaka-Saivāt 970 expired the month of Vriśchika lasted from the 26th October to the 23rd November A.D. 1048, and during this time the moon was in the *nakshatra* Śravana on Saturday, the 12th November, and Sunday, the 13th November, A.D. 1048. And in Śaka-Saivāt 972 expired the month of Vriśchika lasted from the 26th October to the 24th November A.D. 1050, and here the moon was in the *nakshatra* Śravana on Wednesday, the 21st November A.D. 1050, by the equal-space system and according to Garga for 21h. 1m., and by the Brahma-siddhanta for 22h. 20m. after mean sunrise.

If the year of the date were the 22nd year of Rājādhirāja's reign,³ the date would be expected to fall in Śaka-Saivāt 961 expired, and for that year it would be correct. For in Śaka-Saivāt 961 expired the month of Vriśchika lasted from the 27th October to the 24th November A.D. 1039, and during this time the moon was in the *nakshatra* Śravana on Thursday, the 22nd November A.D. 1039, by the Brahma-siddhanta from sunrise, and by the equal-space system and according to Garga from 1h. 58m. after mean sunrise.

Apart from this doubtful date, our examination of the three dates Nos. 12-14 has shown that the 14th March A.D. 1044 fell in the 26th year of Rājādhirāja's reign, the 13th February A.D. 1045 in his 27th year, and the 3rd December A.D. 1046 in his 29th year; and the general conclusion to be drawn from this is, that the first year of Rājādhirāja's reign commenced in A.D. 1018, between the 15th March and the 3rd December (both days inclusive).

¹ No. 81 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for the year 1895.

² Of the preceding lines of this inscription no impressions were prepared.

³ [As the first figure of the date is indistinct, the reading “22” is not absolutely impossible.—E.H.]

B.—KULOTTUNGA-CHOLA III..

16.—Inscription in the Raṅganāyaka temple at Nollor.¹

2 Śa[ka]r yāṇḍu āyiratt-orunāṅṅ-orubatt-ṇṇadā[ī P]iṅgala-
saṁvatsarattu Maduraiyūm Īḷamūṇ=kaṇḍu Pāṇḍiyaṇai muḍi-tta[īai]
koṇḍ=aruḷiṇa śrī-Kulōttu[ā]ga-Śōḷadē[va]kku yāṇḍu paṭt-ṇṇadā[vadu
Vṛiśch[i]ka-nāyaggu=ppad[īnai] yadiy=āṇa² Ve[ī]ḷi-kki[īnai]yūm
Rē[vad]iyūm

“In the year **Piṅgala** (*which corresponded*) to the Śaka year one thousand one hundred and nineteen, (*and*) in the nineteenth year (*of the reign*) of the glorious **Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷadēva** who took Madurai and Īḷam and was pleased to cut off the crowned head of the Pāṇḍya,—[on the day of] **Révati** and a **Friday** which was the fifteenth solar day of the month of **Vṛiśchika**.”

The Jovian year **Piṅgala**, quitted in this date, by the southern luni-solar system does correspond to the given Śaka year 1119 as an expired year. In that year the Vṛiśchika-saṁkrānti took place, by the Ārya-siddhānta 11h. 10m., and by the Sūrya-siddhānta 13h. 0m. after mean sunrise of the 27th October A.D. 1197. The month of Vṛiśchika of Śaka-Saṁvat 1119 expired, therefore, lasted from either the 27th or the 28th October to the 25th November, and the 15th solar day of that month accordingly was either the 10th or the 11th November A.D. 1197. But as these two days were Monday and Tuesday, neither of them can be the day intended by the date, which was a Friday.—In my opinion, it is perfectly certain that the writer of the date erroneously has given the 15th instead of the 25th solar day; for the 25th day of the month of Vṛiśchika corresponds—certainly by the Sūrya-siddhānta, and by the Ārya-siddhānta also when the civil beginning of the solar month is determined according to the rule followed in the calendars of the Kōllam era—to the 21st November A.D. 1197 which was a Friday, and on which the moon was in the *nakṣatra* **Révati** for 13h. 47m. after mean sunrise.—According to the wording of the date this day, **Friday, the 21st November A.D. 1197**, would have fallen in the 19th year of Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷa's reign; but the following dates will show that the writer here has made another mistake, and that the day really fell in the 29th year of the king's reign.

17.—Inscription in the Raṅganātha temple at Śrīraṅgam.³

1 || Hari || Svasti śrī [||*] Payal vāyittu
7 kō=Pparakēsaripaṇmar āṇa Tribhuvāṇṇehachakkaravartigaḷ Ma[ḍu]rai
kop-
8 ḍu Pāṇḍiyaṇ muḍi-ttalai koṇḍ=aruḷi[ya] śrī-Kulōttu[ā]ga-Śōḷadēvarku yāṇḍu
19āvadu Vṛiśchika-nāyaggu apara-pakshattu paṇḍiṇaiyū-Śēvvāy-kkiḷamaiyūm
peru Pūṣattu [nā].

“In the 19th year (*of the reign*) of king **Parakēsarivarman**, *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious **Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷadēva**, who took Madurai and was pleased to cut off the crowned head of the Pāṇḍya,—on the day of **Pushya**, which corresponded to a **Tuesday** and to the fifth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of **Vṛiśchika**,”

This date, like No. 16, falls in the month of Vṛiśchika, and is, as No. 16 professes to be, of the 19th year of the king's reign. Like No. 16, it would therefore be expected to fall in Śaka-Saṁvat 1119 expired; but for that year it does not work out properly. We have seen that the month of Vṛiśchika of Śaka-Saṁvat 1119 expired lasted from the 27th or 28th October to the 25th November A.D. 1197, and during that time the 5th *tithi* of the dark half ended shortly

¹ No. 197 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for the year 1891.

² Read =ppadīṇ-aiṇṇi-āṇṇi-yadiy=āṇa.

³ No. 66 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for the year 1892.

after sunrise of the 2nd November A.D. 1197, which was a Sunday, not a Tuesday.—The date really falls in Śaka-Saṃvat 1118 expired. In that year the month of **Vṛ̥ṣ̥chika** lasted from the 27th October to the 25th November A.D. 1196, and during this period the 5th *tithi* of the dark half ended 14h. 19m. after mean sunrise of **Tuesday**, the 12th November A.D. 1196, when the moon was in the *nakshatra* **Pushya**, by the equal-space system and according to Garga for 15h. 6m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 13h. 8m. after mean sunrise.

18.—Inscription in the Vaidyanātha temple at Tirumalavādi.¹

- 1 Svasti śrī [||*] Puyal vā[y*]ttu
 7 kō=Pparakōsaripannumar=āṇa Ti[ri]buvanachchakkara[va]ttigal
 Maduraiyum [i]lunum Ka-
 8 ruvārum Pāṇḍiyāṇ mudī-ttalaṇṇu=kōṇḍu vīrar abishēkamam ²vijaiyā-
 [a]bishēkamam paṇṇ[i]y-a[r]uliṇa śrī-Tiribuvānaviradō-
 9 vaṇku yāṇḍu 34vadu Kaṇṇi-nāyargu pūrvva-pakshattu • daśamiyum
 Tiṅgaṭ-ki[lanaiy]um perga Tiruvōpattu nā].

“In the 34th year (of the reign) of king Parakōsarivarman, alias the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Tribhuvanaviradōva, who took Madurai, Iḷam, Karuvūr, and the crowned head of the Pāṇḍya and was pleased to perform the appointment of heroes and the anointment of victory,—on the day of Śravaṇa, which corresponded to a Monday and to the tenth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of **Kanyā**.”

As the preceding date No. 17, of the 19th year of the king's reign, apparently fell in Śaka-Saṃvat 1118 expired, this date, which is of the 34th year of his reign, would in the first instance be expected to fall in Śaka-Saṃvat 1133 expired. And for that year the date does work out faultlessly. For in Śaka-Saṃvat 1133 expired the month of **Kanyā** lasted from the 29th August to the 27th September A.D. 1211, and during that time the 10th *tithi* of the bright half ended 8h. 56m. after mean sunrise of **Monday**, the 19th September A.D. 1211, when the moon was in the *nakshatra* **Śravaṇa**, by the equal-space system and according to Garga for 12h. 29m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 13h. 47m. after mean sunrise.

19.—Inscription in the Rājagōpāla-Perumāḷ temple at Maṇimaṅgalam.³

- 1 Svasti śrī [||*] Tiribuvanachchakkaravattiga[i] Iḷamum
 Pāṇḍiyāṇai mudī-ttalaṇṇu=kōṇḍu-aruliya śrī[i]-Kulōttuṅga-Śō[lu]dēvarṇu yā-
 2 ṇḍu 12āvadu Dhanu-nāyargu apara-pakshattu navamiyum Tiṅgaṭ-
 kiḷamaiyum perga Sittirai-nā].

“In the 12th year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷadōva, who was pleased to take Madurai, Iḷam, and the crowned head of the Pāṇḍya,—on the day of **Chitrā**, which corresponded to a Monday and to the ninth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of **Dhanu**.”

The two preceding dates show that this date, which is of the 12th year of the king's reign, in the first instance may be expected to fall in Śaka-Saṃvat 1111 expired. In that year the month of **Dhanu** lasted from the 26th November to the 24th December A.D. 1189, and during this time the moon was in the *nakshatra* **Chitrā**, by the equal-space system and according to Garga for 17h. 44m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 14h. 47m. after mean sunrise of **Monday**, the 4th December A.D. 1189. That this is the proper equivalent

¹ No. 74 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for the year 1895.

² Read *vijay-ābhī*.

³ No. 5 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for the year 1892.

of the original date, there can be no doubt; but it must be pointed out that the *tithi* quoted in the date, the 9th *tithi* of the dark half, when calculated by our tables, had ended 51 minutes¹ before mean sunrise of Monday, the 4th December A.D. 1189, instead of ending after sunrise. In my opinion the irregularity is so slight that in this particular instance it rather tends to confirm the correctness of our general result.

The results obtained under Nos. 17-19 are in such perfect agreement that they may be looked upon as certain; and they prove that the 21st November A.D. 1197, the equivalent of the date No. 16, fell in the 20th, not the 19th year of the king's reign. And the general result arrived at is, that the first year of the reign of Kulōttuṅga-Chōla III. commenced some time between the 5th December A.D. 1177 and the 18th September A.D. 1178 (both days inclusive).

No. 32.— SHOLINGHUR ROCK-INSCRIPTION OF PARANTAKA I.

By E. HULTZSCH, Ph.D.

Sholinghur² is the Anglo-Indian name of a town in the North Arcot district, and of a Railway station which is situated at a distance of about 7 miles from the town near the village of Bāṇavaram.³ The present Tamil name of the town, Śōlaṅgipuram, is probably connected with the Chōla dynasty, to which the subjoined inscription refers. The Tamil work *Guruparam-parāprabhāva*⁴ uses the Sanskrit form Chōlasimhapura. A modern temple of Śiva in the town bears the name Chōlapurīśvara, which yields another Sanskrit designation of the place, viz. Chōlapura. A neighbouring hill bears a temple of Āṇjanēya, which contains a Telugu inscription of Rāmadēva of Penugonda, dated Śaka-Saṃvat 1542, the Raudra saṃvatsara. A hard climb of one hour takes the visitor to the top of a still higher hill, which bears a temple of Narasiṃha. This temple is noticed in the *Nāḷāyiraprabandha*, the *Guruparamparāprabhāva*, and the *Vikṛaṅṇāḍārka* (verses 289 to 297). The names by which these works designate the hill, are Kaḍigai in Tamil and Ghaṭikāchala in Sanskrit.⁵ The only two inscriptions of the temple belong to the time of the third Vijayanagara dynasty. Another temple of Narasiṃha in the town itself contains a number of inscriptions of the later kings of Vijayanagara,⁶ from which it appears that the term Ghaṭikāchala was then applied to this temple as well as to the one on the hill.

Close to the town, on the south-east corner of a large tank, rises a rocky hill, which is known as Śuḍukāṭṭumalai on account of its proximity to the burning-ground (*śuḍu-kāṭṭu*) of Sholinghur. At the base of this hill, a large piece of rock rests on two boulders, thus forming a sort of massive natural door-way. On the inner side of one of the two boulders the subjoined

¹ Calculated by Prof. Jacobi's Special Tables, the distance of the moon from the sun, at mean sunrise of Monday, the 4th December A.D. 1189, was by the Ārya-siddhānta 288° 37' 25", by the Śūrya-siddhānta 289° 5' 6", and by the Brahma-siddhānta 289° 47' 58".

² See the *Manual of the North Arcot District*, second edition, Vol. II. p. 435 ff., and Mr. Sewell's *Lists of Antiquities*, Vol. I. p. 163.

³ This name is perhaps a survival from the time of the Bāṇa dynasty.

⁴ See my *First Report on Sanskrit Manuscripts*, p. vi. f.

⁵ Wilson's *Mackenzie Collection*, p. 134, mentions the *Ghaṭikāchalamdhātmya*, a legendary account of this hill in the Sanskrit language. Vādhōla Venkatāchārya invokes "Nṛsiṃha, the husband of Amṛitaphalavallī, who resides on Ghaṭikāchātri," at the beginning of his commentary on the *Tarkasamgraha*, and Doḍḍayāchārya invokes "Ghaṭikāchārādharādṛa" at the beginning of his *Chandārdṛa*; see Nos. 975 and 1532 in my *Second Report on Sanskrit Manuscripts*.

⁶ A slab which the temple people have utilised for a bench, bears a long inscription in Chōla characters; but the first line, which contained the name of the king, has been cut away.

inscription is engraved. It is in a state of tolerable preservation, except at the beginning of the first six lines, where some letters are lost, including the name of the king at the beginning of line 1. The alphabets of the inscription are Grantha and Tamil of the same type as in the Udayêndiram plates of Hastimalla.¹ It opens with a few Tamil words (l. 1). Then follow 10 Sanskrit verses, and a short passage in Tamil (ll. 19 to 21). At the end, the name of the writer is given in barbarous Sanskrit prose (l. 21 f.).

As we learn from the mutilated Tamil passage at the beginning of line 1, the inscription is dated in the 9th year of the reign of a king whose name is lost, but can be supplied with certainty from the Udayêndiram plates of Hastimalla as Parakêsarivarman,² a surname of the Chôla king Parântaka I. who ruled from about A.D. 900 to 940.³

The Sanskrit portion opens with an invocation of Vishnu (v. 1). The next verse celebrates Âditya (I.) of the race of the Sun. His son (v. 3) was Parântaka (I.), surnamed Vîra-nârâyana. He granted the revenue from (a field called) Vamśavâri in favour of a tank named Chôlavâridhi (v. 4). This Parântaka (I.) had conferred the title 'lord of the Bâgas' (Bâgadhîrîja) on Prithivîpati (vv. 6 and 7) of the Gaṅga race (v. 5), who was surnamed Hastimalla and defeated an unnamed enemy in the battle of Vallâja. At his request, the king entrusted him with the execution of the grant (v. 8). Next follows the usual *captatio benevolentiae* (v. 9), in which Hastimalla is called Vîra-Chôla. The last verse (10) states that these verses were composed by the Vaikhânasa-Kumâra of the Kâśyapa gôtra.

The second Tamil portion records that Hastimalla, surnamed Vîra-Chôla, the king of Parivai and vassal of the Chôla king, executed the royal grant by assigning the paddy-field named Muṅgilvâri (to the tank).

In the concluding Sanskrit portion, the inscription is styled a eulogy (*prastuti*).⁴

The Gaṅga-Bâga king Prithivîpati II. surnamed Hastimalla is already known from one of the Udayêndiram grants.⁵ Four verses of the subjoined inscription (3, 5, 7 and 9) are almost completely identical with four verses of the Udayêndiram plates of Hastimalla (6, 21, 22 and 23). As those plates are dated in the 15th year of the reign of Parântaka I., it appears that their writer copied those four verses from the Sholinghur inscription, which belongs to the 9th year of the same reign. This is also suggested by the fact that verse 21 of the Udayêndiram plates is rather out of place where it stands, while it is in its original and natural position in the Sholinghur inscription (v. 5). Further, this verse has here the correct reading *râjahamśa*, while the Udayêndiram plates read *râjasiṃha*, instead of which I had conjectured *râjahamśa* before I knew of the existence of the Sholinghur inscription.⁶ A point in which the two records differ, is that the Sholinghur inscription does not mention Vijayâlaya, the grandfather of Parântaka I., while his father Âditya I. is referred to in both. As in the Udayêndiram plates, the Gaṅga-Bâga king Prithivîpati II. appears here as vassal and executive officer (*âjñapti*, v. 8) of Parântaka I. His surname 'king of the people of Parivai' (*Parivaiyar kôṇ*, l. 20) corresponds to the 'lord of Parivipuri' in the Udayêndiram plates (v. 24). I am

¹ *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. II. No. 76.

² As the earliest known instance in which Parakêsarivarman receives the epithet *Madurai koṇḍa*, i.e. 'the conqueror of Madurai,' is an inscription of his 10th year (No. 119 of 1895), it is doubtful if we are justified to supply this epithet too at the beginning of the mutilated line 1.

³ See above, p. 178, note 12.

⁴ Compare *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. II. p. 365.

⁵ *ibid.* No. 76. The following may now be added to my remarks on the situation of the village granted (*ibid.* p. 382). Among the boundaries of Kuṇḍikkôṭṭûr (p. 389) we find in the east a channel which feeds the *Vinṇamangalattêr-êri*, i.e. 'the tank of the inhabitants of Vinṇamangulam.' This village still exists and has given its name to a Railway station between Vâṇiyambôḍi and Âmbû.

⁶ See *ibid.* p. 384, note 16.

unable to identify Paṇivipuri¹ or Paṇivai, which appears to have been the residence of Prithivīpati II., and Vallāḷa, where he is stated to have won a battle (v. 8).

A remarkable discrepancy occurs in verse 9 of the Sholinghur inscription, which reads *nṛiparāj-kila Vira-Chōḷa*, while the Udayēndiram plates (v. 25) have *sa Parāntaka śhariraḥ*. Hence one might be tempted to conclude that Vira-Chōḷa was a surname of Parāntaka I. But in the Tamil portion (l. 20) **Vira-Chōḷa** is again used as a title of **Hastimalla**. This fact is important, as it enables us to identify two persons mentioned in another **Udayēndiram** grant (above, Vol. III, No. 14), of which only the second and the fifth plates are preserved. The *nṛipēśvara* **Vira-Chōḷa** and his sovereign **Parakōsarivarman**, with whose permission this grant was made, are no doubt identical with the *nṛiparāj* Vira-Chōḷa (i.e. Hastimalla) of the Sholinghur inscription and his sovereign Parāntaka I., who is known to have borne the surname **Parakōsarivarman**. Further it becomes now probable that the Vira-Chōḷa who is mentioned in the Vēlūr inscription of Kaṇṇaradēva (above, No. 9), is also identical with Prithivīpati II. In this case the latter would have been still alive about the 26th year of the reign of the Rāshtrakūṭa king Kṛishṇa III. From later inscriptions we know of two other chiefs who bore the name Vira-Chōḷa. The first of them was a vassal of the great Chōḷa king Rājārāja,² and the second was the father of a certain Vira-Champa.³

According to the Tamil portion (l. 21), the object of the grant which was made by Parāntaka I. and executed by Hastimalla, was a paddy-field named **Mūṅgilvari**. This Tamil term is Sanskritised in verse 4 as **Vamśavāri**, in which *vamśu* corresponds to the Tamil word *mūṅgil*, 'a bamboo.' The proceeds of the field were to be used for the up-keep of a tank named **Chōḷavāridhi** (v. 4), i.e. 'the Chōḷa ocean.'⁴ As the name suggests, this tank may have been founded either by the Chōḷa king Parāntaka I. himself, or Hastimalla may have constructed it in honour of his sovereign. It must be identical with the large tank at Sholinghur, on the bank of which the subjoined inscription is engraved.

TEXT.⁵

- 1 [r]ku⁶ y[ā]n[du o]nbadā[va]du [||] Ānandam
para-
- 2 [jam paś]yan[t]i [yad-dhy]āy[ā]nō yasy-āmā [t]riṣhu
[v]ikramā-
- 3 kâ⁷ vasan[t]i tm[yah] [i*] ta[t*]tvam ya[sya pa]vāmriśa[n]=
vivipantē vō hē-
- 4 nām [pa]ramaś-śhirā[ya bha]gavān=**V**[i]shṇuṣ=mmudō [śō]=
s[t]u vah || [i*] Ādityānvaya-śō-
- 5 kulō⁸ bhārtu[n=dharā]-gōḷakam kamp-[ā]pāya-nirāku[la]m pambhur=
abhūd=**Āditya-nāmā nṛipah** [i*]

¹ In his *Lists of Antiquities*, Vol. I. p. 209, Mr. Sewell mentions a village named Paravipuram in the Viṇṇupuram taluka of the South Arcot district.

² See above, page 138.

³ Above, Vol. III. p. 71.

⁴ The word *samudra*, 'ocean,' and its synonyms are frequently employed, through hyperbole, as the second portion of names of tanks. Thus, the Gaṇapēśvaram inscription of Gaṇapati (above, Vol. III. p. 91, verses 23 and 25) mentions two tanks named Chōḷasamudra and Bhūmasamudra. At Bangalore two tanks bear even now the names Dharmāmbudhi and Kempāmbudhi, i.e. 'the ocean of Kempe (Gauda),' who is said to have built the Bangalore fort in A.D. 1537; see Mr. Rice's *Mysoore and Coorg*, Vol. II. p. 29. As the names of tanks were often transferred to adjacent villages, the Sanskrit *samudra* (compare above, Vol. III. p. 225, note 6), the Tamil *śrī*, the Kanarose *here*, and the Telugu *cheruru* became the ending of many village names in Southern India.

⁵ From four inked estampages, prepared by Mr. T. P. Krishnaswami Sastri, M.A.

⁶ Read *kōḷ=parakōsarivarmanku*.

⁷ Read *lōkō*.

⁸ Read perhaps *śōkharō nṛipa-kulō*.

- 6 . . . h phap[i]-maṇḍalam(lam) kshiti-bhṛi[ta]s=sarvvô cha digvârapâ n=
âkampan=dadhat=iti Paia-
- 7 ka[ja]bhuvâ yatu[ô]na yô nirmitah || [2*] Tasmâch=chakradhara-âriyam
prakāṣayan=pratyaksham=âtman=alan=dēvas=śatru-davānala-
- 8 s=samajani śri-Viranārāyaṇah || bāhādaṇḍa-gatam bibhartti suchiram(ram)
viśvam bhārâ-maṇḍalam(lam) sapta-
- 9 [d]vīpa-samudra-sailam=adhunâ kēyûra-buddhy=aiya ya[h*] || [3*] Va[mśa]vâri-
janitan=ṛipâ-dēyau=Chôlavâridhi-tatâka-samriddhyai || [1*]
- 10 dattavân=nikhilam=â yuga-bhāṅgâd=âdarēṇa sa Parântakadēva[h*] || [4*]
Tasmân=ṛipô=labhata patṭu-mnyam prasâdam Bânâdhi-
- 11 rāja-pada-lambhana-sâdhanam yah || [1*] âkrâmatô yudhi Parântakatô
narēndrân Gaṅgānvavāya-salilâśaya-râjahansa[h*] || [5*] Bhûmy-â-
- 12 dishu sphuṭa-[la]ghushv=api satsu vṛiddhâ yad=vṛitti-bôdhi [pri]thivi-padam=
âdriyantô || [1*] tat-prâpti-pûrvvaka-chatushtaya-siddhi-yôgâd=yasmi-
- 13 n babhûva Prithivipati-śabda-vṛittih || [6*] Śauryy-audâryya-kṛitajñatâ-
madhuratâ-dâkshīṇya-mêdhâ-kshamâ-prajñâ-śaucha-sam-ânn-
- 14 bhâva-karuṇâ-kânti-pradhânô nayi || [1*] âkrântah Prithivipatim sa Kalinâ sôk-
âvasâdan vinâ sthâtun=dr[â*]g-Baliyamśa-jô=[ya]-
- 15 m=iti [yam] bhêjô guṇânân guṇah || [7*] Saucûn kalâm(lâm) vivṛi[ta]vân-
alam=âtma-linâm(nâm) Vallâḷa-nânni yudhi santama[s]âyamânê || [1*]
vijñâpa[ya]-
- 16 n=vinayavân=atha dharmma-karmmany-âjñaptir=apy=abhavad=atra sa Hastimallaḥ
|| [5*] [Pu]ṇya[ni*] samam kṛi[ta*]yatâm parirakshatân=cha tad=rakshat=
êti nṛi[pa]rât=kila Vi-
- 17 ra-Chôlah || [1*] âgâminah kshiti[ti]n[1*] prapamaty=ajasram=mûrddhnâ Parâri-
[cha]rapâf[n*]bujâ-sêkharēṇa || [9*] Brahm-âparâkhyâ-Vikhana[ś-śra]ma-
- 18 ṇa-kriyâyan(yân) Vaikhânas-âkhy[am]=u[mritatva]di¹ yasya sûtram || [1*] slôkân=
imân-rachitavân sa munih Kumârô yad-gôtra-kṛin=mu-
- 19 [ni]r-abhûd=api Kâśyap-âkhyâ[h*] || [10*] Aṅa-[kûṇ]iṇâl puravum âyadियum
po[n*]ṇu[m] perum-âṅa Sôḷa-
- 20 k[kô]n=â[di]-malargu[1] [ma]ṅgula-Vira-Sôḷa[n*] Parivaiyar kôn Atitima[1]-²
- 21 laṇ-rân kuṇṭtân M[û]ṇgilvari enṇu[m*] va[ya]† || [11] Sta(stha)patikula-
maṇi-³prabha-
- 22 vah⁴ śrinâ[n=Prâ]purt-nivâsah⁵ Śrīkanth-âtmaja-S[û]n[d]as[â]dhana⁶ likhinâ(tâ)
pisatti[h⁷ ||]

TRANSLATION.

(Line 1.) In the ninth year (of the reign) of [king Parakēsarivarmā].

[Verse 1, which is mutilated, contains an invocation of Vishnu].

(V. 2.) In a family [of princes, which was the ornament] of the race of the Sun, was born a king named Âditya, who was able to bear, free of trembling and agitation, the globe of the earth. He was created with care by the Creator, in order that . . . the crowd of serpents, and all the elephants of the regions, who are supporting the earth, might not feel tired.

¹ Read perhaps *amrita-kshari*.

² Cancel *maṇi*, which is synonymous with the following *prabhava*.

³ Read *-prabhava-śrīmat-*.

⁴ Read perhaps *-kandarddhana*.

⁵ Read *Attimat-*.

⁶ Read *-nivâsa-*.

⁷ Read *prâkṣati*.

(V. 3.) From him was born the glorious king **Viranārāyaṇa**, a jungle-fire to enemies, who, visibly (*and*) amply manifesting the glory of Chakradhara,¹ (*which resides*) in him, now wears for a long time, as easily as an arm-ring, the circle of the earth, together with the seven continents, oceans and mountains, resting on (*his*) strong arm.

(V. 4.) This **Parāntakadēva** eagerly granted, until to the end of the age, for the enrichment of the **Chōlavāridhi** tank, the whole royal revenue derived from **Vamśavāri**.

(V. 5.) That prince, a flamingo in the tank of the **Gaṅga** race, who² received from this **Parāntaka**, who attacked kings in battle, a grant in the shape of a (*copper*) plate, which was the instrument of the attainment of the dignity of lord of the **Bāṇas** (*Bāṇādhirdja*);—

(V. 6.) He who bore the name **Prithivipati** (*i.e.* the lord or husband of the Earth), because he practised the four (*pursuits of human life*) after he had taken (*to wife*) the Earth (*Prithivī*),—a word which the ancients prefer, as it characterizes the nature (*of the earth*),³ though there are (*other*) plain and short (*synonyms*) like *bhūmi*;—

(V. 7.) That **Prithivipati** whom, oppressed by the **Kali** (*age*), the political crowd of virtues, *viz.* courage, liberality, gratitude, sweetness, courtesy, wisdom, patience, intelligence, purity, tranquillity, dignity, mercy, beauty, *etc.*, forthwith joined, in order to rest without grief and fatigue, under the impression that he was born of the race of **Bali**;⁴—

(V. 8.) This **Hastimalla**,—who amply showed that a particle of the Sun was inherent in him, in the battle called (*after*) **Vallāla**, which resembled deep darkness,⁵—became, at his humble request, the royal messenger (*dīnāpti*) for this charitable work.

(V. 9.) “The religious merit of those who perform (*grants*) and of those who protect (*them*), (*is*) equal. Therefore protect (*the present gift*)!”—(*Speaking*) thus, the chief of princes **Vira-Chōla** incessantly bows (*his*) head, whose diadem are the lotus-feet of **Parāri** (*Śiva*),⁶ to future kings.

(V. 10.) These verses were composed by the sage **Kumāra**, the founder of whose *gōtra* was the sage named **Kāśyapa**, (*and*) whose *sūtra*, named **Vaikhāṇasa**, grants salvation (?) during (*the performance of*) the rites (*prescribed by*) the ascetic (*śramaṇa*) **Vikhaṇas**, whose other name was **Brahman**.

(Line 19.) (*The servant of*) the lotus-feet of the **Chōla** king; the auspicious **Vira-Chōla**; the king of the people of **Parivai**; **Attimallaṇ** (**Hastimalla**) himself gave the paddy-field named **Muṅgilvari**, so that (*the tank*)⁷ might enjoy gifts (?),⁸ revenue (?) and gold (*connected*) with (*its*) six shares.

(L. 21.) (*This*) *prasaṁsti* was written by **Skandasādhu**, the son of **Śrīkaṇṭha**, a descendant of a family of architects (*sthapati*) and an inhabitant of the prosperous [**Pra**]puri.⁹

¹ See *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. II. p. 386, note 3.

² The relative pronouns in verses 5 to 7 correspond to the demonstrative pronoun *sa* in verse 8.

³ The etymological meaning of *prithivī* is ‘the broad or spacious one.’

⁴ See *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. II. p. 388, note 3.

⁵ *i.e.* he conquered his enemies in the battle of **Vallāla**, just as the sun dispels darkness. Besides, this verse seems to contain an allusion to **Hastimalla**’s title **Vira-Chōla**, by which he is connected with the **Chōlas**, who claimed the Sun as their ancestor.

⁶ See *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. II. p. 389, note 7; and above, p. 178, note 7.

⁷ See verse 4 of the Sanskrit portion.

⁸ Compare the expression *dyira-puravipāṇi* in *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. II. No. 76, text line 99.

⁹ This doubtful name is perhaps a corruption of **Parivipuri**, which is mentioned as the residence of **Hastimalla** in verse 24 of the Udayādhiram plates.

No. 33.— PITHAPURAM PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF MALLAPADEVA;
SAKA-SAMVAT 1124.

By E. HULTZSCH, Ph.D.

This is the third of the four inscriptions on the pillar at the entrance of the Kuntimādhava temple at Pithāpuram. It is engraved on the east face of the pillar, below the end of the second inscription (No. 10 above). Like the two other inscriptions, it is in a state of fair preservation and is written in the Telugu alphabet. The languages of the inscription are Sanskrit (verse and prose) and Telugu prose (lines 85-90). Two passages are in a mixture of Telugu and Sanskrit prose (ll. 90-93 and l. 96). Among the numerous orthographical mistakes, the following deserve to be mentioned as being due to faulty pronunciation. The vowel *e* is used for *a*, especially after *y*, in *Yemunā* for *Yamunā* (l. 26); *tēu=ēyēu* for *tēu=ēyāu* (l. 47); *-yeśā* for *-yaśā* (l. 64); *jāyetē* for *jāyatē* (l. 94); *nirupamāne* for *nirupamāna* (l. 54); and *Pōtame* for *Pōtama* (l. 92). *Ū* occurs instead of *ō* in *unūddanū* for *nandanō* (l. 4); *ēkūna* for *ēkōna* (l. 20); and *bhānūr* for *bhānōr* (l. 79). *I* and *ē* are interchanged in *chakrē* for *chakrē* (l. 17) and *kalāvat-ēti* for *kalāvat-īti* (l. 70). Consonants are prefixed in *Yīśā* for *īśā* (l. 17); *uttama* for *uttama* (l. 64); *mūripa*, *mūripa* or *mūripa* for *mūripa* (ll. 69, 51 and 55, and twice in l. 66) and *dripa* for *ripa* (l. 56). The diphthong *ai* is improperly used in the second syllable of *Haihaiga* for *Haihaya* (l. 69) and in *-saijāh* for *-samjāh*¹ (l. 64). Finally, instead of *Jyāishtha* we find *Śrēshtha* (l. 79), as in the Ekāmranātha inscription of Gaṇapati.²

About two thirds of the inscription are taken up with the genealogy of the Eastern Chālukya kings, which agrees on the whole with the account given in the Korumelli plates of Rājārāja I., the Chellār plates of Vīra-Chōḍa, and the second Pithāpuram inscription.³ There are, however, a few independent statements which deserve to be noticed. The third king of the dynasty, Indrabhāṭṭāraka or Indrarāja, is here called Indurāja (l. 34); he is stated to have ruled for seven days, as in the second Pithāpuram inscription and in three copper-plate grants.⁴ The eleventh king, Narendra, is said to have fought 108 battles, and to have founded on the sites of these battles 108 temples, to which tanks and gardens were attached (v. 8).⁵

The thirteenth king, Guṇa[ga]-Vijayāditya, bore the surname Tribhuvanāṅkuṣa.⁶ He is reported to have played the game of ball on the battle-field with the head of Maṅgirāja; to have burnt Chakrakūṭa; to have frightened Saṅkila, residing in Kiranapura and joined by Kṛishṇa; to have restored his dignity to Vallabhendra; and to have received elephants as tribute from the king of Kalinga (vv. 9 and 10). Some of these deeds are alluded to in two other inscriptions. One of them states that Vijayāditya III., "prompted by the lord of the Rattas, having conquered the unequalled Gāngas, cut off the head of Maṅgi in battle," and that, "having frightened Kṛishṇa (and) Saṅkila, he completely burnt their city."⁷ A second inscription says that Vijayāditya III. was "renowned through killing Maṅgi and burning Kiranapura."⁸ Kṛishṇa, the enemy of Vijayāditya III., used to be identified with the

¹ Compare above, Vol. III. p. 23.

² *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXI. p. 201, text line 14. In an inscription at Śrīkūrmam (No. 308 of 1896) both *Śrēshtha* and *Jyēshtha* occur instead of *Jyāishtha*, as in lines 79 and 86 of the third Pithāpuram inscription.

³ See above, p. 84, and notes 5 and 6.

⁴ See *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. I. p. 32, note 4.

⁵ Compare *ibid.* p. 37, and p. 38, note 2; and *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XX. p. 101.

⁶ Compare *ibid.* p. 100.

⁷ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 221, and *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. I. pp. 38, 39 and 42, where *saṅkila* is rendered by 'fire-brand.' The inscription now published proves that Saṅkila is a proper name, and that, *l.c.* p. 39, note 11, we must read *bhīty-dṛtau*.

⁸ *ibid.* p. 38, note 3. The present inscription shows that I was wrong in altering *Kiranapura* into *Kṛishṇapura*.

**No. 39—KANCHIPURAM INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF ACHYUTARAYA,
SAKA 1453**

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(Received on 7. 12. 1957)

The subjoined inscription¹ is engraved on the east wall of the old Sabbhānāyaka shrine in the **Ēkāmrānātha** temple at **Kāñchipuram** in the Chingleput District, Madras. The inscription contains two parts, one in **Sanskrit** engraved in **Grantha characters** and the other, which is incomplete, in **Tamil** in the **Tamil script** mixed with Grantha. The Sanskrit portion is couched in verses in *Anuṣṭubh* intercepted by a prose passage which has also been numbered along with the rest. There is nothing particular to note regarding palaeography or orthography. The inscription is important from the point of view of literary history as it throws light on the authorship and date of four literary compositions in Sanskrit.

The epigraph is dated in the reign of **Achyutarāya** of the Tuluva dynasty of Vijayanagara and the details of the date, viz., **Saka 1453**,² **Khara, Kumbha śu. 3, Rēvatī, Friday**, correspond to **1532 A.D., February 9**, the *nakṣatra* being current till 34 of the following day.

The epigraph commences with two stanzas invoking respectively the gods **Vighnēśvara** and **Śiva**. Then it introduces king **Achyuta** of the Tuluva dynasty, whose greatness is described at length and who is described as the son of **Narasa**. The king's commander-in-chief **Salaka Tirumala** is described next as the lord of **Ōndāṇa-maṇḍala**. It is stated that he defeated the **Pāṇḍya** and **Kōraḷa** kings and acquired sovereignty over them. This **Tirumala** is then stated to have installed **Bhōgarāja**, son of **Timmarāja** of the solar race, as governor at **Kāñchi**. Then the record proceeds to narrate an important event that happened during the governorship of **Bhōgarāja** at **Kāñchi**. **Bhōgarāja** worshipped Lord **Ēkāmrānātha** and summoned an assembly of learned **Śiva-Brāhmaṇas**, **Māhēśvaras** and temple officials before the god **Ēkāmrēśvara**. Two other persons, one described as **Rāmachandra's** brother and the other as **Nārāyaṇa**, were also present. On that occasion, the assembly listened to four literary works in Sanskrit composed by **Śrīnivāsa**, viz. *Śivabhaktivilāsa* (stated to have been an account of the lives of the 63 Śaiva devotees), *Charaṇādīstava*, *Bhōgāvalī* and *Nāmāvalī*. **Śrīnivāsa**, the author of these works, is represented as the son of **Sitārāma** of the **Bharadvāja gōtra** and as a resident of **Chēyarūr**. He is also stated to have been well-versed in the **Sāmavēda** and to have performed the **Vājapēya** sacrifice acquiring thereby the singular privilege of carrying the white umbrella.³ In appreciation of the compositions mentioned above, the *sabhā* is said to have made presents of ornaments and clothes to the poet and to have also arranged for the poet's permanent residence at **Kāñchi** by purchasing a house for him. The house stood on a site, 40' wide⁴, in the northern part of the eastern row of houses in **Nallakampa-vithi** to the south of the outer *prākāra* of the **Ēkāmrānātha** temple. The poet also received a *śivamāna* of rice daily and five *bhāras* of grains and five *panas* per month, to be enjoyed hereditarily. It was further enjoined upon the members of the *sabhā* to see that this gift continues uninterruptedly. The Tamil portion, which is unfinished, refers to the above four works, to the assembly and to **Bhōgayadēva-mahārāja**, the *karṭtar* of the place.

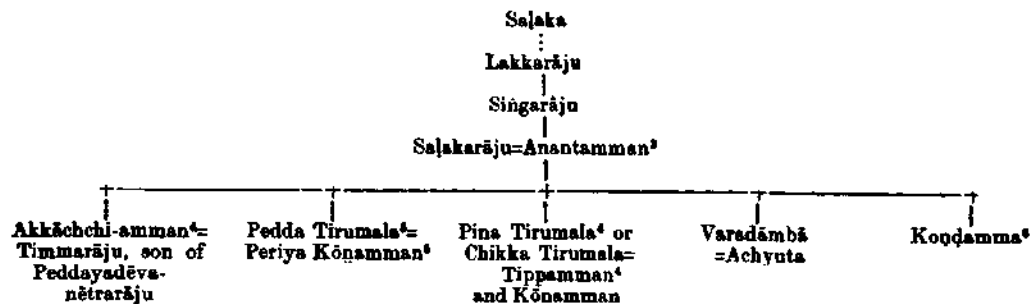
¹ A. R. Ep., 1955-56, App. B, No. 274.

² The Saka year is obtained from the chronogram *Śakshmi-bhāgye* which is apparently a mistake for *Lakshmi-bhāgye* because the latter form, besides being more sensible, agrees with the cyclic year **Khara** which corresponds to **Saka 1453**. The chronogram is based on the *Kaṭapayādi* system.

³ That the persons who performed the **Vājapēya** sacrifice were entitled to hold the white umbrella as an honour is indicated by the *Rāmāyaṇa*, *Ayōdhyā Kāṇḍa*, Canto 45, verses 22-23, and *Gōvindarāja's* commentary thereon.

⁴ The length of the site is stated to have been the same as that of the adjoining house.

Sajaka's son Tirumala, described in the record as Achyuta's commandar-in-chief, is the well-known brother-in-law of the king. Tirumala is described as the lord of Ōndāṇa-maṇḍala. Ōndāṇa is unknown to us as the name of a territory. But, among the numerous inscriptions referring to this chief, two, one from Gūḍūr¹ in the Nellore District and the other from Vēmulūrupāḍu² in the Guntur District, mention *Ōndāṇemaṇḍalikaragaṇḍa* as one of his titles, meaning perhaps the chief of the *maṇḍalika*s each of whom had an elephant. It does not seem to refer to any *maṇḍala* Ōndāṇa by name, as our epigraph would make us believe. It is possible that the composer of our record arrived at this form in his attempt to transliterate this *biruda* of Sajaka Tirumala without knowing its significance. But there is no doubt that this Tirumala is identical with Pedda Tirumala whose genealogy, as gathered from the Vēmulūrupāḍu inscription and some other inscriptions, from Śrīraṅgam, may be recorded here.



Bhōgarāja, installed as *karṭtar* at Kāñchi, is called Bhōgayadēva-mahārāja in the Tamil section of the record. Some inscriptions³ from the North Arcot and South Arcot Districts mention a Bhōgaiyadēva-mahārāja always in association with Sajakarāja Tirumala. One of them⁴ from Tiruppaṇṇāḍu states that, when Tirumalaidēva-mahārāja was camping at Kāñchi in the month of Makara in Śaka 1453, Khara, after having captured Vira-Narasimharāya-nāyakkar, Bhōgaiyadēva-mahārāja enquired at his instance into a complaint lodged by the authorities of the temple at Tiruppaṇṇāḍu against the misappropriation of 50 *poṇ* of *jōḍi* by the captured chief. The amount is stated to have been formerly remitted by Kṛishṇadēvarāya. Narasimharāya-nāyakkar withheld the amount even after a reminder from Sājuva Timmayar. Bhōgaiyadēva

¹ *Ins.Nel. Dist.*, Part I, Gūḍūr, No. 108. The text given there reads *Ōndāṇe-maṇḍa*. A Tamil inscription (*A. R. Ep.*, 1919, No. 575) from Kāñchipuram gives this expression as *Ōndāṇai-maṇḍa*.

² *A. R. Ep.*, 1909, No. 544.

³ *Ibid.*, 1938-39, No. 70.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 1950-51, No. 318; cf. also Nos. 323-24.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 1938-39, No. 3; 1950-51, No. 340.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 1924, No. 170.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 1906, Nos. 174, 175 and 253; 1921, No. 356; 1939-40, No. 266.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 1907, Part II, para. 60.

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recovered this amount. In another inscription¹ from Elavānāsūr, a Bhōgaiyadēva is referred to as the son of Tippayadēva-mahārāja who is described as *Chōḷa-kula-tilaka* and *Uṇaiyūr-puravar-ādhiśvara* and stated to have served Tirumalaiyadēva-mahārāja. Bhōgaiyadēva is mentioned in our record as the son of Timmarāja and as having belonged to the Sūrya-vaṁśa. If *Timma* and *Tippa* can be regarded as variants of the same name, Bhōgaiyadēva-mahārāja of the present record would be identical with his namesake mentioned in the Tiruppanāṁgāḍu and Elavānāsūr inscriptions.

The theme of Śrīnivāsa's *Śivabhaktivilāsa*, stated to be a *kāvya* dealing with the lives of the 63 devotees of Śiva, is the same as that of the fine Tamil poetical work entitled *Periyapurāṇam* also known as *Tiruttoṇḍarapurāṇam* composed by Śēkkilār in the first half of the 12th century. *Śivabhaktivilāsa* has been noticed in Aufrecht's *Catalogus Catalogorum*.² *Charaṇādīstava*, called *Pādādīkīśastava* in the Tamil portion, is evidently the same as *Ēkāraṇāthastava* noticed in the *Catalogus Catalogorum*.³ The works are assigned by Aufrecht to Śrīnivāsa-dīkshita who is no doubt identical with Śrīnivāsa-yajvan of our record, the titles *yajvan* and *dīkshita* being synonymous. *Charaṇādīstava* was no doubt a description of the god commencing from his sacred feet and ending with the glory of his crown or the head. It is sometimes composed also in the reverse order. It appears that both the types were chosen to describe a god while the latter was employed only to describe a man. The other two works *Bhōgāvalī*⁴ and *Nāmāvalī* are evidently names of two types of compositions. Apparently they too were compositions on Ēkāraṇāsa. The munificence of the gifts made to the poet is sufficient indication of the patronage that men of letters enjoyed during the period in question.

Cheyarūr, the native place of the poet, cannot be identified due to want of further details.

TEXT*

- 1 Śubham=astu [||*] Vām-āṁk-ārūḍha-vāmākshī-vakshōj-āsakta-pu-
- 2 shkaram | vāraṇaṁ vighna-tamasūṁ Vāraṇāsyam-upāsmahō [||*] Kāmā-
- 3 kshī-tuṁga-vakshōja-kamikaṇ-āṁkita-vakshasam* | śilayē sthi-
- 4 tam-Ēkāra-mūlē Bālēnduśekhara'm | [2]* Yasy-ājñāt sarva-
- 5 bhūpālā vabantō nija-mūrdhhabhiḥ | nīrajayanti kōṭira-ratna-dī-
- 6 paiḥ pad-ā[ṁ*]bujam | [3 | *] Na[ta]-mūrdha-pad-āṁgushṭha-nakh-āgra-kṛita-randhrataḥ |
yit-pratāp-ā[ṁ*]z
- 7 jvālā-jālair-ut-arppibhir-mmubuh | 4 | Brahmāṇḍam mukha-nikshipta-nava-palla[va*]-saṁ-
- 8 batēḥ | suvarṇṇa-pūrṇṇa-kumbhasya vibhramam vahatī sphuṭam | [5]* [Na]-

¹ Ibid., 1906, No. 174.

² See p. 670.

³ Loc. cit.

⁴ For the nature of this composition, see *Pratāparudriya* (Bombay Sanskrit and Prakrit Series No. LXV), *Kāvya-prakaraṇa*, p. 98.

* From the original and inked impressions.

* Cf. *Māhāparichāṣaṭī*, Āryāṣatakaṁ, verse 15.

* Tamil 'r' is used here.

- 9 |a-Nābhāga-Nahusha-Nṛiga-Rāma-mukhān nṛipān | atisētē pavitrēṇa charitē(trē)ṇa
- 10 nijēna yaḥ | 6 | Asau Narasa-bhūpāla-tanayō vinay-ōjva(jjva)laḥ | Achyutēndra-
- 11 mahārāya-nāmā sīmā su-vartmanām | 7 | Yadā bhujēna Bhōgindra-bhōga-ka-
- 12 lpēna sat-prabhuḥ | vahaty-aśēsha-vasudhā-valayaṁ valayaṁ yathā | 8 | Tadā tasya chamū-
nāthas-sarvva-sūmrā-
- 13 jya-dhūr-vahaḥ | Ōndāṇa-maṇḍal-ādhisas=~~Salaka~~-kshumāpa-bhūr=abhūt | 9 | Yaḥ Pāṇḍya-
Kēraḷa(ā)dhīsam(śau) parā-
- 14 jitya tataḥ karam | karan=tat-prithivi-rājya-lakshmyā iva tad=āgrahīt | 10 | Asau Tirumala-
kshumāpas=ta-
- 15 sy=āptam prāpta-tējasam | Sūryya-vaṇiś-ābdhi-śāsinām Surēndra-sama-vikramam | 11 | Ti-
mmarāja-bhu-
- 16 [va]m Bhōgarājam Kānchyān=nyavēśayāt | sa tatra kārayan pūjām=Ēkāmrēśasya
bhūyasīm | 12 |
- 17 Śakshmībhāgyē: Śakasy-ābdē Khar-ābdē Kumbha-gē Ravau | sita-pakshē
tritiyāyām
- 18 Rēvatyā[m*] vāsarē Bhṛigōḥ | 13 | Praṇamy=Aikāmraramaṇan=tasy=āgrē samupāviśāt |
R.-
- 19 maclandr-ānujanmā² Nā[rā*]yaṇō=’pi cha | 14 | Gautamās=cha Bharadvājā[h*] Kauśi[kā]h³
Kāśyapās=tathā | Aga-
- 20 styās=cha mahānmā(trnā)naś=Śiva-dvija-kul-ōttamāḥ | 15⁴ | Kulē śilē sad-āchārē tyāgē bhōgē
śamē damē | prathitāḥ
- 21 kiścha(ñ=cha) kuśalās=sakalāsu kalāsu cha | 16 | Māhēśvarās=cha mahitāḥ | * karaṇās=cha
guṇ-ālayāḥ [| *] āla-
- 22 [y]-Aikāmrānāthasya puratas=tridaśā iva | 17 | Tadā tata(tō) Bharadvāja-Sīta(tā)rāma-
sutas=sadhīḥ | Vājapēy-ārjita-śvēta-
- 23 ja(chcbha)tra-maṇḍala-maṇḍitaḥ | 18 | Pada-vākya-pra[mā]ṇēshu Bharat-ādi-kalāsu cha |
prathitās=Chēyarūr-grāma-vāsi

¹ See p. 199, note 2.

² After ‘janmā we have to read cha śṛiman to suit the metre.

³ The letters śikā are written below the line.

⁴ The number 13 was originally engraved and later it appears to have been corrected into 15.

⁵ This daṇḍa was wrongly engraved here instead of at the end of this hemistich.

⁶ The sign for medial ai is engraved at the end of the previous line.

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24 Sām-ābdi-pāragah | [19[*] Śrīnivāsaś-Śivasy-ājñā(jñā)-vasata[h*] svēna nirmmitam | tri-
[sha*]ṣṭi-bhakta-chāritra-dyōtakam kāvyam=utta-

25 mam | 20 | Śivabha[kti]¹vilās-ākhyam=aśrāvayad=imāṁ sabhām | Cha[ra]ṇādīstavam Bhōgā-
valīm Nāmāvalim²=api | 21 | Etā-

26 n prabandhān=ākarnya santuṣṭās=[t]ē sabhāsadaḥ | prasaunani Śivam=āla³kshya lakshma-
bhīḥ pūrvva-sam(sam)sitaiḥ | 22 |

27 Praśasy=aitam kavim bhūṣhā-vastr-ādyaiḥ pratipūjya cha | kri(ka)lpayanti sma ch=āvāsam
Kānchyām=ch=āśya santatam | 2[3] |]

28 ¹Ekāmranātha-bāhya-prākārād=dakṣiṇatō Nallakampa-vidhi(thi)-śrēṣṭhi-rathyā-pūrvva-
śrēṇy-[u]ttara-prānta-sthi-

29 ta[ni*] dakṣiṇ-ōtṭarataś=chatvāriṁsat-pada-vistṛitam prativēsa-griha-prācharayāma⁴-sam-
āyamam Ekāmre-

30 sēna ka(kra)ya-labdham ni[dh]y-ādy-aṣṭa-bhōga-sahitam=ēka-nikēṭanañ=ch=āsmē(smai)
Śrīnivāsa-

31 yajvanē dattavantah | 26 | Ekāmreś-ālayāt prāpyam=amunā [ka]vin=ānv-aham |

32 Śiva-māna-mitam śāli-taṇḍulānāñ=cha sañchayam | 27 | Māsē māsē tataḥ
prāpya[ni*]

33 vīṇipām bhāra-pañchakam | pañānām pañchakamam=api⁵ prasādam Pārvatīpatēḥ |
2[8] |]

34 Etat=sarvvan=dviḥ[sy-ā*]sya bhōjyam putr-ādikair=api | yath-ēṣṭa-viniyōg-ārham=ā-
kalpāntam=akalpa-

35 yan | 29 | Śrīnivāsēna viduṣhā prāptam-Ekāmran[ā]yakāt | prasannād=etat=akhilam pāla-
nīyan-na-

36 rādhīpaiḥ | 30 | Māhēśvarair=Mmahādēva-divy-ājñā-paripālakaiḥ | sthānakaiś=cha Śiva-

37 prīti-kartṛi-dharmm-ārtha-kāṁkṣibhiḥ | 31 | Kāmākṣī-ku[cha]-mudr-āṁkaś=Śaṅkarah
kūṁkarūn=nijān | avyā-

38 d=avyāja-kāruṇya-kallōlita-drig-añchalaḥ | 32 | Śubham⁷

¹ Below *ti* there is another unnecessary letter looking like *thi*.

² The word *Nāmāvali* is written below the line.

³ The letter *la* is written below the line.

⁴ The passage running from this upto *dattavantah* in line 31 is in prose; yet it is enumerated as though it is equal to three verses, thus carrying the number to 26.

⁵ Read *prachār-āyama*. The vertical line of *cha* appears to have been projected downwards.

⁶ Read *pañchakam=ch=api*.

There is a punctuation mark here consisting of two symbols resembling the Tamil figure 10 flanking a sign resembling the letter *u*.

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- 39 Tiruvēkambam-ūḍaiya Nayinār Arupatti(ttū)mūvar-purāṇam Saṁskṛita-bā(bhā)shaiyir(yir)=
chey-
- 40 da Śivabhaktavilāsattaiyum¹ tammuḍaiya Bhōgāvali(liyai)yum¹ Nāmāvali(liyai)yum¹
Pātā(dā)dikēśastavamum²
- 41 ugandu tiru[ch*]chevi-ch³chātti aruḷuga(gai)yil i-kkōyil Tāṇattārum Māhēśvararam
santōṣi-
- 42 ttū sthālattukku kattar(rttar)=āna Bhōgayadēva-mahārājā⁴

¹ The letter *yum* is indicated by a symbol.

² Read *starattaiyum*.

³ The letter *ch* is redundant.

⁴ The writing stops here abruptly.

- 63 भूमिच्छिद्रन्याये[न]ाचन्द्रार्काण्यवसितिसरित्पर्वतसमकालीनं पुत्रपौत्रान्वयभोग्यमुद-
क[१*]तिसम्येण^१ समद[१]यो [नि]सृष्टः [१*] यतो^२ तयोः समुचितया
ब्रह्मदेयस्थित्या
- 64 भुञ्जतो[१*] क्षर्षतोः^३ कर्षयतोः प्रदिशतो[स]१ वा [न] कैश्चिद्वासेषु वर्त्तितव्य-
[म]१[ग]१मिभप्र^४नृपतिभिरप्यस्मद्वाङ्म^५जैरन्यैर्वा अनित्यान्यैश्चर्यास्थस्थिरं मा-
नुषं सामान्यञ्च भूमिदानफलं^६
- 65 मवगच्छद्भिरयमस्मद्वायोनुमन्तव्यपरिपालयितव्यस्येत्युक्तञ्च ॥ बहुभिर्वसुधा भुक्ता
राजभि[१*] सगरादिभिः [१*] यस्य यस्य यद[१*] भूमिदयस्य^७ तस्य
तदा फलं [१*] यानीह दारिद्र्य[भ]याक्षरेन्दैश्चनानि^८ ध-
- 66 स्थायितनीकृतानी^{१०} [१*] निर्भुक्तमाख्यप्रतिमानि तानि को नाम साधुपु-
नराददीत ॥ षष्टिं वर्षसहस्र[१*]ण[१*] स्वर्गे^{११} तष्टत भूमिदः [१*]
आच्छेत्ता चानुम[१]स्ता च तान्येव नरके वसेत् [१*] दूतकीञ्च राज-
पुत्र[ध्रुव]सेन[१*] ॥*
- 67 [लि]खितमिदं स[न्धि]विग्रहाधिकृतदिविरपतिश्रीस्कन्दभ[ट]पुत्रदिविरपतिश्री-
मदनहिलेनेति ॥ सं. ३०० ५० फाल्गुण^{१२} व ३ [१*] स्वहस्तो
मम ॥

No. 9.—VELUR ROCK-INSCRIPTION OF KANNARADEVA.

By E. HUEZSCH, Ph.D.

This inscription was first published by me five years ago in *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. I. page 76 f. It is now re-edited because my former edition contained some errors, and because it appeared desirable to issue a facsimile of this ancient record in the *Epigraphia Indica*.

The inscription is engraved on the rock below the summit of the Bāvāji or Bhagavati hill near Vēlappādi, a suburb of the town of Vēlūr (Vellore) in the North Arcot district. It consists of eleven cramped and straggling lines in bold archaic characters. The alphabet is Tamil, interspersed with some Grantha letters (*svasti śrī*, l. 1; *śra* of *Paṇṇapēśvara*, l. 4; *dhā* of *dhārai*, l. 6; *sandrā* of *sandrāditta*, *da* and *pārvea* of *udakapārvea*, l. 7; *dhanma rakshē*, and *śrī*, l. 9; and *dhanma*, l. 10). The language is Tamil.

The inscription is dated in the twenty-sixth year of the reign of Kannaradēva. This name reminds of "Kannaradēva, the conqueror of Kachchi (Conjeeveram) and Tanjāi (Tanjore)," whom Mr. Venkayya has successfully identified with the Rāshtrakūṭa king Kṛishṇa III. (A.D. 940 and 956).¹³ Though the Vēlūr inscription does not contain the distinguishing epithet *Kachchiyūn=Tanjāiyūn=koṇḍa*, which Mr. Venkayya's two Tirukkalukkunram inscriptions

¹ Read 'सम्येण धर्म'.

⁴ Read 'प्रदिशतीर्वा'.

⁷ Read 'फल'.

¹⁰ Read 'कृतानि'.

¹³ Above, Vol. III. p. 282 f.

² Read 'यतस्सयो'.

⁵ Read 'भट्ट'.

⁸ Read 'भूमिदास'.

¹¹ Read 'स्वर्गे तिष्ठति'.

³ Read 'क्षर्षतो'.

⁶ Read 'धर्म'.

⁹ Read 'धनानि'.

¹² Read 'फाल्गुन'.

prefix to the name of the king, the similarity of the alphabet and of the phraseology leaves hardly any doubt that the Kaṇṇaradēva of the present record is identical with that of the two others. An unpublished inscription of the sixteenth year of the same king, in which he is called *Kachchiyū=Tuñjaiyū=kōṇḍa śrī-Kaṇṇaradēva* (with *nn* instead of *ṇṇ* in the second syllable), is engraved on the ruined Viṣṇu temple at **Ukkal** in the North Arcot district.¹

The inscription records the gift of **Vēlūrppādi** to the shrine of **Paṇṇa[p]pēsvara**, which a certain **Paṇṇappai** had established on the hill of **Śūdādupārai** in **Paṅgaḷa-nāḍu**, a subdivision of the district of **Paḍuvūr-kōṭṭam**.² **Paṇṇappēsvara** means 'the Īvara (Śiva) shrine founded by Paṇṇappai,' who was perhaps a female relation of the donor. **Vēlūrppādi** must be an old form of the modern **Vēlappādi**, and **Śūdādupārai** the ancient name of the **Bāvāḷi** or **Bhagavāḷi** hill.

The donor was the **Nuḷamba Tribhuvanadhira**, whose son, likewise named a **Nuḷamba**, had received (or purchased?) **Vēlūrppādi**, together with the hill of **Śūdādupārai**, from **Vira-Chōḷa**. The inscription ends with a *captatio benevolentiae* and an imprecation. Between both is inserted the signature of 'the glorious **Pallava-Murāri**,' i.e. 'the Viṣṇu among the Pallavas.' This epithet must be taken as a surname of the **Nuḷamba Tribhuvanadhira**, who is represented as speaking in the first person throughout the preceding part of the inscription.

Both **Vira-Chōḷa** and **Tribhuvanadhira** must have been subordinates of **Kṛishṇa III**. As **Vira-Chōḷa** is introduced without any regal titles, it remains doubtful whether he was a member of the **Chōḷa** dynasty, which had been subdued by **Kṛishṇa III**, or a local chief³ who was named or surnamed after a **Chōḷa** king. The **Nuḷamba Tribhuvanadhira** alias **Pallava-Murāri** was probably connected with the **Pallava** rulers of the **Noḷambavāḍi** Thirty-two-thousand, which later on became a province of the empire of the Western **Chālukyas**.⁴

TEXT.⁵

| | | | | | | | |
|----|--------------------------------|----------|---------------------------|------------|----------------|--------------------|-------------------------------|
| 1 | \|\| | Svasti | śrī | [\|*] | Kaṇṇaradēvarku | yāṇḍu | irubatt-āṅṇavadu ⁶ |
| 2 | Paḍuvūrkkōṭṭattu-Ppaṅgaḷanāṭṭu | | | | va[ḍa]kkil | | vagai=T[śū](chchū)- |
| 3 | dādupārai-malai | | | | mēl-Ppaṇṇappai | | eḍuppitta |
| 4 | Paṇṇa[p*]pēsvarattukku | | | | pōgam-āga | i-nnāṭṭu | Vēlū- |
| 5 | rppādi | e[n] | ma[ga]n | | Nuḷam[ba]ṇ | Vira-Śōḷar | pakkal |
| 6 | Śūdādupārai-malai ⁷ | | aga-ppaḍa | | dhārai | aṭṭuvittu | ko- |
| 7 | nḍu | | śan[d]r-āḍittar=uḷ-aḷavam | | | | udaka-pūrvvaṇ=jey- |
| 8 | ḍu | kuḍuttēṇ | | Nu[ḷa]mbaṇ | | Tiribuvanadiraṇ-ēṇ | [\|*] |
| 9 | I-[d*]dhanma[m*] | | rakshittār-aḍi | eṇ | mudī | mēlaṇa | [\|*] Śrī(śrī)-Palla- |
| 10 | va-Murāri | [\|*] | I-[d*]dhanma[m*] | | irakkuvāṇ | Gaṅgai | Kumariy-iḍai=chche- |
| 11 | yḍār | | śe[y]ḍa | | | pāvaṇ-golvaṇ | \|\| |

¹ See my *Annual Report* for 1892-93, p. 6.

² The village of Udayēndiram in the Guḍiyāṭam tālukā of the North Arcot district belonged to **Māḷ-Adaiyāra-nāḍu**, another subdivision of **Paḍuvūr-kōṭṭam**; see *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. II. p. 365.

³ Regarding other chiefs of the same name see above, Vol. III. p. 80, note 2.

⁴ See above, Vol. III. p. 230, Table; Dr. Fleet's *Kanarese Dynasties*, p. 43 ff.; and Mr. Rice's *Mysore Inscriptions*, Introduction, p. liii. ff. The great **Chōḷa** king **Rājarāja** claims to have conquered **Nuḷambapādi**; see, e.g., *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. I. p. 63. Later on, **Noṇambavāḍi** was taken by the **Hoysala** king **Viṣṇuvardhana**; see Dr. Fleet's *Kanarese Dynasties*, p. 66, and Sir W. Elliot's *Coins of Southern India*, Plate iii. No. 91.

⁵ From inked estampages prepared in 1895.

⁶ The letter *ba* of *iruba*⁶ had been originally omitted and was subsequently inserted between *ra* and *i*.

⁷ The syllable *pā* is written on an erasure.

⁸ Read *cāndr-* (Sanskrit) or *ṣandir-* (Tamil).

No. 14.— JAINA ROCK-INSRIPTIONS AT PANCHAPANDAVAMALAI.

By V. VENKAYYA, M.A.

About 4 miles to the south-west of the town of Arcot is a rocky hill which popular belief connects with the five Pāṇḍavas, and which is hence known as *Pañchapāṇḍavamalai*,¹ i.e. 'the hill of the five Pāṇḍavas.' There are of course no monuments on the hill to justify this connection. But the fact that these sculptures are ascribed to the Pāṇḍavas, who are held to have been the authors of many ancient buildings all over India, suggests their comparative antiquity. Another local name of the hill, *Tiruppāmalai*, is evidently derived from the original name *Tiruppāmmalai*, 'the sacred milk hill,' which occurs in the second of the subjoined inscriptions.

The largest of the excavations on the hill is an artificial cave near the base of the eastern face of it, which slopes down precipitously. This cave consists of seven cells, containing six pairs of pillars. Neither the cave itself nor the pillars bear any sculptures or inscriptions. A short distance above the cells is a rock-cut *Jaina* image, which resembles another that will be noticed below, but is more roughly executed. On the southern side of the rock, half-way up, is a natural cave which contains a pool of water. Within the cave is cut, in high relief, a seated female figure with a *chauri* in her left hand, attended by a smaller male figure on her proper right. In front of the seat on which the female figure rests, are three small figures, a man standing, another on horse-back, and a third, standing figure, apparently female.² On the front face of the rock which overhangs the cave, is engraved the inscription A. Farther to the left, but higher up on the same face of the rock is a seated *Jaina* figure with a *chauri* on each side of its head.³ This is the figure which has been already mentioned as resembling the one above the seven cells. On the western face of the same rock, which slopes inwards, is engraved the inscription B. Underneath this inscription is a rough and weather-worn naked male figure, and below it, to its proper left, a standing quadruped,—dog or tiger,—which faces the proper right. The sculptures and, as will be seen in the sequel, the inscriptions as well, prove that the hill and its neighbourhood originally belonged to the Jains. "The place has now been taken possession of by the Musalmāns, who have several tombs in and around the cave, besides a small *masjid*" near the inscription B.⁴

A.—INSCRIPTION OF NANDIPPOTTARASAR.

This short inscription is written in very archaic *Tamiḻ* characters⁵ and consists of a single sentence in the *Tamiḻ* language, which records that an inhabitant of the village of *Pugaḷālaimaṅgaḷam* caused to be engraved an image of *Ponṇiyakkiyār*, attended by the preceptor *Nāgaṇandin*.⁶ *Ponṇiyakkiyār* is the honorific plural of *Ponṇiyakki*, which consists

¹ Compare Mr. Sewell's *Lists of Antiquities*, Vol. I. p. 166, and Dr. Hultzsch's *Progress Report* for February to April 1890, p. 1.

² A photograph of the group in the cave is given on the Plate facing this page.

³ See the Plate referred to in the preceding footnote.

⁴ See the *Manual of the North Arcot District*, second edition, Vol. II. p. 310.

⁵ A facsimile of it is given on the Plate facing p. 142.

⁶ A preceptor of the same name is mentioned in a *Vatṭeḷuttu* inscription at *Kaḷugumalai* in the *Tinnevely* district (No. 68 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1894). With the permission of Dr. Hultzsch I subjoin the text and translation of this short inscription.

1 Śrī [u*] [Ā]ṇaṇu(nū)r Śiṅgaṇan-
2 di-kkurav-aḍiga] mā.
3 nākkar Nāgaṇa-di-kkurav-a-
4 [di]g-ā te[y]vitta ti[ru]mēpi [u*]

"Prosperity! (This) image was caused to be made by the holy preceptor (gurava) *Nāgaṇandin*, the pupil of the holy preceptor *Siṃhaṇandin* of *Āṇaṇu*."

ROCK SCULPTURES AT PANCHAPANDAVAMALAI NEAR ARCOT.



of the Tamil word *poṭṭu*, 'gold,' and *iyakki*, the Tamil form of the Sanskrit *yakshi*. There is hardly any doubt that, of the group of five figures which are engraved in the cave below the inscription, the sitting female figure represents Ponniyakki. The male figure standing close to her is perhaps intended for Nāganandin. The village of Puṅgalāimaṅgalam I am unable to identify.

The inscription is dated in the 50th year of Nandippōttaraśar, which is a Tamil form of Nandipōtarāja. This king must have been a Pallava, as his name contains the characteristic epithet *pōttu* or *pōta*,¹ and as the name Nandipōtavarman was actually borne by one of the Pallava kings.² As the mention of the 50th year would imply an unusually long reign, it might be assumed *prima facie* that Nandipōtarāja was dead at the time of the inscription, and that public documents continued to be dated from his accession even after his death. On the other hand we have instances of long reigns in the case of the Chālukya-Chōla Kulōttuṅga I. (49 years), the Western Chālukya Vikramāditya VI. (50 years), and the Rāshtrakūṭa Amōghavarsha I. (62 years).

TEXT.³

- 1 Nandippōttaraśa[r]kku ay[m]badāvaḍu Nāga[ṇa]ndi-gura[var]
- 2 [iru]kka Ponniya[k]kiy[ā]r paḍimam kottuvittā[ṇ]
- 3 Pu[ṅga]lāimaṅga[la]ttu Maruttavar magan Nāraṇa-
- 4 n [li*]

TRANSLATION.

In the fiftieth (*year*) of Nandippōttaraśar,—Nāraṇa (Nārāyaṇa), the son of Maruttavar⁴ of Puṅgalāimaṅgalam, caused to be engraved an image of Ponniyakkiyar, along with⁵ the preceptor (*guruva*)⁶ Nāgaṇandi (Nāganandin).

B.—INSCRIPTION OF VIRACHOLA.

This inscription consists of 11 lines of Tamil prose and is in a fair state of preservation, though a few syllables at the beginning of the last line are so much damaged that they cannot be made out. As the rock is uneven, the mason ruled it before engraving the record, in order to keep the lines of the inscription straight, and then engraved each line between two rules.

The second line of the inscription opens with the date,—the 8th year of the reign of Rājarāja-Kēsarivarman. In inscriptions later than the 10th year of the reign, the same form of the name, *viz.* with the two-fold repetition of the word *rāja*, is always preceded by a reference to the conquest of Kāndaḷūr-śālai, or of that place and Vēṅgai-nāḍu *etc.* In a few inscriptions with the same beginning, the king's name appears under the form Rājarāja-Rājakēsarivarman. The full name of the king, *viz.* Rājarājakēsarivarman *alias* Rājarājadēva, occurs first in inscriptions of the 19th year. Though the present inscription does not refer to any conquests because it is dated two years before the 10th year, there can be no reasonable doubt that it belongs to the reign of the same king whose inscriptions record the conquest of Kāndaḷūr-śālai *etc.*, *i.e.* of the great Chōla king Rājarāja, who ascended the throne in A.D. 984-85.⁷ As the

¹ See above, Vol. III. p. 277, note 3.

² See *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. I. p. 146.

³ From inked stampages, prepared in 1895.

⁴ The word *maruttavar* means 'a physician.' In the present case it seems to be the proper name of a person.

⁵ Literally : 'while there is present.'

⁶ On this word, which appears to be derived from the honorific plural of *guru*, see *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. II. p. 251, note 3.

⁷ See above, page 63.

inscription belongs to a Chôla king, it follows that the quadruped which, as stated on page 136, is engraved below the inscription, is meant for a tiger, the emblem of the Chôlas.

The inscription contains an edict (*śāsana*, l. 8) of *Lātarāja Vīra-Chôla*, who must have been a tributary of the Chôla king Rājarāja, in whose reign his inscription is dated. He was the son of *Pugaḷvippavar-Gaṇḍa*. The name *Vīra-Chôla* is known to have been borne by other chiefs. The first of them is mentioned in the *Vēlūr* rock-inscription of *Kaṇṇarādēva*.¹ Another of them was a feudatory of a Chôla king *Parakēsarivarman*,² and the third was the father of *Vīra-Champa*.³ The name *Pugaḷvippavar-Gaṇḍa*, i.e. 'the disgracer of vainglorious (kings)',⁴ was also an epithet of the *Bāṇa* king *Vijayāditya II*.⁵ The expression *Lātarāja*, which is applied to *Vīra-Chôla* (l. 4) and to his ancestors (l. 3), suggests that these chiefs may have immigrated from *Lāṭa* (Gujarāt).⁶

The inscription records that, at the request of his queen, *Vīra-Chôla* assigned to the god of *Tiruppāṇmalai* (l. 4),— which belonged to *Perun-Timiri-nādu*, a subdivision of *Paḍuvūr-kōṭṭam* (l. 2),— certain income from the village of *Kūraganpādi* (l. 3). This village is probably identical with the modern *Kūṛāmbādi*, 2 miles east from *Pāṇchapāṇḍavamalai*. *Tiruppāṇmalai* is the ancient name of the hill itself, as I have already stated on page 136. *Perun-Timiri-nādu*⁷ was called after *Timiri*, a village 5½ miles south from *Arcot*. According to other inscriptions, *Paḍuvūr-kōṭṭam* also included *Vellore*, *Timuvallam* and *Udayēndiram*, and must have thus comprised portions of the modern *tālukās* of *Arcot*, *Vellore* and *Gudiyātam* in the North *Arcot* district.

Though the shrine to which the inscription refers, is only designated as 'the god of *Tiruppāṇmalai*' (l. 4), the expression *paḷḷichchandam*⁸ (ll. 3, 9 and 10) proves that this shrine must have been a *Jaina* one. This might already be concluded from the inscription A., which refers to the image of a *Yakshi* and to the preceptor *Nāgumandin*. The *Yakshis* appear to have been worshipped only by the *Buddhists* and *Jainas*,⁹ and *Nāgumandin* is a *Jaina* name.¹⁰

The income of the *paḷḷichchandam* at *Kūraganpādi*, which belonged to the shrine at *Tiruppāṇmalai*, consisted of two items, viz. *karpūravilai* and *aṇṇiyāyavāḍaṇḍavīrai*. *Karpūra-vilai* means 'cost of camphor.' This may imply either that a royalty was levied on camphor and the proceeds were made over to the shrine; or, the cost of camphor, which was probably an expensive article, but indispensable to the shrine, had to be borne by the inhabitants of the neighbouring village of *Kūraganpādi*. *Aṇṇiyāyavāḍaṇḍavīrai* apparently consists of *aṇṇiyā*, 'unlawful,' + *vāḍaṇḍa*, 'the weavers' loom,' + *vīrai*, 'a tax.' It would thus mean 'the tax on unauthorised looms.' In the *Kōraṇ* plates of *Paramēśvaravarman I.* the looms (*tari*) are included among the property owned by the village in common.¹¹ It would thus appear that a fixed number of looms were worked for the common benefit of the whole village by the weavers, who were probably maintained out of the village funds. Any other looms than the communal ones would be unlicensed or unauthorised. These may have been required to pay a tax which,

¹ See above, page 82.

² See above, Vol. III. p. 80.

³ See *ibid.* page 71.

⁴ Literally : 'the disgracer of those who cause (themselves) to be praised (undeservedly).'

⁵ See above, Vol. III. p. 75.

⁶ The word *Lāṭa* forms part of the names of two villages in the North *Arcot* district, viz. *Lāḍavaram*, 4 miles south-south-east of *Arcot*, and *Lāḍambādi*, 4 miles east of *Arni* (Āraṇi). An inscription of *Saka-Samvat* 1317 proves that *Lāṭa* *Brāhmaṇas* were settled in the district (*raḍḍya*) of *Paḍuvīḍu*; see *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. I. p. 82.

⁷ According to three inscriptions at *Kaṇṇiyāṇṇūr* (7 miles south of *Arcot*), this village also belonged to *Perun-Timiri-nādu*, a subdivision of *Paḍuvūr-kōṭṭam*; see Dr. Hultzsch's *Progress Report* for February to April 1890, p. 1.

⁸ See below, page 139, note 6.

⁹ See the inscriptions of the *Bharat Stūpa*, *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXI. p. 242, and two *Jaina* inscriptions at *Tirumalai*, *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. I. Nos. 75 and 75.

¹⁰ See above, page 136, note 6.

¹¹ *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. I. p. 155.

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(L. 7.) Thereon **Vira-Chôla-Lâta-péraraiyan**,¹ who was the headman of **Ariyûr**,—with the priest of the lord as executor (*âjñapti*),²—assigned the cost of camphor and the tax on unauthorised looms (*to the shrine*) and drew up this edict (*âsana*).

(L. 8.) "Any one who, in spite of this, takes away the cost of camphor and the tax on unauthorised looms from this *pallichchandam*, shall incur the sins of those who commit (*sins*) between the **Gaṅgā** and **Kumari**."³

(L. 10.) "Those who, in spite of this, injure this *pallichchandam*,"

(L. 11.) "The dust of the feet of one who protects this charity, shall be on my head."⁴

"Do not forget charity; there is no (*other*) help but charity."⁵

No. 15.—JAINA ROCK-INSRIPTIONS AT VALLIMALAI.

By E. HULTZSCH, PH.D.

Vallimalai is a village near **Mēlpādi** in the **Chittûr tālukā** of the North Arcot district.⁶ **Mēlpādi** itself is situated on the western bank of the **Ponni** river, 6 miles north from **Tiruvallam** in the **Gudiyātam tālukā** of the same district. Close to **Vallimalai** rises a rocky hill. A natural cave on its eastern slope contains two groups of **Jaina** images, which are cut out of the rock. On the Plate facing this page, the group to the right is figured at the top, and the group to the left at the bottom. Below the first group are engraved four **Kanarese** inscriptions, of which the first and third are in the **Grantha** alphabet, and the second and fourth in **Kanarese** characters. The first inscription (A.) is engraved below the inscription D.; it informs us that the founder of the **Jaina** cave was (**the Gaṅga king**) **Rājamalla**. The inscriptions B. and C. are engraved below the second image from the left, and the inscription D. below the first image from the right.⁷ These three inscriptions are labels which give the names of two **Jaina** preceptors whom the two images are meant to represent, and of the founder of the two images, the **Jaina** preceptor **Āryanandin**.

A.—INSCRIPTION OF RAJAMALLA.⁸

This inscription is written in the **Grantha** alphabet, but in the **Kanarese** language. It consists of two verses in the **Kanda** metre, and records the foundation of the **Jaina** shrine (*vasatī*) in which it is engraved, by king **Rājamalla**, the son of **Raṇavikrama**, grandson of **Śripurusha**, and great-grandson of **Śivamāra**. The record is not dated, nor does it state the dynasty to which **Rājamalla** belonged. As, however, the copper-plate inscriptions of the

¹ i.e. 'the great king of the **Lāta** (servants) of **Vira-Chôla**.' Similar titles of officials are frequently mentioned in the **Tanjore** and other inscriptions.

² See, e.g., *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. I. p. 154, note 2.

³ The expression *Gaṅgai-īdai=Kkumari-īdai*, 'between the **Gaṅgā** (and) between **Kumari**,' evidently stands for *Gaṅgai=Kkumari-īdai*, 'between the **Gaṅgā** and **Kumari**,' compare above, p. 82 f.

⁴ See above, Vol. III. p. 280, and Vol. IV. p. 83.

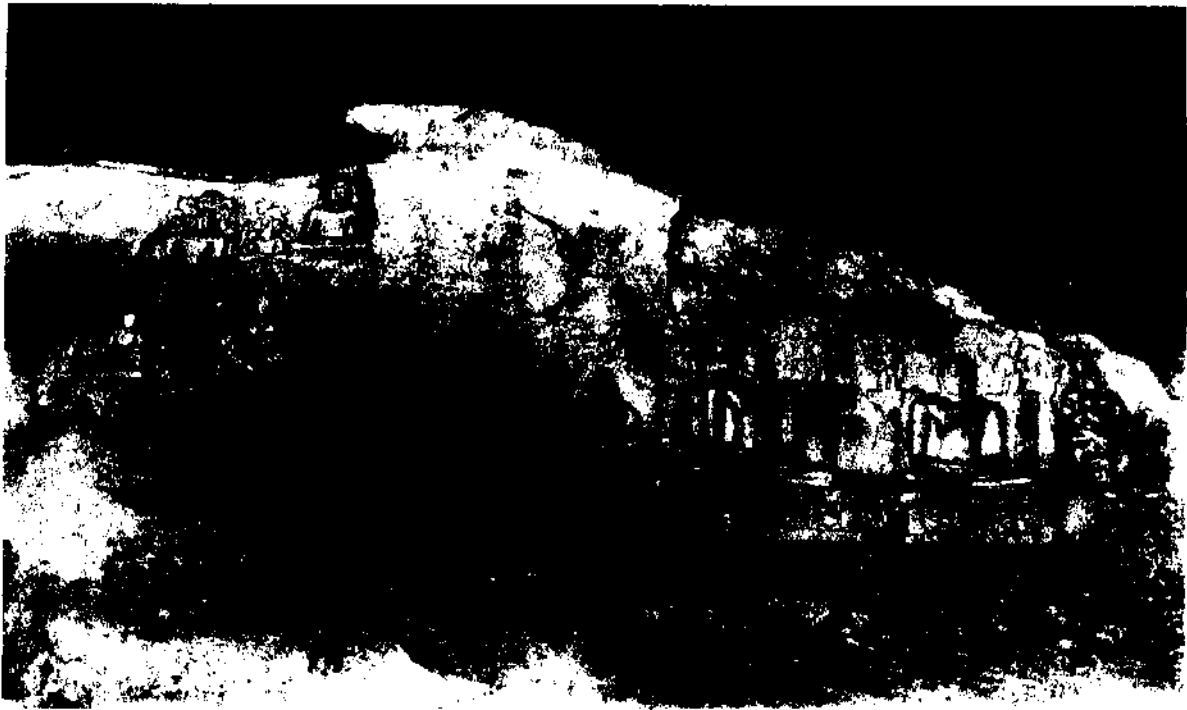
⁵ An inscription of **Rājendra-Chôla** at **Kandiyûr** near **Tanjore** (No. 22 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for the year 1895) has the different reading: *ara=maravaraka aram=alladu kai-tôradâ*: "Do not forget charity; what is not charity, will not protect (you)."

⁶ See Mr. Sewell's *Lists of Antiquities*, Vol. I. p. 156.

⁷ I have inked estampages of a fifth inscription, of the exact position of which I omitted to make a note, but which, as far as I remember, is engraved below the left portion of the second group of images. This inscription is in the **Kanarese** alphabet and language. It opens with the two words *vasatī frī*, and records that an image was caused to be made (*māḍisida pratima*) by a person whose name is indistinct, and who was the son (*maṅga*) of another person whose name is equally doubtful.

⁸ A facsimile of this inscription is given on the Plate opposite p. 142.

ROCK SCULPTURES AT VALLIMALAI NEAR TIRUVALLAM



E. Hultzsch, Photo.

Photograph, Survey of India Office, Calcutta, July 1895.

Western Gaṅgas mention a Gaṅga king Śivamāra, his son Śrīpuruṣa, and his great-grandson Rājamalla,¹ it may be assumed that the Rājamalla of the subjoined inscription was a member of the Gaṅga family. Mr. Kittel has published a stone inscription of a Gaṅga king named Rāchamalla,² which is dated in Śaka-Saṃvat 899.³ According to the Ātakū inscription of Śaka-Saṃvat 872, an earlier Rāchamalla, the son of Ereyapa, was killed by Bātuga.⁴ Mr. Rice gives Śaka-Saṃvat 792 as the date of a still earlier Rājamalla.⁵

TEXT.⁶

- | | | | | | |
|---|--------------------------|---------------------------|-----------|-----------------------------|----------------------------------|
| 1 | Svasti | śrī[h] | [\|\|*] | Śivamār-ātmaajā(ja)-varan-ā | pravara-Śrīpuruṣa-nāma- |
| 2 | n=ātana | tanayam | \| | bhuvanīśarī | Raṇavikramaṇ-avana maka(ga)n=Rā- |
| 3 | jamallan-amalinacharitan | [\|\| 1*] | Kaṇḍu | gir[i]varaman-ā | bhūma- |
| 4 | ṇḍalapati | Rājamallan=abhayan=udāram | [\|*] | paṇḍitajana- | |
| 5 | priyaṇ | kaṇḍ-konḍān | konḍ=ante | vasatīyaṇ=maḍi- | |
| 6 | sidān \|\| | [2*] | | | |

TRANSLATION.

Hail! Prosperity!

(Verse 1.) The best of the sons of Śivamāra (*was*) that distinguished (*prince*) named Śrīpuruṣa. His son (*was*) the lord of the world Raṇavikrama. His son (*was*) Rājamalla, whose conduct was spotless.

(V. 2.) Having perceived (*this*) best of mountains,—that lord of the circle of the earth, the fearless (*and*) noble Rājamalla, who was beloved by scholars, took possession (*of it*); and, having taken (*it*), he caused to be made a *vasatī*.⁷

B.—INSCRIPTION BELOW THE SECOND IMAGE FROM THE LEFT.⁸

This short inscription in the Kanarese alphabet and language records that the image, below which it is engraved, was founded by the Jaina preceptor Āryanandin.

TEXT.

Śrī • [||*] Ajjanandi-bhaṭārar pra[ti]m[ā] m[ā]d[i]dā[r] [||*]

TRANSLATION.

Prosperity! The lord Ajjanandi (Āryanandin) made (*this*) image.

C.—INSCRIPTION MENTIONING BANARAYA.⁹

Like the inscription A., this one is written in the Grantha alphabet, but in the Kanarese language.¹⁰ It informs us that the image, below which B. and C. are engraved, represents a

¹ Above, Vol. III. p. 177.

² *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. p. 102.

³ *ibid.* Vol. XIV. p. 76.

⁴ *Ep. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 168.

⁵ *Inscriptions in the Mysore District*, Part I. Introduction, p. 3 f.

⁶ From inked estampages, prepared in 1895.

⁷ In the Kanarese language, the Sanskrit word *vasatī* and its tadbhavas *osati*, *basatī*, *basadi*, and *basī* have the meaning of 'a Jaina monastery or temple'; see Mr. Kittel's *Dictionary*, p. 1383.

⁸ A facsimile of this inscription is given on the Plate opposite p. 142, along with the facsimile of the inscription C.

⁹ A facsimile of this inscription is given on the Plate opposite p. 142.

¹⁰ The last word of the inscription, however, is the Sanskrit word *pratimā*, which in Kanarese ought to be *pratime*.

pupil of the spiritual preceptor of **Bāṇarāya**. The actual name of the **Bāṇarāya** or 'king of the **Bāṇa** family' is not given. Regarding the **Bāṇa** dynasty, see above, Vol. III. p. 74ff.; *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. X. p. 36 ff.; and *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. II. p. 381.

TEXT.

- 1 Svasti śrī [||*] **Bāṇarāyara**
- 2 gurugaḷ=appa **Bhavaṇandi-bha-**
- 3 tārara śishyar=appa **Dēvasēna-**
- 4 bhaṭārara pratimā [||*]

TRANSLATION.

Hail! Prosperity! (*This is*) the image of the lord **Dēvasēna**, who is the pupil of the lord **Bhavaṇandi** (**Bhavanandin**), who is the preceptor (*guru*) of **Bāṇarāya**.

D.—INSCRIPTION BELOW THE FIRST IMAGE FROM THE RIGHT.¹

This inscription is written in the **Kanarese** alphabet and language, and records that the image, below which it is engraved, represents the **Jaina** preceptor **Gōvardhana** and was founded by the preceptor **Āryanandin**, evidently the same person who is mentioned in the inscription B.

TEXT.

- 1 Svasti śrī [||*] **Bālachandra-bhaṭārara**
- 2 śishyar **Ajjanandi-bhaṭārara**
- 3 māḍisida pratime **Gōvarddha-**
- 4 na-bhaṭārara=end-odam=avare [||*]

TRANSLATION.

Hail! Prosperity! (*This*) image was caused to be made by the lord **Ajjanandi** (**Āryanandin**), the pupil of the lord **Bālachandra**; and if you say: "the lord **Gōvardhana**," (*it is*) verily he.²

No. 16.—KOMARTI PLATES OF CHANDAVARMAN OF KALINGA.

By E. HULTZSCH, PH.D.

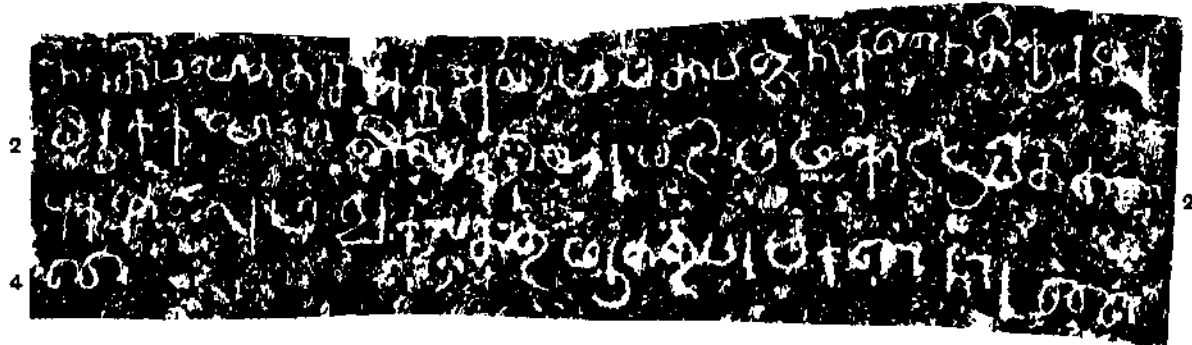
These three copper-plates were lately found in the village of **Kōmarti**, 2 miles south-west of **Narasannapēta**, the head-quarters of a **tālukā** of the **Gaujām** district, and were kindly sent to me by the Collector, Mr. C. J. Weir, I.C.S. Each of the three plates measures $7\frac{1}{4}$ to $7\frac{5}{8}$ inches by $2\frac{1}{4}$ to $2\frac{3}{8}$ inches. Their edges are not raised into rims, but the writing on them is in a state of nearly perfect preservation. The ring on which the three plates were strung, and which had

¹ This inscription has come out on the photograph opposite p. 140, because the letters of the original were filled with colour by a **Jaina** **Tahsildar** of **Chittūr**, who has also commemorated his visit to the locality by a **Tamil** inscription on the rock.

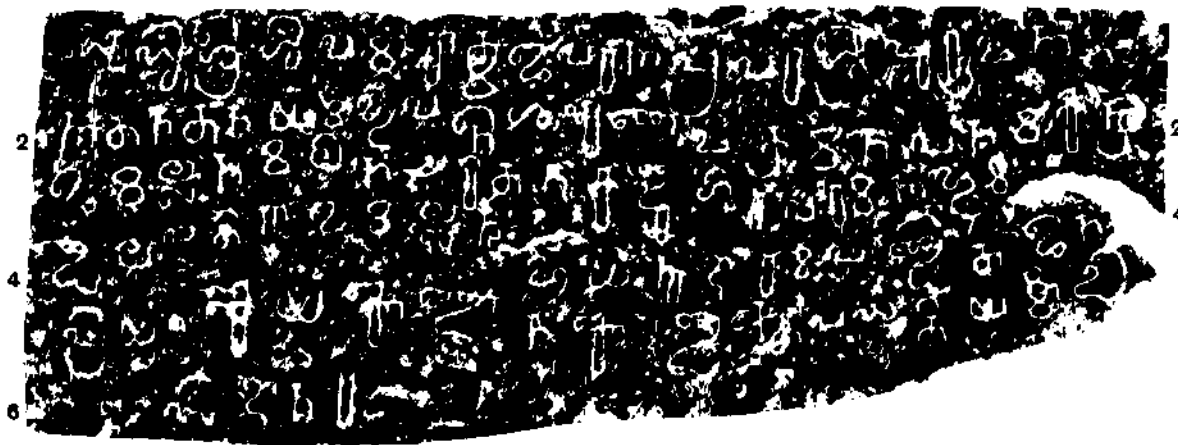
² i.e. 'this image represents the preceptor **Gōvardhana**.' I owe the correct reading and explanation of line 4 of the inscription to the kindness of Mr. Kittel.

Rock Inscriptions in the North Arcot District.

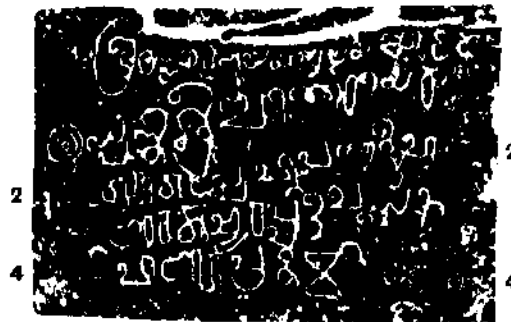
Panchapandavarnalai Inscription of Nandippottarasar; the fiftieth year.



Vallimalai Inscription of Rajamalla.



Vallimalai Inscription mentioning Banaraya.



E. HULTZSCH.

SCALE ONE-TENTH.

Photo. R. T. G. Calcutta.

Reg. No. 219, Ep. Ind.—June 00.—000

(V. 21.) How is it, O Yādava, with your vow to give away all wealth? You pile up a wealth of fame here in the store-house of the universe.

(V. 22.) That you, O Yadu lord, who can be served with many excellent qualities only, permit us to serve (*you*), that verily is (*to us*) a donation of a meal of sugar.

(V. 23.) May this king Kulaśekhara delight in his throne! Rulers who take delight in their throne, are indeed stable in the world.

(V. 24.) The wise who repeat the spell of five syllables *Samgrāmadhīra*,¹ overcome misery and attain supreme bliss.

(V. 25.) As the sixteen digits of the moon, displayed at full-moon time, cause the lotus to expand, so may these sixteen verses of the Yādava's fame, composed by Bhūshana, call forth the joy of the earth!

(V. 26.) The two Yadu lords² who have the hne of the *atusi* and *champakā* flowers, and whose bodies are rendered fragrant by holy basil and by fame, they are our lords; no need have we of other divine and human lords.

By Kavibhūshana.

No. 19.—MAHENDRAVADI INSCRIPTION OF GUNABHARA.

By E. HULTZSCH, Ph.D.

Mahēndravādi is a village 3 miles east-south-east of the Sholinghur Railway Station³ on the line from Arkonam Junction to Arcot. According to the *Manual of the North Arcot District* (second edition, Vol. II. p. 438 f.), it has "a fine tank, the date of the construction of which is unknown. It was once a large town, and 3 miles east of it is Kīlvidi, so called because it originally formed the eastern street of Mahēndravādi. Not far from the tank are the traces of fort walls, and within the enclosure a small temple excavated out of a large boulder. It bears an inscription which has not been deciphered." "The tank must originally have been larger than that of Kāvēripāk, and served lands some 7 or 8 miles distant. The band was enormously high, and might be restored to its original height, in which case a great extent of land could be brought under irrigation."

According to Mr. Krishnasvami Sastri, who visited Mahēndravādi on his last tour, the rock-cut temple faces the east, and consists of a front veranda which is supported by two rows of four plain pillars each, and of a niche which is flanked by rock-cut figures of two door-keepers, and which is now occupied by a painted image of Narasiṃha. The inscription is engraved on the north face of the first pillar from the left in the outer row of pillars. A short distance to the south of the temple, an image of Gaṇeśa is cut on one side of a separate boulder.

The inscription is written in the same archaic Pallava alphabet as the two cave inscriptions of Gupabhara on the Trichinopoly rock,⁴ and consists of a single Sanskrit verse in the Kōkilaka metre, each *pāda* of which occupies a separate line. The verse records that Gunabhara caused to be cut out of the rock the temple on which the inscription is engraved; that it was a temple of Vishṇu and bore the name Mahēndra-Vishṇugriha, i.e. 'the Vishṇu temple of Mahēndra;'

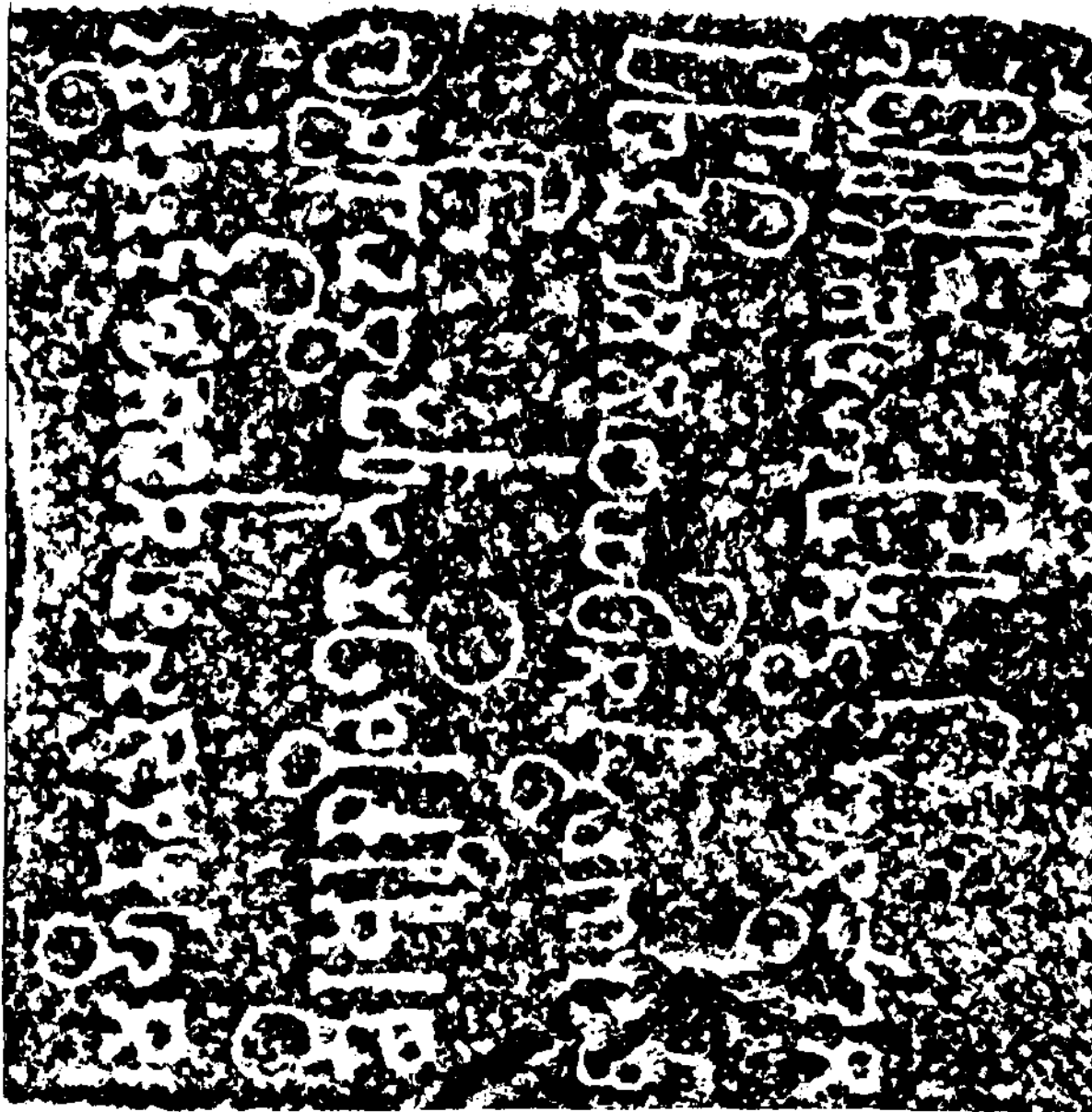
¹ [Compare above, Vol. III. p. 35, verse 42, and Vol. IV. p. 51, verse 44.—E.H.]

² i.e. the god Vishṇu-Kṛishṇa and the king Ravivarman. The words *chittadēva-naradēva*, translated by 'divine and human lords,' mean really 'gods of intellect and gods of men.'

³ See Mr. Sewell's *Lists of Antiquities*, Vol. I. p. 162.

⁴ *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. I. Nos. 33 and 34, and Vol. II. Plate x.

Mahendravadi Inscription of Gunabhara.



E. MOLTZBOH.

SCALE ONE-THIRD.

Photo. H. 1. 13, Calcutta.

Reg. No 201, Ep Ind — May 66 — 000

No. 22.—THREE TAMIL INSCRIPTIONS AT KIL-MUTTUGUR.

By E. HULTZSCH, Ph.D.

Kil-Muttugūr is a village in the Gudiyātam tāluka of the North Arcot district, about $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles north of the Virūchipuram Railway Station. On a visit to this place in 1887, I found in a field four stone slabs with rude sculptures and Tamil inscriptions, which were noticed in *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. I. p. 137. When I visited the same village again in 1896, one of the four slabs had disappeared. Probably the owner of the field had utilised it for building purposes. Of the remaining three slabs, photographs and inked estampages were prepared. Two of the slabs (A. and B. below) are fixed in the ground and standing; the third (C.) is lying down. As will be seen below, all three refer to occurrences which took place at different dates in **Mukkuḍūr** (A.) or **Mukkuṭṭūr** (B. and C.),—the modern Kil-Muttugūr. A. records a gift of land to a Brāhmana, B. the death of a warrior in battle, and C. the killing of a tiger.

A.—INSCRIPTION OF NARASIMHAVARMAN.

This inscription consists of nine cramped and straggling lines at the top of a rough stone slab.¹ Below it is a bas-relief on a countersunk surface. The two centre figures, which face the proper right, are an elephant and, behind it, a bird, probably a goose (*hamsa*). The two figures are flanked by two lamps, and the bird is surmounted by a symbol which is not uncommon on Buddhist coins.²

The alphabet is Tamil, with the exception of the Grantha word *śrī*, with which the inscription opens. The characters are decidedly archaic. The letter *ṇ* has the same form as in the Kaśākūḍi plates.³ The letter *ṇ* resembles the corresponding letter of the same plates in eight cases; but in two instances,⁴ where *e* or *ai* are prefixed to it, it has a more modern form in which the centre loop is completely developed. In a few respects the alphabet of the present inscription reminds of the Vaṭṭoluttu characters. Thus the letter *ś* approaches more nearly to the Vaṭṭoluttu than to the Tamil *ś*. The initial *a* reminds of the same letter in the Cochin plates.⁵ The letters *t*, *ṭ*, and *v*, and the secondary forms of *i* and *ī* closely resemble the corresponding letters of the plates of Jajilavarman.⁷

The inscription is dated in the 18th year of the reign of 'the king, the victorious **Narasimhavarman**.' The same name occurs among the Pallava kings of Kāñchī. But the two centre figures of the bas-relief below the inscription make it impossible to attribute this record to the Pallava dynasty, whose crest was a bull and whose banner bore a club. The elephant appears at the top of three stone inscriptions of the Western Gaṅga dynasty, which have been published by Mr. Kittel,⁸ and the goose (*hamsa*) is said to have been the device on the banner of the mythical Gaṅga king Kōṭṭakūṭi.⁹ As both an elephant and a goose are engraved below the inscription, it may be assumed with some probability that **Narasimhavarman** belonged to the Western Gaṅgas.

¹ A photograph of this slab is reproduced on the lower half of the Plate facing page 178; and a facsimile of the inscription is given on the Plate facing page 182.

² See, e.g., Sir A. Cunningham's *Coins of Ancient India*, Plate II. No. 20, and Sir W. Elliot's *Coins of Southern India*, Plate II. No. 41.

³ *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. II. No. 73.

⁴ In *padineṭṭārada*, l. 2, and *maṇḍi-um*, l. 5.

⁵ Above, Vol. III. No. 11.

⁶ In *ṇāṇḍa*, l. 2, and *koḍuttām*, l. 7.

⁷ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXII. p. 69 ff.

⁸ An inscription of the 13th year of the same king was engraved on another stone slab, which is now missing; *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. I. No. 134.

⁹ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. p. 101.

¹⁰ See *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. II. p. 35, note 6.

The inscription records the gift of some land and of a house at Mukkuḍūr to a Brāhmaṇa. The person who makes the grant, is introduced in the first person plural (l. 7) and in the first person singular (l. 8), but not named. Most probably the king himself is meant to have been the donor.

TEXT.

| | | | | |
|---|-------------|----------------------|--------------------------|--|
| 1 | Śrī | [1*] | Kō | ² viśeya-Naraśiṅgaparumaṅku |
| 2 | yāṇḍu | | paṇiṇettāvēdu | Śaṇm[ā]du- |
| 3 | raṇ | tam=aḍi | Vārandara-Śāttaiyaṇārkkū | Mu- |
| 4 | kkuḍūr | avaruḍai[ya] | puṇ-palamun=naṇ-pala- | |
| 5 | mum | avar=irunḍa | maṇai-um ³ | [pā] ⁴ pu ⁵ |
| 6 | śeydad=ongu | | | kai-nūriṅ=pey- |
| 7 | du | piramadāyaṇ=koḍuttēm | [1*] | I- |
| 8 | du | kāttār | [kā]ṇ=mtālav-eṇ= | |
| 9 | [ra]lai | [1*] | Ara=ma[raṇaṅka] | [11*] |

TRANSLATION.

Prosperity! In the eighteenth year (of the reign) of the king, the victorious Narasimhavarman,—having immersed in water (poured over our) hand one (coin) made of [G] panam,⁶ we gave to Vārandara-Śāttaiyaṇār, a worshipper of Shāṇmātura (Kārttikēya),⁷ as a brahmaddāya, his dry land and wet land and the house in which he resided (at) Mukkuḍūr. The feet of those who protect this (gift), shall be on my head.⁸ Do not forget charity!⁹

B.—INSCRIPTION OF THE 29TH YEAR OF PARANTAKA I.

The second rough stone slab,⁹ which is set up to the left of the inscription A., bears, in bas-relief, a warrior who is marching towards the proper left. He holds a bow in his left hand and a sword in his right, and wears a head-dress, a necklace and a girdle. Behind him, on the proper right, is engraved a small quadruped, which looks like a donkey, but may be meant for a horse. The inscription is distributed round the upper portion of the sculpture. The first three lines run along the top of it. Of lines 4 to 12, the beginning stands on the left and the end on the right of the sculpture. The left portion of lines 7 to 12 is much worn.

The alphabet is Tamil, with the exception of the Grantha word *śrī* (l. 1). The type is the same as in the Tirukkalukkonṅam inscription of Parāntaka I.¹⁰

The inscription is dated in the 29th year of the reign of 'king Parakēsarivarman, the conqueror of Madirai (Madhurā), i.e. of the Chōla king Parāntaka I.,¹¹ who ruled from about A.D. 900 to 940.¹² It records the death of a warrior, who was killed after he had recovered some cattle which the Perumāṇaḍigal had seized at Mukkuṭṭūr. By 'the Perumāṇaḍigal' we have probably to understand one of the kings of the Western Gāṅga family, who are known to have borne the title Perumāṇaḍi.¹³

¹ From inked stampages, prepared in 1896.

² Read *viśaya* (i.e. *vijaya*).

³ Read *maṇaiyūm*, and compare *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXII. p. 48 f.

⁴ This symbol is perhaps an archaic form of the figure '6.'

⁵ This is probably an abbreviation for *panam*. A similar one is still in use: compare *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. I. Nos. 62 and 55.

⁶ Regarding this custom see above, Vol. III. p. 255 note 3.

⁷ See above, p. 140, note 4.

⁸ See *ibid.* note 5.

⁹ A photograph of this slab is reproduced on the upper half of the plate facing this page.

¹⁰ Above, Vol. III. No. 38, B.

¹¹ See *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. I. p. 1.

¹² See *ibid.* p. 381.

¹³ See Dr. Fleet's *Kānarese Dynasties*, 2. ed. p. 80 f. I am quoting from an advance copy of this unpublished work, which I owe to the kindness of the author.



TEXT.

| | | | | | | |
|---|----------------------|-------------------|-------------|-----------------|-----------|--------|
| 1 | Śr[i] | [i*] | Madirai ko- | 7 | [kol]la | mi[t]- |
| 2 | ḍa | kô=Pparakēsaripa- | 8 | [tu=p]pat[i]- | | |
| 3 | 'mar-iyāṇḍ-irubatto- | | 9 | [ṇ]. | Vadu[na]- | |
| 4 | ṇba[d]āṇadu | Perumāna- | 10 | [v]āraṇ | | |
| 5 | ḍigalāṇ-Mukku- | | 11 | [Va]radan=T[ā]- | | |
| 6 | [t]tūr | ṭru=k- | 12 | [u]ḍaṇ | [i*] | |

TRANSLATION.

Prosperity! In the twenty-ninth year (of the reign) of king Parakēsarivarman who conquered Madirai,—when cattle were lifted² (at) Mukkuttūr, by the Perumāṇaḍigal—Vadu[nav]āraṇ [Va]radan T[ā]ḍaṇ, having recovered (them), fell.

C.—INSCRIPTION OF THE 32ND YEAR OF PARANTAKA I.

A third rough stone slab, which is lying on the ground to the left of the inscription B., bears, in bas-relief, a man wearing a head-dress and a loin-cloth, who faces the proper left and is fighting with a tiger, which has risen on its hind legs and is biting his left arm. In his right hand he holds a sword, with which he is piercing the abdomen of the tiger. The first five lines of the inscription run along the top of the sculpture. Of lines 6 to 9, the beginning stands on the left and the end on the right of the sculpture. The last three lines are only on the right of it. Lines 3 to 12 are engraved between rules drawn by the mason.

The alphabet is Tamil, with the exception of the Grantha syllables *śri* (l. 1) and [n]ma (l. 4). The characters resemble those of the preceding inscription (B.) and of the Tirukkaḷukkuṇṇam inscription of Parāntaka I.³ In these two documents, however, the letters *n*, *ṇ* and *rai* appear in their modern forms, with centre loops instead of angles as in the present inscription.

The document is dated in the 32nd year of the reign of the same king as the preceding inscription (B.), and records that the slab was set up to mark the spot at which a tiger had been killed by an inhabitant of Mukkuttūr.

TEXT.

| | | | | | |
|----|------------------|------------------|----|---------------|----------|
| 1. | Śrī | [i*] | 7 | Mukkuttūr | Ku- |
| 2 | Madirai. | ko- | 8 | māra-[Na]ndai | Puḷa- |
| 3 | ṇḍa | kô=Ppara- | 9 | [la]ppaṇ | pu- |
| 4 | kēsariva[n]maṇku | y[ā]- | 10 | li | kutti- |
| 5 | ṇḍu | muppattu-ira[n]- | 11 | na | karaiṇā- |
| 6 | ḍāṇadu | [i*] | 12 | ḍu | [i*] |

TRANSLATION.

Prosperity! In the thirty-second year (of the reign) of king Parakēsarivarman who conquered Madirai. (This is) the spot on the embankment, at which a tiger was stabbed by Kumāra-[Na]ndai Puḷa[la]ppaṇ of Mukkuttūr, (a village) on the northern bank (of the Pālāṇu river).

¹ Read *mark=iyāṇḍ=*.

² The expression *toṇu-kkollā*, 'to lift cattle,' is used also in the two Ambūr inscriptions, No. 23 below.

³ Above, Vol. III. No. 38, B.

No. 23.—TWO TAMIL INSCRIPTIONS AT AMBÜR.

By F. HULTZSCH, PH.D.

Ambür is a town of 10,000 inhabitants in the Vêlûr tâlukâ of the North Arcot district,¹ and a station on the Madras Railway. The temple of Nâgêśvara in the town contains an inscription of Kulôttuṅga-Chôla; one of the Hoysala king Vira-Vallâla; and one of the Vijayanagara king Râjasêkhara, the son of Mallikârjuna (dated Śaka-Samvat 1890 expired, Sarvadhârin). In the Kâṅgarottikka Street two rough stone slabs are set up. Each of them bears at the top a Tamil inscription and below, on a countersunk surface, a bas-relief, which represents a warrior who is advancing towards the proper left, holds a bow in his left hand and a sword in his right, and is pierced by arrows. The head of the warrior is placed between two *chauris*, which appear to signify his being received into *svarga* on account of his heroic death. Behind the warrior on the left slab is a basket of fruits. The warrior on the right slab has a lamp in front, and a pot and another lamp at the back. These articles may be explained as offerings for the benefit of the souls of the two deceased warriors.

The inscriptions at the top of the two stones are nearly identical with each other. The first (A.) records the death of a son, and the other (B.) the death of a nephew, of a certain Akalaṅkattuvarāyar. The end of the three first lines of the inscription A. is broken away, but can be restored with the help of the corresponding portion of B. Similarly, the breaks at the end of lines 6, 7, 8, 9 and 11 of B. can be filled up with the help of A. The alphabet is Tamil and resembles that of the Kîl-Muṭṭugûr inscription of the 32nd year of Parāntaka I.² The lines were ruled off by the mason before he engraved the two inscriptions.

The death of the two warriors took place at the occasion of a cattle raid, which the Nulamba had organized against Âmaiyr. By 'the Nulamba' we have probably to understand one of the Pallava rulers of Nulambapâdi.³ Âmaiyr, i.e. 'the tortoise village,' is an old form of the name Âmbür. Just as the village of Udayêndiram,⁴ it is said to have been situated in Mēl-Aḍaiyāru-nāḍu, a subdivision of the district of Paḍuvûr-kôṭṭam.

As stated before, the son and the nephew of a certain Akalaṅkattuvarāyar fell in the affray. The name Akalaṅkattuvarāyar corresponds to the Sanskrit Akalaṅka-Yuvarāja.⁵ He was the chief of the *Koṇḍar*⁶ of Perunagar-Agaram (A. line 8 f.), a place which I cannot identify, and was a servant of Pirudi-Gaṅgaraiyar. The date of the two inscriptions is the 26th year of the reign of 'the king, the victorious Nripatuṅga-Vikramavarman.'

A king named Nripatuṅga is the grantor of a Grantha and Tamil inscription on seven copper-plates, of which Mr. Sewell has furnished a few particulars.⁷ This Nripatuṅga is said to have been the son of Daṇṭivarman and a descendant of Pallava, and the seal of his grant bears the bull-crest of the Pallava kings. The original copper-plates were formerly preserved in the office of the Collector of North Arcot, but cannot be traced there now.

At Bâhûr near Pondicherry, M. J. de la Fon discovered a set of five copper-plates of the Pallava king Nripatuṅgavarman. The original plates were sent to Paris some years ago, but it is not known in whose hands they are at present. M. de la Fon was good enough to furnish me with a transcript prepared by a Tamil Paṇḍit, on which the following extracts are

¹ See the *Manual of the North Arcot District*, 2nd edition, Vol. II. p. 425.

² Above, No. 22.C.

³ See above, p. 82, note 4.

⁴ See *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. II. p. 382.

⁵ Compare the Kaṭākūdi plates (*South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. II. No. 73), where *tuvardja* in the Tamil portion (text line 106) corresponds to *yuvardja* in the Sanskrit portion (text line 103).

⁶ These are perhaps identical with the *Koṇḍakkāḍar*, a caste of fishermen.

⁷ *Lists of Antiquities*, Vol. II. p. 30 f.



பதிப்பு: 1987-90

தமிழ்நாடு சாஸ்திர அக்காடமி, சென்னை-600 082

hasen. The inscription opens with 30 Sanskrit verses. The first verse contains an invocation of Vishnu. Verses 2 to 6 give the following mythical pedigree:—Brahmā, Angiras, Brihaspati, Sāliya, Bharadvāja, Drōṇa, Aśvatthāman and Pallava. From Pallava's family were born Vimala, Koṅkanika and other kings (v. 7). After Vimala *etc.* had gone to heaven, Dantivarman, devout worshipper of Vishnu, became king (vv. 8 and 9). The son of Dantivarman was Nandivarman (v. 12). His queen, named Śaṅkhā, was born in the Rāshtrakūṭa family (v. 13). Their son was Nripatūṅgaśa (v. 15). At the request of his minister, he granted three villages to a college (*vidyāsthāna*) at Bāhūr. The Tamil portion is dated in the eighth year of the reign of *kō vijaya*-Nripatūṅgavarman, and contains further particulars about the villages granted. In the usual *captatio benevolentiae* of future kings (v. 31), the donor is styled king Nripatūṅgavarman, the worshipper of the lotus-feet of Vishnu. The inscription ends with the signature of the writer in Sanskrit (v. 32) and in Tamil.

Both copper-plate inscriptions agree in claiming for Nripatūṅga descent from Pallava, the mythical ancestor of the Pallavas of Kāñchi.¹ Besides, the Bāhūr plates mention among Nripatūṅgavarman's remote ancestors Koṅkanika. This name seems to be a reminiscence of Kōṅkan, who is believed to have been the ancestor of the Western Gaṅga kings.² According to the same plates, Nripatūṅgavarman's father and grandfather were Nandivarman and Dantivarman. Nandivarman is also the name of the last Pallava king of Kāñchi, of whom we possess epigraphical records.³ Dantivarman, however, is, like Nripatūṅga, a name peculiar to the Rāshtrakūṭas.⁴ In verse 13 of the Bāhūr plates we learn that this dynasty became actually merged with Nandivarman, who married Śaṅkhā, a princess of the Rāshtrakūṭa family.

Two unpublished stone inscriptions of *kō vijaya*-Nripatūṅga-Vikramavarman are found in the Tanjore and Trichinopoly districts.⁵ As, in the tenth century of our era, North Arcot, Tanjore and Trichinopoly were included successively in the dominions of the Chōla king Parāntaka I., the Rāshtrakūṭa king Kṛṣṇa III. and the Chōla king Rājarāja, the type of Nripatūṅgavarman's stone inscriptions is decidedly more archaic than the copper-plate inscriptions. It is necessary to place the reign of Nripatūṅgavarman before Parāntaka I. A century earlier, in A.D. 801, the Rāshtrakūṭa king Gōvinda III. claims to have conquered the kingdom of Kāñchi.⁶ This Dantiga is perhaps identical with Nripatūṅga's grandfather Dantivarman.⁷ Nripatūṅga is known to have been the surname of three Rāshtrakūṭa kings, the earliest of whom was Amōghavarsha I. (A.D. 814-15 and 876-78).⁸ As the copper plates state that the Pallava king Nripatūṅgavarman was the son of Nandivarman by a Rāshtrakūṭa princess, and as grandchildren often receive the name of their grandfather it is to be assumed that Śaṅkhā, the mother of the Pallava king Nripatūṅgavarman was the daughter of the Rāshtrakūṭa king Nripatūṅga-Amōghavarsha I. This assumption would be in chronological agreement with the identification, made above, of Dantiga, the grandfather of the Rāshtrakūṭa king Gōvinda III., with Dantivarman, the grandfather of the Pallava king Nripatūṅgavarman.

There are a number of stone inscriptions which may be attributed with some probability to Nripatūṅgavarman's father and grandfather, Nandivarman and Dantivarman. The latter

¹ See *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. I. pp. 9, 25 and 141, and Vol. II. pp. 342 and 363.

² See *ibid.* p. 350.

³ See *ibid.* pp. 344 f. and 363 f.

⁴ Dantivarman I. and II. are the first and sixth kings of the Table facing p. 51 of Vol. III. above.

⁵ There is an inscription of the 21st year in the Virattānēśvara temple at Kandyūr in the Tanjore tāluka (No. 105), and one of the 2[3]rd year in the Saptarishīśvara temple at Lāṅguṭi in the Trichinopoly tāluka (No. 2).

⁶ *ibid.* Vol. XI. p. 127.

⁷ This identification was already suggested by Professor Julien Vinson on p. 466 of a paper of his, which I have quoted in *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. II. p. 342.

⁸ See the Table facing p. 51 of Vol. III. above.

has left a record in the Vaikuntha-Perumāl temple at Kāñchī.¹ The former may be identical with *kō viśaiya-Nandi-Vikramavarman*.² Two other kings to whose names the two Tamil words *kō viśaiya*³ are prefixed in their inscriptions, may have belonged to the same branch of the Pallavas. These are *kō viśaiya-Kampa-Vikramavarman* or *Kampavarman*⁴ and *kō viśaiya-Narasimhavarman*. The Kil-Muttūngūr inscription of the latter⁵ bears, however, the emblems of the Western Gaṅga kings, and its alphabet is more archaic than that of the two Āmbūr inscriptions of Nripatūṅga. If it is kept in mind that the Bāhūr plates represent the latter as a descendant not only of Pallava, but also of Koṅkaṇi, the ancestor of the Western Gaṅga kings, we are driven to the conclusion that the old dynasty of the Pallavas of Kāñchī came to an end with Nandivarman, the opponent of the Western Chālukya king Vikramāditya II.; that *Narasimhavarman*, a Pallava by name, but Western Gaṅga by descent, succeeded them; that two of his successors, *Dantivarman* and *Nandivarman*, were the contemporaries of the Rāshtrakūṭa kings Cōyinda III. and Amōghavarsha I.; and that *Nandivarman's* son, *Nripatūṅgavarman* or *Nripatūṅga-Vikramavarman*, who ruled over North Arcot, Tanjore and Trichinopoly, discarded the emblems of the Western Gaṅgas and adopted those of the Pallavas.⁶

Finally an identification of *Pirudi-Gaṅgaraiyar*, who is mentioned as a contemporary of *Nripatūṅga-Vikramavarman* in the two subjoined inscriptions, may be attempted. The Udayēndiram plates of Hastimalla state that the Western Gaṅga king Prithivipati I. fought with the Rāshtrakūṭa king Amōghavarsha I.⁷ If I am correct in supposing the latter to have been a contemporary of *Nripatūṅga-Vikramavarman*, the *Pirudi-Gaṅgaraiyar* of the Āmbūr inscriptions is perhaps identical with the Western Gaṅga king Prithivipati I.

A.—First Stone.

TEXT.⁸

| | | | | |
|----|-------------------------------|-------------------|------|---------------------------|
| 1 | Śrī ⁹ | [*] | Kō | viśaiya-[Niru*]- |
| 2 | {pa}toṅga-Vikkirama{pa}{ru}*- | | | |
| 3 | {ma}{r*}{k}ku | | | yāṇḍ-irubattā{rāv*}- |
| 4 | du | Paḍuvūr-kkōṭṭattu | | [M]ō- |
| 5 | l-Adaiy{a*}ru-nāṭṭu | | | Āmaiūr |
| 6 | mēl | Nuḷamban | | paḍaiy |
| 7 | vandu | tōṅu=kkolḷa | | Piru- |
| 8 | di-Gaṅgaraiyar | sēvagar | | Peruna- |
| 9 | {ga}r-Agara-Kkoṇḍa-kkāvidi | | | Akalaṅkat- |
| 10 | tuvarāyar | {ma}gaṅ | Ṣaṇṇ | taḷarā viṇḍ[u] |
| | | | | paṭṭān ¹⁰ [H*] |

TRANSLATION.

Prosperity! In the twenty-sixth year (of the reign) of the king, the victorious *Nripatūṅga-Vikramavarman*,—when the army of the *Nuḷamba* attacked *Āmaiūr*, (a village)

¹ *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. II. p. 344, note 3.

² *Ibid.* Vol. I. Nos. 148, 124 and 125.

³ Other instances in which the word *viśaya* is prefixed to the name of a king, are the Pallava princes *viśaya-Shandavarman* and *viśaya-Buddhavarman* (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. IX. p. 101) and the Vēṅgi king *viśaya-Nandivarman* (above, p. 148, note 1).

⁴ Two inscriptions of this king at Ukkal in the North Arcot district will be published as Nos. 5 and 8 of *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. III.

⁵ See above, page 177.

⁶ See above, page 180.

⁷ *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. II. p. 381.

⁸ From inked estampages, prepared in 1896.

⁹ The first two lines of this inscription are engraved on erasures. The writer has left a blank space between *ei* and *aiya* in the first line, and between *to* and *aga* in the second line.

¹⁰ This word is written below the line.

Intro. 5 . . . Continuation

- 29 rā[m] shashtir-vvarsha-¹sahasrāṇi viśh[thā]y[ān] jāyatō krimiḥ || Sāmā[n]yō²-
yam dha-
30 rmma-sētum nripāpām³ kālō-kāl[ō] pālaniyō bhavadbhiḥ | sarvān=ētām⁴
bhāginah⁵ pātthi-
31 vēnīdr[āu*] bhūyō-bhūyō yāchatō Rāmabhadraḥ || Chaṭṭapayyana likhitam
32 Saivojana besa[diin ||*]

ABSTRACT OF CONTENTS.

While the victorious reign of the asylum of the universe, the favourite of fortune and of the earth, the *Mahārājādhirāja*, the *Paramēśvara*, the *Paramabhaktāraka*, the glory of the family of *Satyāśraya*, the ornament of the *Chālukyas*, the glorious *Trailōkyamalladēva* (*Sōmēśvara* I.) (line 3), was continuing with perpetual increase so as to endure as long as the moon and sun and stars might last :—

And while he who subsisted (like a bee) on the water-lilies that were his feet (l. 4),— viz. the illustrious *Danḍanāyaka Bhōgadēvarasa* (l. 14); a *Mahāsāmantādhipati* who had attained the *pañchamahāśubha*; of the women of the countries of *Lāṭa*, *Karnāṭa*, *Karabāṭa*, *Kaliṅga*, *Koṅga*, *Vaṅga*, and *Veṅgi* (l. 8); a worshipper of the water-lilies that were the feet of the glorious *Trailōkyamalladēva* (l. 12),— was governing the *Paṅgaragi* twelve (l. 14) :—

His nephew (l. 14), the illustrious *Supparasa* (l. 21), who was endowed with the three faculties of majesty, good counsel, and energy, ennobled by honour, conspicuous in his position of a *Mahāmātya* entrusted with all the affairs of state (l. 15), and who was verily the shining ear-ring of the *Karnāṭa* (l. 18), on the occasion of the *Uttarāyana-samkrānti* of the *Vijaya samvatsara* which was the *Śaka* year 975 (l. 21), gave, to the tank of *Keḷavāḍi* (l. 22), 20 *mathurs* of cultivable land (l. 23) and one site of a house.

Whosoever (l. 23), excavating and maintaining this charter (or) managing (it) from time to time, preserves the conditions of this charter, he shall acquire the religious merit of setting gold in the horns and hoofs of a thousand tawny-coloured cows at *Vāranaṣi* and *Kurukshētra* and giving them to *Brāhmanas*! Whatever guilty man destroys this (act of piety), he shall incur the guilt of slaying the same number of tawny-coloured cows and *Brāhmanas*!

Lines 28 to 31 contain two of the customary benedictive and imprecatory verses. And the concluding words tell us that the record was written by *Chaṭṭapayya*,— apparently at the command of *Saivoja*.

No. 37.— DATES OF CHOLA KINGS.

By F. KIELHORN, PH.D., LL.D., C.I.E. ; GÖTTINGEN.

(Continued from page 221.)

A.— KULOTTUNGA-CHOLA I.

20.— Inscription in the *Rājagōpāla-Perumāḷ* temple at *Maṇimaṅgalam* in the *Chingleput* district.⁶

- 1 Svasti éri || Puḡaḷ-mādu viḷaṅga
3 ⁷kōvirarājakēsaripanma-

¹ Read *shashtim varsha-*.

² Read *ētām*.

³ No. 23 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for the year 1896.

⁴ Read *kōv=Irāja* or *kō Vira-Rāja*.

⁵ Metro: *Śālinī*.

⁶ The more usual reading is *bhāvinah*.

⁷ Read *śūtra-nripāpām*.

- 4 r=â[na] Tribhuvanaçakravattiga| śrī-Kulōttuṅga-Śōladēvaṅku yāṇḍu 48vadu . . .
 7 yāṇḍu [4]0 [8]du¹
 8 Kumba-nāyargu=ppūrvva-pakshattu davititaiyum² Velli-kkiḷam[aiyu]m [p]erra
 Śadaiyattu nāl.

"In the 48th year (of the reign) of king Rājakēsarivarman, *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulōttuṅga-Chōladēva."

"In the [48]th year,³—on the day of Śatabhishaj, which corresponded to a Friday and to the second *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Kumbha."

The conclusion arrived at above, p. 72, was that the reign of Kulōttuṅga-Chōla I. began between the 14th March and the 8th October (both days inclusive) of A.D. 1070. If this is right, the month of Kumbha (January-February) of the first year of the king's reign must have fallen in A.D. 1071, in Śaka-Saṃvat 992 expired, and the same month of his 48th year must fall in Śaka-Saṃvat 1039 expired. And for that year this date does work out faultlessly.

In Śaka-Saṃvat 1039 expired the month of Kumbha lasted from the 23rd January to the 21st February A.D. 1118, and during that time the second *tithi* of the bright half ended 15h. 35m. after mean sunrise of Friday, the 25th January A.D. 1118, when the *nakṣatra* by the equal-space system was Śatabhishaj for 2h. 38m. after mean sunrise. The date thus confirms the conclusion previously arrived at, which may now be definitely accepted as correct.⁴

B.—VIKRAMA-CHOLA.

21.—Inscription in the Mahāliṅgasvāmin temple at Tiruviḍaimarudūr in the Tanjore district.⁵

- 1 || Svasti śrī [||*] Pū-mālai miḍaindu
 3 kō-Pparakēśariparman-āṇa Tribhuvanaçakravattiga| śrī-Vikrama-
 Śōladēvaṅku yāṇḍu 4āvadu [I]shapa-nā[ya]ṅgu apara-pakshattu aṣṭamiyum
 Tiṅga-kilamai[yum] per[ra] Śadaiyatti=nā-
 4 1.

"In the 4th year (of the reign) of king Parakēsarivarman, *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Vikrama-Chōladēva,—on the day of Śatabhishaj, which corresponded to a Monday and to the eighth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Rishabha."

22.—Inscription in the Śvētāranyēśvara temple at Tiruveṅkāḍu in the Tanjore district.⁶

- 1 Svasti śrī [||*] Pū-mālai miḍaindu
 8 kō=[Ppa]rak[ē]saripa[r]mar=â[na] Ti[r]i[bh]u[vanachakra]vatti śrī-[V]ikrama-
 Śōladē[va*]ṅku yāṇḍu 5āvadu Simha-nāyargu a[pa]ra-pakshattu Tiṅga-
 ki[la]mai[m]yum [ē]kādi(da)śiyum [p]erra T[iru]vādirai-nāl.

¹ The figure 8 looks almost like *va*, and it is possible, though not probable, that the actual date is 40vadu.

² Read *deitṭiyaiyum*.

³ Or perhaps 'in the 40th year;' see note 1 above.

⁴ It may be added that, if the reign of Kulōttuṅga-Chōla I. had commenced in A.D. 1063, the *tithi* of the present date would, as a *kṣaya-tithi*, have fallen on Saturday, the 11th February A.D. 1111, when the *nakṣatra* by the equal-space system was Pūrva-Bhadrpadā for 5h. 16m. after mean sunrise.

⁵ No. 188 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for the year 1895.

⁶ No. 121 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for the year 1896.

"In the 5th year (of the reign) of king Parakésarivarman, *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Vikrama-Chôladêva,—on the day of Ârdra, which corresponded to a Monday and to the eleventh *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Simha."

The examination of the date No. 10, above, p. 73, has shown that the accession of Vikrama-Chôla very probably took place on either the 18th July A.D. 1108 or the 15th July A.D. 1111; and I have stated that the manner in which the date No. 10 works out, in my opinion, speaks rather in favour of the first of those two days. With the earlier day, the date No. 21, of the month of Rishabha of the king's 4th year, would be expected to fall in April-May A.D. 1112, in Śaka-Samvat 1034 expired, and the date No. 22, of the month of Simha of the king's 5th year, in July-August A.D. 1112, also in Śaka-Samvat 1034 expired. With the later day for the king's accession, the date No. 21 would have to fall in April-May A.D. 1115, in Śaka-Samvat 1037 expired, and the date No. 22 in July-August A.D. 1115, also in Śaka-Samvat 1037 expired.

Now, with the 18th July A.D. 1108 as the day of Vikrama-Chôla's accession, the two dates, for Śaka-Samvat 1034 expired, actually work out as follows:—

In Śaka-Samvat 1034 expired the month of Rishabha lasted from the 24th April to the 24th May A.D. 1112, and during that time the 8th *tithi* of the dark half ended 19h. 19m. after mean sunrise of Monday, the 20th May A.D. 1112, when the *nakshatra* by the equal-space system was Śatabhishaj for 0h. 39m. after mean sunrise.

In the same year the month of Simha lasted from the 27th July to the 26th August A.D. 1112, and during that time the 11th *tithi* of the dark half ended 21h. 40m. after mean sunrise of Monday, the 19th August A.D. 1112, when the *nakshatra* was Panarvasu (which follows immediately upon Ârdra) for 17h. 41m. after mean sunrise.

On the other hand, with the 15th July A.D. 1111 as the day of the king's accession, the two dates, for Śaka-Samvat 1037 expired, would work out thus:—

In Śaka-Samvat 1037 expired the month of Rishabha lasted from the 24th April to the 25th May A.D. 1115, and during that time the 8th *tithi* of the dark half ended 23h. 13m. after mean sunrise of Tuesday, the 18th May A.D. 1115, when the *nakshatra* was Śatabhishaj for 5h. 55m. after mean sunrise.

In the same year the month of Simha lasted from the 28th July to the 27th August A.D. 1115, and during that time the 11th *tithi* of the dark half ended 19h. 58m. after mean sunrise of Tuesday, the 17th August A.D. 1115, when the *nakshatra* was Panarvasu the whole day.

From this it will be seen that, while the week-day of both dates comes out correctly when the king's accession is assumed to have taken place in July A.D. 1108, it would be wrong in both dates on the other alternative; and that in either case the *nakshatra* of the first date would be correct, and that of the second date incorrect. The two dates thus, in my opinion, prove that Vikrama-Chôla's accession cannot have taken place in July A.D. 1111; and they render it extremely probable that his accession really took place in July A.D. 1108.

C.— KULOTTUNGA-CHOLA III.

23.— Inscription in the Śvêtâranyêśvara temple at Tiruvonkâdu in the Tanjore district.¹

- 1 Svasti śrīḥ [||*] Puyal vāyppa
- 2 kô-P[pa]rakêsariparmar-âṇa Tribuvanaçchakkarakavattigaḥ
 śrī-Kulôttuṅga-Śôla[d]êvarkku y[â]ṇḍu eṭṭâvadu nâḥ Kaṭṭaka-nâyaṅṅu
 pûrvva-paksha-
- 3 ttu daṣamiyūm Tîngaḥ-kiḷamaiyūm perra A[n]ḷa[t]tiṅ-nâḥ.

¹ No. 118 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for the year 1896.

"In the eighth year (of the reign) of king Parakésarivarman, *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulóttuṅga-Chôladéva,—on the day of Anurâdhâ, which corresponded to a Monday and to the tenth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Karkâṭaka."

The conclusion arrived at above, p. 221, was that the first year of the reign of Kulóttuṅga-Chôla III. commenced between the 5th December A.D. 1177 and the 19th September A.D. 1178 (both days inclusive). If this is right, the month of Karkâṭaka (June-July) of the first year of the king's reign must have fallen either in A.D. 1178, in Śaka-Saṃvat 1100 expired or in A.D. 1179, in Śaka-Saṃvat 1101 expired; and the same month of his 8th year must fall in either Śaka-Saṃvat 1107 expired or 1108 expired. As a matter of fact, this new date works out properly only for Śaka-Saṃvat 1107 expired.

In Śaka-Saṃvat 1107 expired the month of Karkâṭaka lasted from the 26th June to the 27th July A.D. 1185, and during that time the 10th *tithi* of the bright half commenced, by the Sūrya-siddhānta 0h. 13m. after, and by the Brahma-siddhānta about 1h. before, mean sunrise of Monday, the 8th July A.D. 1185, and ended shortly after sunrise of the next day;¹ and on the same Monday the *nakṣatra* was Anurâdhâ, by the Brahma-siddhānta from 3h. 17m., and by the equal-space system and according to Garga from 7h. 53m. after mean sunrise.

It is clear that this date reduces the period during which the reign of Kulóttuṅga-Chôla III. must have commenced to the time from the 5th December A.D. 1177 to the 8th July A.D. 1178 (both days inclusive).

24.—Inscription in the Śvétāranyéśvara temple at Kaṭappôri near Madurântakam.*

- 1 Tribha[vam]śakkravattiga] śri-Kulóttuṅga-
 Śôladô[var]kku yāṇḍu paṇḍi-āṇḍavu
 2 Âni-
 3 māsatu=[ppa]ttān=t[i]yadīyūm śaduttīyūm Mūlamūm Śani-kkīḷamaīyūm=āṇav=angu.

"In the sixteenth year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulóttuṅga-Chôladéva,—on the day which was a Saturday and (the day of) Mūla and a fourth *tithi* and the tenth solar day of the month of Âni."

According to what has been said before, this date, of the month of Âni (or Mithuna, May-June) of the 16th year of the king's reign, would be expected to fall in Śaka-Saṃvat 1115 expired or 1116 expired.

In Śaka-Saṃvat 1115 expired the Mithuna-saṃkrānti took place, by the Ārya-siddhānta, 22h. 51m. after mean sunrise of the 25th May A.D. 1193, and the month of Âni therefore commenced on the 26th May A.D. 1193. Accordingly, the 10th day of Âni was the 4th June A.D. 1193, and on this day the 4th *tithi* (of the bright half) did end, 22h. 48m. after mean sunrise. But the day was a Friday (not a Saturday), and the *nakṣatra* at sunrise was Pushya (No. 8), not Mūla (No. 19).

On the other hand, in Śaka-Saṃvat 1116 expired the Mithuna-saṃkrānti took place 5h. 4m. after mean sunrise of the 26th May A.D. 1194, which therefore was the first day of the month of Âni. The 10th day of Âni, accordingly, was Saturday, the 4th June A.D. 1194, and on that day the *nakṣatra* was Mūla, by the Brahma-siddhānta from 1h. 19m., and according to Garga from 5h. 55m. after mean sunrise. But the *tithi* which ended on the day so found, 13h. 2m. after mean sunrise, was the 14th (of the bright half), not a 4th *tithi*.

¹ The *tithi* therefore was either a current *tithi* or it was a *prathama-daśamī*.

* No. 181 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for the year 1926.

Now everybody who will compare the results of my calculations of the date will, I feel confident, admit that the fourth *tithi* has been erroneously quoted¹ in the date instead of the fourteenth, and that the proper equivalent of the date undoubtedly is Saturday, the 4th June A.D. 1194. Since this day fell in the 16th year of the reign of Kulōttuṅga-Chōla III., the general result now is that the king's reign commenced between the 5th June and the 8th July A.D. 1178 (both days inclusive).²

For convenience of reference the result of the examination of the 24 dates, so far sent to me by Dr. Hultzsch, may be summed up thus:—

1.—Rājarāja (Nos. 1-3). His reign commenced between the 24th December A.D. 984 and the 26th September A.D. 985. His latest date (No. 3), of the 28th year of his reign, very probably corresponds to the 23rd December A.D. 1012.

2.—Rājendra-Chōla I. (Nos. 4-5). His reign commenced between the 24th October A.D. 1001 and the 23rd October A.D. 1002. His latest date (No. 5), of the 31st year of his reign, corresponds to Monday, the 23rd October A.D. 1032.

3.—Rajādhirāja (Nos. 11-15). His reign commenced between the 15th March and the 3rd December A.D. 1018. His latest date (No. 11), of the 30th year of his reign, falls in Śaka-Samvat 970 current = A.D. 1047-48.

4.—Kulōttuṅga-Chōla I. (Nos. 6-9, and 20). His reign commenced between the 14th March and the 8th October A.D. 1070. His latest date (No. 20), of the 48th year of his reign, corresponds to Friday, the 25th January A.D. 1118.

5.—Vikrama-Chōla (Nos. 10, 21 and 22). His reign most probably commenced on the 18th July A.D. 1108. His latest date (No. 10), of the 340th day of the 5th year of his reign, most probably corresponds to Sunday, the 22nd June A.D. 1113.

6.—Kulōttuṅga-Chōla III. (Nos. 16-19, 23 and 24). His reign commenced between the 5th June and 8th July A.D. 1178. His latest date (No. 18), of the 34th year of his reign, corresponds to Monday, the 19th September A.D. 1211.

No. 38.— SANKALAPURA INSCRIPTION OF KRISHNARAYA; SAKA-SAMVAT 1435.

By E. HULTZSCH, PH.D.

Sankalāpura is a village $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles east of Hosapēṭe (Hospet) and not far from the ruins of Vijayanagara in the Bellary district. Near the wall of the temple of Āñjanēya (Hanumat) stands a slab which is said to have been brought thither from the ruins of another, neighbouring temple. The front of the slab bears at the top a seated figure of Gaṇapati, with the sun to his proper right and a crescent to his left. Below the figure are 41 lines of writing, which is continued on the back of the slab (ll. 42-93). The inscription is rather worn, but just legible. The alphabet is Kanarese, and the languages are Sanskrit and Kanarese. The inscription opens

¹ A fourth *tithi*, ending on the 10th day of the month of Mithuna, would be either the fourth *tithi* of the dark half of the *amānta* Jyāishṭha or the fourth *tithi* of the bright half of Āshāḍha; it is easy to prove that the *nakṣatra* could not possibly be Mūla on either of these two *tithis*. On the other hand, to judge from numerous calendars at my disposal, Mūla ordinarily goes together with Āshāḍha-andi 14; and it commences on the day of Jyāishṭha-andi 14, when one of the months that precede Āshāḍha is intercalary. In Śaka-Samvat 1116 expired there was such an intercalary month (Chaitra), and one therefore would *a priori* expect the *nakṣatras* on Jyāishṭha-andi 14 (= the 4th June A.D. 1194) to be Jyāishṭha and Mūla, which they actually were.

Or, more accurately, between the 11th day of the month of Mithuna (corresponding to the 5th June) and the 19th day of the month of Karkāṭaka (corresponding to the 8th July) of Śaka-Samvat 1100.

(V.) 2. Victorious is the mother of the three worlds, the supreme *Śakti*, *Kuṇḍalini*¹ by name, whose feet are praised by gods and men, (and) who ever (*exists*) in the form of wells.

(V.) 3. I bow to *Viśvakarman*, the giver of every desired (*object*), by whose grace all men are able to perform work.

(Line 6.) Hail! Prosperity! In the *Gūjara* country, in the glorious city of *Ahmadābād*, in the victorious reign of the *Pādshāh*, the thrice glorious *Mahmūd*,— the general superintendent at the door of the king's harem, *Bāi Śrī-Harir* by name, caused a well to be built, in order to please God, in *Harirpur*, situated to the north-east of the glorious city, for the use of the eighty-four *lākhs* of the various living beings, (*viz.*) men, beasts, birds, trees, *etc.*, who may have come from the four quarters, and are tormented with thirst, in *Samvat 1556* (and) in the current *Śaka* year 1421, on the 13th (*tithi*) of the bright (*fortnight*) of *Pausha*, on Monday.

(L. 14.) If one looks at the mass of the deep, nectar-like water (*of this well*), it seems as though the ocean of milk had taken up its abode in it.

(L. 15.) As long as the moon and the sun (*endure*), may this (*well*) remain for the nourishment of insects, birds, plants and animals!

(L. 17.) The amount of money expended on this (*well*) was 3,20,000 in all.

(Versos) 1 and 2. This well was built by the powerful, religious, chief councillor of king *Mahmūd*, *Harir* by name, at a place where four roads meet, crowded with good men who come from the four quarters. As long as the moon and sun (*endure*), may (*the water of*) this sweet well be drunk by men!

(V.) 3. (*By founding?*) forts, pure groves, pools of water by hundreds, and feeding-houses step by step, the wealthy earn merit.

(V.) 4. (*The lady*) *Bāi Śrī-Harir* by name built this well at great expense, in order to benefit the world.

(Line 24.) At the building of the well the overseer (*was*) His Majesty's servant, *Malik Śrī-Bihāmad*;² also the *gajadhara*, the *Vaiśya sūtra*[*dhāra*]³ *Virā*; also the servant, *sū*[*tradhāra*] *Dēvā*; *Śrī-Girāṇā*; *Mahan*[*t*] *Sāyā*; also *Mahan*[*t*] *Virā*.

No. 43.—NANDAMAPUNDI GRANT OF RAJARAJA I., DATED IN HIS THIRTY-SECOND YEAR [A.D. 1053].

By F. KIELHORN, Ph.D., LL.D., C.I.E.; GÖTTINGEN.

The plates which contain this inscription were received by Dr. Hultzsch from the Collector of the *Gōdāvari* district, and are deposited now in the Madras Museum. There is no information as to where or by whom they were discovered. At Dr. Hultzsch's request, I edit the inscription from impressions supplied by him.

These are five copper-plates, the first and last of which are inscribed on one side only, and each of which measures about 10½" broad by 5" high. Their edges are raised into high

¹ [According to the dictionaries, *Kuṇḍalin* is a name of *Varuṇa*, and *Kuṇḍalinī* the name of a *Śakti*. In this inscription she is evidently represented as the *Śakti* of *Varuṇa*.— E. H.]

² [This name is derived from the Persian *امیر*— E. H.]

³ *Sūtra* in line 25 and *sū* in line 26 are abbreviations of *sūtradhāra*, 'a carpenter, artisan,' and *gajadhara* is probably a synonym of it, derived from the Persian *چهار* 'a yard.'

rims, and the writing, in consequence, is well preserved throughout.¹ The plates are strung on a ring; which had been already cut when this grant was received by Dr. Hultzsch. The ring is $\frac{1}{2}$ " thick and $5\frac{1}{2}$ " in diameter, and bears on an expanded flower a circular seal, which is $2\frac{1}{4}$ " in diameter. This seal has on a countersunk surface, across the centre, the legend *Śrī-Tribhuvanaśmṛkṣa* in raised Telugu letters; above the legend, in high relief, a boar facing the proper left, with, over it, the sun and the moon's crescent between two *chauris*, in front of it a conch-shell, and at the back of it, a drum; and beneath the legend, an elephant-goad, with, below it, an expanded flower with a water-lily on the proper right and a throne on the left of it. The flower and the water-lily Dr. Hultzsch suggests to be symbols of the rivers Gaṅgā and Yamunā, which are mentioned among the *sāmrajya-chihṇāni*, or insignia of universal sovereignty, of the Eastern Chālukyas.²—The characters throughout belong to the same southern alphabet, but represent two successive stages of it. Up to the commencement of line 50 (line 6 of the second side of the third plate) they closely resemble the characters of the copper-plates of Amma II. (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. VII. p. 15, Vol. XII. p. 91, and Vol. XIII. p. 248, and Plates),³ and the same characters originally were continued to the end of the third plate in lines 50-55, where, however, they have been beaten in. On the other hand, the characters on the fourth and fifth plates, and in the last six lines of the third plate (excepting the first three *akṣaras* of line 50) as we have them at present, are exactly like those of the Korumelli plates of Rājārāja I. (*ibid.* Vol. XIV. p. 48, and Plates), and were written by the writer of that inscription, Gaṇḍādhārya. From this it would appear that the first three plates of this grant originally formed part of a somewhat earlier grant, and that the statement (in line 92) regarding the writer of this inscription, and probably also that concerning the author of the verses, cannot refer to lines 1-49, nor to the verses contained in them.—The average size of the letters is about $\frac{1}{4}$ ".—The language is Sanskrit, except in the description of the boundaries of the village which was granted by this inscription, in lines 80-88, where it is Telugu.⁴ The Sanskrit portion contains 28 verses, of which verses 7-20 are given continuously in lines 44-65, and verses 21-26 in lines 68-77, while verses 1-6, singly or in pairs, are scattered through lines 1-30. The rest of the text, excepting the two benedictive and imprecatory verses 27 and 28, in lines 89-91, is in prose. Of the verses 1-20, seven (*viz.* verses 1-6 and verse 20) occur in exactly the same, and one (verse 15) in a slightly different form, also in the Korumelli plates of Rājārāja I.; and some of the remaining verses show that their reputed author, Nanniyabhaṭṭa, knew other verses of the Korumelli plates, or verses of which those of the Korumelli plates were themselves copies or imitations.⁵ Under any circumstances, the two men who in the two inscriptions are mentioned as the authors of the poetry, very probably composed only some of the verses that are assigned to them. The language and phraseology of the text in general present no difficulty,⁶ but line 77 contains an epithet of the donee,

¹ Dr. Hultzsch informs me that, owing to the great height of the rims, it was impossible to take perfect impressions. I nevertheless believe that, with perhaps the exception of the first half of verse 18, my text may be relied on as correct.

² See line 27 of the text of the present inscription.

³ I would draw attention to the fact that the same neatly drawn ornamental design which we find at the commencement of the first two inscriptions, above referred to, also occurs, in exactly the same form, at the beginning of the present inscription. Compare with it the different, much ruder design at the commencement of the Korumelli plates of Rājārāja I.

⁴ For a transcript of the Telugu portion of the inscription, with an English translation of it, I am indebted to Dr. Hultzsch's Assistant, Mr. H. Krishna Sastri.

⁵ A comparison of the poetry of the two inscriptions does not seem to me to favour the view that the verses of the Korumelli plates are imitations of those of the present plates.

⁶ The construction of the verb *piśā* with the Genitive case, in verse 7, shows that the author of the verse knew his grammar well; but it may be questioned whether *pari-ṛi*, which occurs in the same verse, really conveys the sense in which it is used by the writer. The construction of *ana* with the Ablative case, in verse 10, also, can hardly be called correct. *Mahi* for *mahā*, in line 48, and *bhujā* for *bhūja*, in line 60, are unusual, but correct.

ashtādaś-āvadhāraṇa-chakravartin, which I cannot find elsewhere and am unable to explain.¹—In respect of orthography, it will be sufficient to say that the syllable *ṛ* is used instead of the vowel *ri* in the name *Richuka* (for *Rībhuka*), l. 7; *gh* instead of *h* in *siṅghāsana*, l. 26, and *Jayasīṅgha*, ll. 35 and 37; and *s* instead of *ś* in *sudh-āmsur-*, l. 3, and *asva*, l. 10; that *t* is (correctly) doubled in *antarvattinī*, l. 22, and *dh* in *°nō=ādhyardha-*, l. 40; and that the word *sāmbrājya*, which is correctly written in line 51, is spelt *sāmbrājya* in line 27.

The inscription records a grant by the king *Rājarājādēva* [I.], otherwise called *Vishnuvardhana*, of the Eastern *Chālukya* family. Excepting the details of this grant in lines 65-93, it contains nothing whatever that is new to us. Up to the end of line 52 the information furnished by it, mythical, legendary and historical, is in every particular the same as that contained in lines 1-55 of the Korumelli plates of the same king, and in lines 1-46 of the Chellūr plates of *Vīra-Chōḍadēva*.² And lines 53-65, also, only relate, what is more fully stated in lines 55-74 of the Korumelli plates, that *Rājarāja-Vishnuvardhana*, 'the crest-jewel' of the *Chālukyas*,³ was the son of his immediate predecessor *Vimalāditya* and his wife *Kundavādēvi*, 'the goddess of fortune of the family of the Sun' (meaning the *Chōḍa* family), and record the date of his coronation, which is given in identical terms in the Korumelli plates, and has been shown⁴ to correspond to Thursday, the 18th August A.D. 1022.

In line 65 ff., 'the asylum of the whole world,' the glorious *Mahārājādhirāja Vishnuvardhana*, the supreme lord of kings, the *Paramabhāṭṭāraka*, the devout worshipper of *Mahēśvara* (*Śiva*), he who is most devoted to religion,⁵ the glorious *Rājarājādēva*, having called together the cultivators, headed by the *Rāshtrakūṭas*, dwelling in the *Reṇḍēṇulunaḍimi-vishaya*, thus issues a command in the presence of the *Mantrin*, *Purohita*, *Sēnāpati*, *Yuvarāja*, *Dauvārika* and *Pradhāna*:—

"Be it known to you! In⁶ the *Hārīta gōtra* there was a distinguished *Āpastamba Brāhmana*, *Kaṇchena*, a *Sōma-yāga* sacrificer (l. 69). His son was *Kaṇchenārya*, honoured by all the learned (l. 71). His son, again, was the minister (*amātya*) *Akalāṅkāśaṅkana*, known by the name of *Saṇḍhāṇjanēya*, 'a Hanumat in purity' (l. 73). To him his wife *Sāmekāmbā* bore a son, *Nārāyaṇa*, who, on account of his skill in composing poetry in the *Saṁskṛita*, *Karṇāṭa*, *Prākṛita*, *Paisāchika* and *Āndhra* languages,⁷ is renowned as *Kavirājasēkhara*, 'the crest of the kings of poets,' and who, because by his clever verses he puts to shame would-be poets, is rightly called *Kavibhava-jrāṅkuśa*, 'the adamantine elephant-goat of poets' (l. 76). To this *Nanni-Nārāyaṇa*,⁸ who is endowed with qualities that are extolled

¹ With *ashtādaś-āvadhāraṇa* I would compare the phrases *aṭṭhāraṣa vijjattāṇāni*, 'the eighteen branches of knowledge,' and *aṭṭhāraṣa sippāni*, 'the eighteen attainments,' so frequently met with in the Pāli *Suttas*.

² I refer the reader to Dr. Hultzsch's translation in *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. I. p. 57 ff., and to the full abstract of the contents, given by Dr. Fleet in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIX. p. 433 ff.—In line 5 of the present inscription the names of *Puru* and *Janamējaya* have been omitted by an oversight of the writer (just as the name of *Subōtra* is omitted in line 10 of the Chellūr plates), and the reading *tad-annuḍ* in line 39 is clearly a mistake for *tat-tanujā*. In line 45 our inscription states that *Rāja-Uhima*, besides expelling *Yuddhamalla* from the country, crushed other adversaries; this also was known already from other inscriptions (see *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XX. pp. 269 and 270).

³ See *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIX. p. 129, and Vol. XXIII. p. 181, No. 110.

⁴ Since the word *brahman* also is synonymous with *brāhmana*, the word *paramabrahmanya* also means 'one who is most devoted (or kind) to Brāhmanas'; see the *Mahābhāṣya* on Pāṇini, v. 1, 7.

⁵ i.e. 'the councillor (or councillors), family priest, commander of the army, heir-apparent, doorkeeper and chief minister (or ministers).' In the Chellūr plates of *Vīra-Chōḍadēva*, l. 114, 'the five *Pradhānas*' are mentioned as the executors of the king's order.

⁶ Of verses 21-26 I consider it sufficient to give an abstract of the contents.

⁷ Compare Dr. Hultzsch's note 10 in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XV. p. 202; also *Ep. Carn.* Part I. p. 60, l. 10 from the bottom.

⁸ According to the Rev. F. Kittel's *Dictionary* the Kanarese word *nanni* means 'love, affection, attachment.'—[Compare the *birudās Nanniya-Gaṅga* and *Nannisaṁudra*; above, Vol. III. pp. 183 and 268.—E. H.]

by the whole world, and is an ear-ornament of (the goddess of eloquence) Sarasvatī, and an *ashṭādaś-āvadhāraṇa-chakravartin*, we, (after pouring out) a stream of water, have given on the occasion of a lunar eclipse, free from all taxes, the village named Nandamapūṇḍi in your *vishaya*, having constituted it an *agrahāra* (l. 79).

"The boundaries of this (village are) :— In the east the boundary (is) in the middle of the *Koṇḍiyagunṭa* (tank) in a pit on the margins of the fields of this village and of *Billemapeddapūṇḍi*. In the south-east the boundary (is) the meeting-point of the margins of the fields of this village and of *Billemapeddapūṇḍi* and of *Nerapula*. In the south the boundary (is) a *rēva* (tree) (surrounded) by palmyra trees on the margins of the fields of this village and of *Nerapula*. In the south-west the boundary (is) the meeting-point of the margins of the fields of this village and of *Nerapula* and of *Mundaramuna*. In the west the boundary (is) the meeting-point of the margins of the fields of this village and of *Mundaramuna* and of *Madakuriti*. In the north-west the boundary (is) the *rēva* (tree) of the cowherds at the meeting-point of the margins of the fields of this village and of *Madakuriti* and of *Billemapeddapūṇḍi*. In the north the boundary (is) the bank of a river on the margins of the fields of this village and of *Billemapeddapūṇḍi*. In the north-east the boundary (is) a tamarind tree near a palmyra tree with a banyan tree on the margins of the fields of this village and of *Billemapeddapūṇḍi*" (l. 88).

'Nobody shall cause any obstruction to this (grant); he who does it, becomes possessed of the five great sins. And the holy Vyāsa has said : [Here follow two benedictive and imprecatory verses].

'The *Ajñapti*² of this (grant) is (the ?) *Katakādhirāja*; the author of the verses is *Nanniyabhatta*;³ (and) the writer is *Gaṇḍāchārya* (l. 92).

'This order was made in the prosperous thirty-second year of (our) reign of victory' (l. 93).

Regarding the localities which are mentioned in the inscription, I can only say that the name of the district to which the village of Nandamapūṇḍi belonged, *Rend-ērulu-nadimi-vishaya*, means, as Dr. Hultzsch informs me, 'the two-rivers-middle-district,' and is thus the Telugu equivalent of *Sindhuyugmāntara-dēśa*, which is mentioned in lines 66-67 of the *Piṭhāpuram* inscription of *Prithivīvara* (above, p. 36).

As to the date,—since the 32nd year of *Rājarāja's* reign commenced (approximately) on the 16th August A.D. 1053 and ended (approximately) on the 16th August A.D. 1054, the day on which the grant was made in all probability is Sunday, the 28th November A.D. 1053 (the full-moon day of the month *Mārgaśīrṣa* of *Śaka-Samvat* 975 expired), because during the period from the 5th June A.D. 1053 to the 13th April A.D. 1055 this is the only day on which there was a lunar eclipse.⁴

TEXT.⁵

First Plate.

1 ✽ *Śrī-dhāmnah puruṣhōttamasya mahatō Nārāyaṇasya prabhōr- nābhī- paṅkaruhād=ba[bhū]va*

¹ See above, p. 96, note 4.

² i.e. 'the executor' (*dātaka*). On *Katakādhirāja*, which seems to be the title of an official, see the note on the text.

³ [This person is perhaps identical with *Nannayabhatta*, the first Telugu translator of the *Mahābhārata*, whose patron was *Rājarāja* of *Rājamahēndri*; see my *Annual Report* for 1895-96, p. 6 f. — E. H.]

⁴ The full-moon *tīthi* ended 18h. after mean sunrise, and the eclipse, therefore, was visible in India.

⁵ From impressions supplied by Dr. Hultzsch.

⁶ Metre: *Sārdūlavikrīḍita*. The *Korumelli* plates of *Rājarāja I.* (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIV, p. 50) commence with the same verses 1 and 2.

- 2 jagatas=srashtā . Svaya[m*]bhūs=tatah | jajñe māsasa-sūnur=Atrir¹iti yas=tasmān=
munēr Atritas=Sōmō van[śa].
- 3 karas=sndh-āmsu(śu)r=ndita¹ Śrikant¹tha-chūdāmanih I(II) [1*] Tasm[ā*]d=āsīt=
Sudhāsūtēr=Budhō bndha-nutas=tatah | jātah
- 4 Purūravā nāma chakravartti sa-vikramah I(II) [2*] Tasm[ā*]d=Āyur=
Āyushō Nahushah | Nahushād=Yayāti-chakrava-
- 5 ritti vanśa-karttā¹ Tatah Pr[ā*]chisāh [1*] Pr[ā*]chisāt=
Sainyayāti[h 1*] Sainyayātēr=Hayapatihr¹Ilaya-
- 6 patēs=Sā[rva]bhaumah | Sārvabhaumāj Jayasēnah | Jayasēnān=Mahābhaumah |
Mahābhaumā-
- 7 d=Aisānakah [1*] Aisānakāt=Krōdhānanah [1*] Krōdhānanād=Dēvakih | Dēvakē¹
Richukah | Richukād=Rikshakah [1*] Ri-
- 8 kshakān=Mativarah¹ satrayōga-yāji Sarasvatīnadi-nāthah | Tatah
Kārtiyā(tyā)yanah | Kārtiyā(tyā)yanān=Nilah [1*]
- 9 Nilād Dushyantah | Tat-sutah | Āryyā | Gaṅgā-Yamunā-tirē yad-
avichehhi¹nam nikhāya yūpān=krumāsah | Kri-
- 10 tvā tath-āsva(śva)mēdhān-nāma Mahākarmma-Bharata iti yō=labhat(h)ta
I(II) [3*] Tatō Bharatād=Bhūmanyuh | Bhūmanyōs=Suhōtrah [1*]
- 11 Su[hō]trād=Dhastī | Hastinō Virōchanah | Virōchanād=Ajamīlah | Ajamīlāt
Samvaranah | Samvara[qu*]sya

Second Plate; First Side.

- 12 Tapana-sutāyās=Tapatyās=cha Sūdhānvā | Sadhanyannah Par[i]kshit¹ |
Parikshitō Bhīmasēnah | Bhīmasēnāt=Pradi-
- 13 panah | Pradīpanās=Chantañub¹ [1*] Sāntānōr=Vvichitraviryyah [1*]
Vichitraviryyāt=Pāndurājah || Patrās=tasya cha Dha-
- 14 rmmaja-Bhūm-A[r]jjuna-Nakula-Sahadēvāh [1*] pañchēndriyavat pañcha syur=
vishaya-grāhī¹as=tatra || [4*] Vcīlam |
- 15 [Yē]n-ādāhi vijitya Kā(khā)ṇḍava-mathō gāṇḍivīnā Vajripān¹ yuddhē
Pāsupat-āstram-A[ṁ]dhaka-ripōs=ch ālābhi Dai-
- 16 [tyā]n=bahū[n]¹Indr-ārdhāsana¹m=adhyarōhi jayinā yat=Kālikēy-ādikān=hatvā
svairam akāri
- 17 [van]śa-vipina-chehō(chēhō)dhā Kurūp[ā]n vībhōh I(II) [5*] tatō-
rjjunād=Abhimanyuh | Abhimanyō[h*] Parikshit [1*]
- 18 Parikshitō Janamējayah | Janamējayā[t=] Kshēmukah | Kshēmukān¹
Naravāhanah | Naravā-
- 19 hānā[s Cha]tānikah¹ | Śatānikād=Udayanah || Tatah puram tat-prabhritishv-
avichehi(chēhi)una-sāntānēshv Ayōdhyā-sinhā-

¹ According to the *Vyāsa-bhikṣā*, *visarga* is dropped before a group of consonants the first of which is a sibilant, even when the second consonant of the group is a sonant letter, and this rule, according to Dr. Lüders, is generally observed in South-Indian manuscripts.

² Metre: Ślōka (Anuśtubh).

³ Here the names of Paru and Janamējaya are omitted; the Korumelli plates of Rājāraja I., ll. 5 and 6, have: *tatah Purur=iti chakravartti | tatō Janamējayō=svamedha-tūṭayasya karti[ā*] tatah Pradhānāh*.

⁴ Read ¹patih |

⁵ Read ¹kēr=Ribhukah | Ribhukād=.

⁶ Read ¹varah satrayāga.

⁷ Metre: Āryāgiti; the same verse in the Korumelli plates, ll. 9, 11. Compare also above, p. 231, verse 4.

⁸ Read ¹nāch=Sāntanuh.

⁹ Metre: Upagiti; the Korumelli plates, l. 14, have the word *āryyā*, 'an Āryā verse,' before this verse.

¹⁰ Metre: Sārdulavikrīḍita, the same verse in the Korumelli plates, ll. 15-17.

¹¹ Read ¹Abahūn | Indr-.

¹² Read ¹nāch=Sāntān.

- 20 san-āśinēshv-ēkā[dm]shashṭi-chakravarttishu gatōshu tad-vamśyō **Vijayādityō**
nāma rājā vijigīshayā **Dakshi-**
21 [ṇa]patham ga[tvā] **Trilōchana-Pallavam**=adhikshīpya daiva-durīhayā lok-
āntaram-agamat [1*] Tasmīn-sa[ti*]kulō pu-
22 [rōhi]tēna sārddham=a[ntarvartni] tasya mahādēvī **Muḍivēmu-nān-āgrahāram-**
upaganya tad-vāstavyēnu

Second Plate; Second Side.

- 23 Vishṇubha[ṭṭa-sōmayājīnā] dūhittī[tri]-nirvviśēsham abhirakshitā sati **Vishṇu-**
varddhanan=nāma prasāya [2] tasya cha ku-
24 mārakasya **Mānavyasagōtra-Harītiputra**-dvipaksha-gōtra-kram-ōchitani karuṇ[ā*]ṇi
kārayitvā tam avarddhayat [1*] Sa cha mā-
25 [trā] vidijta-vpittāntas=san nirggatya **Chalukya-gīrau** Nandān bhagavathā
Gaurīm=ārūdhya Kumāra-Nārāyaṇa-Māṭrigaṇa-saṁtā[rppya] [3]
26 [śvē]tāpate-aikaśatīkha-paṁchamahāśabda - p ā l i k ē [t a *] n a - p r a t i ḍ h a k k ā -
varāhalāncha[elha]ṇa-piṇcha-kunta-siṅghā[hā]sana-
27 makaralōraṇa-kanakadundā-Gaṅgā-Yamu, n-ā*[dīnī] svakula-kram-āgata
[ni*]kshiptān īva tat-sāmbhā-
28 jya-elī[hnā]nī samādāya **Kaḍam̐ba-Gaṅg-ādi-bhūmipān** nūjitya **Sētu-Narmada-**
madhyam sārddha-
29 sapta-lakṣam **Dakṣiṇāpatham** pāhyām-āsa [4] Ślokam[kaṭṭ] [5] Tasya
āsīd-**Vijayādityō Vishṇu-**
30 **varddhanu**-bhūpatē [1*] **Pallav-ānvaya-jātāyā** mahādēvyās cha mādinaḥ [6]
[6*] Tat-sataḥ **Polakēśi-vallabha** [1*] Tat-putrah
31 **Kirttivarṇmā** [1*] Tasya tanayah [1] Svasti [1*] Śrīmatām sakala-bhuvan-
samstūyamāna-**Mānavyasagōtraṇā[m]** **Hā-**
32 **ritiputraṇam** Kauśiki-varaprasāda-labdhā-rūjyāmān **Māṭrigaṇa-paṇpāṭanam,**
Sv[ā*]mī-Mahāsēna-[pā]-
33 dānudhyātānām bhagavan-Nārāyaṇa-prasāda-samāsīdita-vara-varādudāncha[elha]m
ōkṣhaṇa-kṣhaṇa-vaśikṛit-ārā[ti]-

Third Plate; First Side.

- 34 maṇḍalanām=aśvamēdh-āyabhrīta[tha]suām-pavitrikṛita-vapushām **Chalukyanam**
kulam-akunkarishpos- **Satyasra-**
35 **ya-vallabhēndrasya** bhrātā **Kubja-Vishṇuvarddhanō**=shijādaśa vareshām **Vemgi-**
dēśam=apālayat [1] tad-ātmaḥ **Jayasīngha(ha)-**
36 vallabha[h]* trayastriṁśatām [1] tad-anuj-**Endrarajas**=sapta dīnāni [1] tat-sata
Vishṇuvarddhanō nava [1] tat-su(sū)mur-**Mam̐gi-Yu-**
37 **varajah** paṁchavīṁśatām [1] tat-putrō **Jayasīngha(ha)-vallabha**=trayodaśa [1]
tad-avamaḥ **Kokki(kki)lish**=shan[ga]māsān [1*] tasya
38 jyēsthō bhrātā **Vishṇuvarddhanas**=tam=uchchātya sata[saptatriṁśatam] [1] tat-
putrō **Vijayaditya-bhaṭṭarakō**=sh[ā*]jda-

¹ According to Pāṇini, iv. 1, 32, *antarvat* (not *antarvart*) is the proper term in the class of language; the *t* is doubled by Pāṇini, viii. 4, 47.

² This sign of punctuation should have been omitted.

³ Read *sanita*.

⁴ Read *picchha*, or *piṇchha*.

⁵ Read *śloka*.

⁶ Meire: Ślōka (Anuśtubh); the same verse in the Korumelli plate, ll. 30-31.

⁷ The *akṣara la* was originally omitted, and is engraved below the line.

⁸ Read *vallabhas*.

⁹ After this the word *carakṇa* has been omitted.

- 39 śa | tad-anujō¹ Vishṇuvarddhanash=śaṭtriṃśatam | tat-sūnur-Vvijayāditya-
Narēndramṛigarājaś=ch=āsh[ā].
40 chatvāriṃśatam | tat-sutaḥ Kali-Vishṇuvarddhanō=ddhyarddha-varshaṃ |
tat-sutō Guṇaga-Vijayāditya-
41 ś=chatuśchatvāriṃśatam | tad-bhrātura-Vvikramāditya-bhūpatēs=tanayaś=Chālukya-
Bhi(bhi)mas=triṃśatam | tat-sutaḥ Kolla-
42 b[i]ḡanda-Vijayāditya[h*] shan-māsān [l*] tat-sūnur Ammarājas=sapta
varsh[ā*]pi | tat-sutam Vijayādityam b[ā].
43 hu uchchātya Tāḍapō māsam=ēkaṃ | taṇ jivā yudhi Chālukya-Bhima-
tanayō Vikramāditya ēkāda-
44 śa māsān | ²tat-Tāḍaparaja-sutō Yuddhamallāḥ ssa(sa)pta varshāpi | Tam³
Yuddhamallam parihṛitya⁴ dē-

Third Plate ; Second Side.

- 45 sāt piśty ētarēśām-api sāttravānām(pām)⁵ [l*] ⁶kshām=Ammarāj-ānuja-
Rāja-Bhimō bhīmas-samā dvādaśa rakshati sma || [7*]
46 ⁷Tat-sūnur vyūat-ārātir-Ammarājō nrip-āgrāṇiḥ | pañchaviṃśati-varshāpi
Vōṃgi-bhuvam=apālayat || [8*] Dvāimāta⁸
47 rō-mma-nripatē[r] Ddāna-nripō Rāja-Bhima-nripa-tanayaḥ [l*] vidyā-katāpa-
chaturah [l*] chaturanta-dharām-asāt=samās ti-
48 srah l(II) [9*] Ana⁹ Dānārma(rṇṇa)vādd(d)=āsīd-daiva-duśchōshṭayā
tataḥ [l*] saptaviṃśati-varshāpi Vōṃgi-mahir=anāyi(ya)kā || [10*]
49 ¹⁰Atre[ā]nta¹⁰rō Dāna-narēndra-sūnu śrī-Śaktivarmmā Surarāt-sadharṇm[ā*] [l*]
yaś-sauryya-śaktyā vinihatya
50 sūtrūn sa dvādaś-ābdān samarakshad u[r]vvinā || [11*] ¹¹Tatas tad-anujō
virō Vimalāditya-bhūpatiḥ [l*] ma-
51 bhīmaṇḍala-sānurāja-prāja-lakṣmīm mud ādadhāt l(II) [12*] Tōjō¹² yadiyam=
akhila-kṣhitipāla-mauli-mālās-abhā-
52 d-annala-ratna-ruchi-chekhalēna [l*] pāti sma sapta sa samās sakalan=
dharitrīm bhīma-pratāpa-mahitō birud[ā*]mka-bhūmah l(II) [13*]
53 ¹³Tasm[ā*]d-Vimalādityād=Ravikula-lakṣmīyās cha Kumḍava-mahadōyyāḥ¹⁴ [l*]
nija-guṇa-vaśikṛit-ākṣhila-rājanyō Rājarāja-vibhura-

¹ Read *tat-anujō*.

² Read *tatas-Ti*.

³ Metre: Indravajrā. In the place of this verse, the Korumelli plates, ll. 46-47, have an Anushtubh verse; but the second half of it is corrupt.

⁴ This word is used here in an unusual sense.

⁵ According to Pāṇini, ii. 3, 56, the verb *piś*, in the sense of *āśīd*, governs the Genitive case.

⁶ Metre: Ślōka (Anushtubh). The Korumelli plates have no verse corresponding to this.

⁷ Metre: Giti. The Korumelli plates, ll. 47-48, instead of this, have an Anushtubh verse.

⁸ Read *taras-chata*.

⁹ Metre: Ślōka (Anushtubh); one would have expected *anu Dānārnam*. The Korumelli plates, ll. 48-49, instead of this, have a verse which I would read: *Tataḥ param patim labdhvan=anarūpam=andya(ya)kā* | *saptaviṃśati-varshāpi chachār āra tapah kshamē* ||

¹⁰ Metre: Indravajrā. The Korumelli plates, ll. 49-52, have three Anushtubh verses here, but their wording does not resemble the wording of this verse.

¹¹ Metre: Ślōka (Anushtubh). Compare the Anushtubh verse in the Korumelli plates, ll. 52-53.

¹² Metre: Vasantatilakā. With the last Pāda of this verse compare the verse in ll. 53-55 of the Korumelli plates. *Birudās* ending in *dāvanala* and *daurvanala*, such as are distinctly referred to in the verse of the Korumelli plates, are not uncommon.

¹³ Metre: Giti. Compare the verse in ll. 53-55 of the Korumelli plates.

¹⁴ Read *Kumḍava-diogāḥ*.

- 54 jani || [14*] 'Yas=Sôma¹vamśa-tilakaḥ Śaka-vatsarēṣhu vēd-āmburāśi-nidhi-
varttiṣhu Simha-gō-rkkō | kṛishṇa-dvitiya-divas-Ôtta-
55 rabhadrikāyām vārō Gurōr-vvaniji lagna-vare-bhishiktaḥ || [15*] Indrō²
yathā divam=ud[ā]ra-yaśas-tāth ērvvīn³ sanryyēṇa

Fourth Plate; First Side.

- 56 śa[śya]d-akbilām-abhirakṣitūn yaḥ | śrī-Vishṇuvarddhana-nipō makūṭan
parārdhyan mū[r*]dhu ādadhān-maṇi-mayūkha-vi-
57 bhāsit-āśan || [16*] Samrakṣati⁴ kṣiti-talan kṣapit-ārivaragg[ē] mū[r]ggēṇa⁵
yōnā⁶ naya-sālīni Mānavēna [1*] prītāḥ
58 prajā [nija-pavi]tra-charitra-tōyāḥ prakṣhālayanti kali-kāla-kalauka-parikāḥ(kam) ||
[17*] ⁶Samaggēṇa⁷ kuṭūn kad-āggama-
59 [pa]rijñānēna [kurvaḥ]n dhīyan dīn-ānātha-jan-ā[r]tthit-ā[r]tthā-nivaha-tyāgēna
lakṣmīnā sū(sthi)rān [1*] saṃpūṣṇa(rṇa)-āmala-chaudrikā-
60 [viśa]day[ā] kīrtiyā jagad-gitayā yō dik-chakram alaṃkarōti sutarān Chālukya-
chūḍāmaṇiḥ || [18*] Yasya⁸ sph[ā]ra-bhuj[ā]-
61 kṛipāya-dalit-ārātābha-kumbhasthala-prōnmukt-āmala-vrītta-mauktika-chayā
saṃgrāma-raṃg-āntarō [1*] dhātē vi[ra]-
62 rasa-kriy-ābhīnayana-prastāvanā-lakṣitān vīrāśi-ra[hi]t-ānājali-pravīsarāt-puṣp-
ōpahāra-śrī-
63 yaḥ(yan) || [19*] ⁹Pitrōr-vamśa-gurā babhūvatur alaṃ yasya spu(sphu)cat-
tōjas[au] Sūryā-Chandramasan nīrasta-tamas[au]
64 [dē]vā jagach-chakṣuṣhī | dānsh[rā]-koji-samudhrit-ākṣhīla-mahā-chakram
mahat kṛidayā Vishṇōr-ādivarāha-rūpam-a-
65 bhavad yach-chhā-ā(sa)nē lānchhanān || [20*] Sa sarvalōkāśaya śrī-
Vishṇuvarddhana-mahārājādhirājā rāja-paramōśvarah para-
66 mahāt[ā]rakāḥ ||¹⁰ paramamāhōśvarah paramabrahmanyah śrī-Rājarajadevō
Rōṇḍēgulunaḍimi-vishaya-nivā-
67 sinō rāshṭrakūṭa-pramukhān kuṭūmbināḥ sam[ā*]ha(hā)ya māntri-parōhita-
sōnāpati-bai(ya)varāja-danv[ā*]rika-
68 pradhāna-samakṣam itthana ājñāpayati yathā || ¹¹Hārīta-gōtrō Hari-mūrttir-
Āpastambha(ba)-dvija-śrēṣṭha-vibhu-

Fourth Plate; Second Side.

- 69 r=vvīnīṭah | sadā parōḍāśa-pavitra-vaktrō vidvān-abhūt=Kānibena-sōmayāji ||
[21*] Tasya¹² śrīmā-

¹ Metre of verses 15-17: Vasantatilakā. Verse 15 is identical with the verse in ll. 65-67 of the Korumelli plates, except that the latter commences with the words *Yō rakṣitūn vasumatūn*.

² Compare the verse in ll. 67-68 of the Korumelli plates.

³ Read *-yakkia=tathā*.

⁴ Compare the verse in ll. 68-69 of the Korumelli plates.

⁵ Read *gatra* (for *gasmān*), which we actually have in the corresponding verse of the Korumelli plates.

⁶ Metre of verses 18-20: Sārdūlavikrīḍita. The fame (*kīrti*) of the king is differently described in the verse in ll. 69-72 of the Korumelli plates (which reminds one of a verse in the Āngāchhī plate of Vīgrahapālla III., *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXI, p. 100, ll. 17-18).

⁷ Read *san-mārggēṇa* (?).

⁸ There is no verse corresponding to this in the Korumelli plates. With the first half of the verse we may compare the first half of the verse in ll. 42-44 of the Chellūr plates of Kulōttuṅga-Chōḍadēva II., *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIV, p. 57.

⁹ The same verse we have in ll. 72-75 of the Korumelli plates.

¹⁰ This sign of punctuation should have been omitted.

¹¹ Metre: Upajāti.

¹² Metre: Mandākrāntā.



- 70 n himakara-kara-prasphurat-kīrtti-rāsēr-āsīt-sūnuḥ sakala-vidushām-amchitah
Kariachenā-
- 71 [r]yyah | yam manyatō Yamam=ari-gaṇḥ kama-dhōnuḥ kav-iṁdrāḥ
krīd-ārāman parama-suhridō [ji]-
- 72 vitarū barūdhū-varggāḥ I(II) [22*] Tasy-ātmaḥ mahātmā samajuni
Sō(san)ehānjanēya iti viditah [I*] prajā-jita-Vāhaspa-
- 73 tir Akalaukāśatukan-āmātyah || [23*] Tasya cha sudharma-patnyā guṇa-
sālinyās cha Sāmekāmbāyāḥ [I*] abha-
- 74 [va]d anu[sh]hi]ta-jagad-upakaraṇō Nārāyaṇa-tanayah I(II) [24*] Yuh
Sanskṛita-Karṇā(rṇā)ta-Prākṛita-Paisāchi-
- 75 k-Āndhra-bhāshāsu | Kavirājaśekhara iti prathitah sukavitva-vibhavēna ||
[25*] ²Kavin-manishālava-
- 76 darvīlagdhāu-mauḍharābhīr-naija-sūktibhīr-yyah | kurvann agaryvān paṭabhi[r]-
bhībhasttīh(rtti) Kavibhava-jrōnkuśa-nā-
- 77 ma sūttarū || [26*] Tasmā sakala-jagad-abhinna-guṇa-sā[I*]nō Sarasvatī-
karnā(rṇā)vataṁsāy-āshṭādaś-āvadhāraṇa-chakra-
- 78 varttīnō Nannī-Nārāyaṇāya bhavad-vishayō Nandamapūṇḍī-nāma-grāmō=
grahāikṛitya sōmagra-
- 79 haṇa-nimittō dhārā-pūrvvakam-asmābhis sarvvakam-³parihārēṇa dattam itī⁶
viditam astu vah I(II) Asya sīmā-
- 80 nah [I*] Pūrvvataḥ iyy-ūriyūn Billomapeddapūṇḍiyūn bola-garusuna
pallanuna Koṇḍiyagumṭa

Fifth Plate.

- 81 naḍuna sīmā || Āgnēyataḥ iyy-ūriyūn Billomapeddapūṇḍiyū Norapulayūn
bola-garu-
- 82 suna mūyyalikuṭra sīmā || Dakṣiṇataḥ iyy-ūriyū Norapulayūn bola-
garusuna tāḍla gē-
- 83 va sīmā | Nairṇīya(ta)taḥ iyy-ūriyū Norapulayū Mumḍaramunayūn bola-
garusuna mūyyalika-
- 84 tra sīmā | Pāśchimataḥ iyy-ūriyū Mumḍaramunayū Maḍakuritiyūn bola-
garusuna mūyyalī-
- 85 kuṭra sīmā | Vāyavyataḥ iyy-ūriyū Maḍakuritiyūn Billomapeddapūṇḍiyūn
bola-garusuna
- 86 mūyyalikuṭraṇa golla-gēva sīmā | Uttarataḥ iyy-ūriyūn
Billomapeddapū(pū)ṇḍiyūn bola-garu-
- 87 suna [yē]ruva gaḍḍaya sīmā | Aiśānya(ua)taḥ iyy-ūriyū
Billomapeddapūṇḍiyūn bola-garu-
- 88 sa(su)na magri-tōḍi tāḍiy-odda chinṭaya sīmā || Asy-ōpari na kēnachid-
bādha karaiyā [I*] Yuh ka-
- 89 rōti sa paṇcha-mahāpātaka-yuktō bhavati [II*] Tathā ch=ōktaṁ bhagavatā
Vyāsēna | ⁵Sva-dattām para-dattām vā yō
- 90 harēta vasundharām [I*] shushṭīm varsha-sahasrāṇi vishṭhāyā[m] jāyatō
krimih I(II) [27*] Bahubhīr=vasudhā dattā bahu-
- 91 bhīs-ch-ānpālītā [I*] yasya yasya yudā bhūmis=tasya tasya tadā phalam=
[28*] itī⁶ [II*] Ājñaptir asya

¹ Metre of verses 23-25: Āryā.

² Metre: Upajāti.

³ The *akshara ka* was originally omitted, and has been inserted afterwards.

⁴ Read *datta itī*.

⁵ Metre of verses 27 and 28: Ślōka (Anushtubh).

⁶ After this there is an ornamental symbol which may be meant for the *akshara iri*.

No. 48.— KARIKAL INSCRIPTION OF MADHURANTAKA.

By E. HOLTZSCH, Ph.D.

According to the large Leyden grant, six Chôla kings ruled between Parāntaka I. and Rājārāja I. But while the inscriptions of the two latter are found scattered over the whole Tamil country, no records of those six intermediate kings had so far turned up, except two inscriptions of Āditya II.¹ and the mere mention of Gaṇḍarāditya, the second son of Parāntaka I., in an inscription of his father.² This break in the continuity of the Chôla records is probably due to the conquest of their dominions by the Rāshtrakûṭa king Kṛishṇa III, whose vassal Bātuga killed Rājāditya, the eldest son of Parāntaka I., at Takkôlam³ before A.D. 949-50.⁴

The village of Karikal⁵ between Sholinghur and Bāpavaram contains a small temple of the goddess Poṇṇi-Amman. The slab which forms the roof of this temple, bears the subjoined inscription of "Rājakesarivarman, the conqueror of Madirai (Madhurā)." *Madirai koṇḍa* is known to have been a surname of Parāntaka I.⁶ and the Sanskrit synonym *Madhuranṭaka* is applied to Rājendra-Chôla I. in the large Leyden grant.⁷ These two kings, however, had the title Parakēsarivarman and not Rājakesarivarman. Consequently the subjoined inscription of "Rājakesarivarman, the conqueror of Madirai," may be attributed to another Madhurāntaka who, according to the large Leyden grant, was the son of Gaṇḍarāditya and ruled between Āditya II. and Rājārāja I.⁸ This identification would suit the alphabet of the subjoined inscription, which resembles that of the Tamil inscriptions of the Rāshtrakûṭa king Kṛishṇa III.⁹

The alphabet is Tamil, with the exception of the two Grantha words *svasti śrī* at the beginning. It is worth noting that, in *miṇāṭṭi* (l. 3) and *Veṇṇāyi* (l. 4), the syllable *ṇā* is expressed by two separate symbols and not, as usual, by a conjunct character. The language of the inscription is vulgar Tamil.

The inscription records that a temple of Piḍāri¹⁰—which must be the present temple of Poṇṇi-Amman—was built by a woman named Veṇṇāyi-Naṅgai.

TEXT.¹¹

- | | | | | | | | |
|---|----------------------|----------|-----------|-------------|-------|---------|----------------|
| 1 | Svasti ¹² | śrī(śrī) | [H*] | Madirai | koṇḍa | kōv- | Irāśakōsaripa- |
| 2 | ṇmar[k*] | k=iyāṇḍa | | aṇḍāyadu | | | Pulivala-naṭṭu |
| 3 | Marivāḍi | | Vi(vi)ra- | Valaṇḍijyaṇ | | miṇāṭṭi | Kilār-kū- |
| 4 | rattu | Ērupāḍi | | Āchebaṇ | | | Veṇṇāyi-Na- |
| 5 | ṇguiy-ēṇ | śe[yv] | iēlecha | Piḍāri | kōyil | [H*] | |

¹ *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. III. p. 21 and note 1.

² *Ibid.* Vol. II. p. 374.

³ Takkôlam (No. 237 on the *Madras Survey Map* of the Wāḷajāpēt tāluka of the North Arcot district) is a village 6 miles south-east of Arkonam Junction. The temple at Takkôlam contains an inscription of Kṛishṇa III.

⁴ *Ep. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 168.

⁵ No. 40 on the *Madras Survey Map* of the Wāḷajāpēt tāluka. In Mr. Sewell's *Lists of Antiquities*, Vol. I. p. 162, the name is, owing to an error, given as Karikāla. The village of Karikal must not be confounded with the French settlement of Karikal, the proper Tamil name of which is Kāraikkāl; see *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXI. p. 327.

⁶ See above, p. 178 and note 11.

⁷ *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. I. p. 111 f. and Vol. II. p. 139, note 1.

⁸ See the Table, *ibid.* Vol. I. p. 112.

⁹ Above, Vol. III. p. 285, and Vol. IV. p. 82.

¹⁰ This is the Tamil name of a village goddess; compare *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. II. p. 48, note 10, and Vol. III. p. 9.

¹¹ From two inked estampages, prepared by Mr. T. P. Krishnaswami Sastri, M.A.

¹² Read *svasti*.

No. 52.—KIL-MUTTUGUR INSCRIPTIONS.

By E. HULTZSCH, Ph.D.

(Concluded from page 179.)

D.—Inscription of the 3rd year of Narasimhavarman.

On page 177, above, it was stated that the fourth of the **Kil-Muttugur** slabs had been lost since 1887. The Collector of North Arcot has recently succeeded in recovering the missing slab, hidden in a ruined tunnel and broken in three pieces. It bears, in relief, a warrior in a defiant attitude, who holds a bow and some other weapon. At the top of the sculpture is a **Tamil** inscription, now broken in two pieces, but tolerably well preserved. The alphabet resembles that of the other inscription of Narasimhavarman (above, p. 177). The letter *ṇ* looks like the modern secondary form of *ai*, with fully developed central loop. The *virāṇa* is expressed by a vertical dash behind *t* of *nāttu* in line 3. The syllable *ṭu* or *ḍu* of *yāṇḍu* (l. 2) and *Mukkuṭṭur* (l. 6) resembles the *r* of *parumaṇku* (l. 1) and *māṇṇāḍu* (l. 2); the *u* is attached to the lower end of *t* in *nāttu* (l. 3); it is separated from *ḍ* in *ḍur* (l. 4); and the *ṭu* of *mīttu* (l. 7) resembles the *ṭi* of *paṭṭir* (l. 8). With the archaic form *Ṣaṇmaduraru* (l. 6 f.) compare *areṣarn*, which occurs twice in the Vallam cave inscription.¹

The inscription is dated in the 3rd year of the reign of *kō vijaya-Narasimhavarman* and records the death of a warrior in a cattle-raid, which had been organized by a certain *Ṣaṇmadura*.²

At my suggestion the four Kil-Muttugur slabs have now been removed to the Madras Museum. The two slabs bearing the inscriptions C. (p. 179 above) and D. (below) are figured on the accompanying Plate.

TEXT.³

| | | | |
|---|-----------------------|------------------------------|----------------------|
| 1 | Kō | viṣe[ya]- | Naraiṣi[ṇ]gaparumar- |
| 2 | ku | yāṇḍu | [mū]ṇṇāḍu Vi[ṇ]- |
| 3 | ṇnāttu | vaṇa-kurai | āṇ Daga- |
| 4 | ḍurnaḍar ⁴ | [Va]ṇmadura-ṣēvagar | [Pā]- |
| 5 | kkattu-kkuḍi | Atimattar | Mu- |
| 6 | ruṇṇ | ⁵ Mukkuṭṭur-ttoṇu | Ṣaṇma- |
| 7 | ḍuraru | ko[ṭ]a-t[to]ṇu | mīttu-ppa- |
| 8 | ṭṭār [ṇ*] | | |

TRANSLATION.

In the third year (of the reign) of the king, the victorious **Narasimhavarman**,— when *Ṣaṇmadura* lifted cattle⁶ at **Mukkuṭṭur**,⁷— Atimattar Maruṇṇ, an inhabitant of **[Pā]kkam** (and) a servant of **[Va]ṇmadura**, the chief of **Tagaḍūrnāḍu**,⁸ who ruled over the northern bank (of the river) in **Vipṇunāḍu**, having recovered the cattle, fell.

¹ *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. II, p. 341.

² The donor of the other inscription of Narasimhavarman was a servant of the same *Ṣaṇmadura*. This name represents the Sanskrit *Ṣaṇmadhura* and not, as I formerly suggested (p. 178 above), *Shāṇmātura*.

³ From three inked estampages, prepared by Mr. T. P. Krishnaswami Sastri, M.A.

⁴ Read *ḍūr*.

⁵ Read *Mukkuṭṭūr*.

⁶ See above, p. 179, note 2.

⁷ Compare p. 177 above.

⁸ On Tagaḍūr, a place in the Naljanagūḍu taluku of the Mysore district, see *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXII, p. 66.

- 24 स्ता च तान्येव नरके वसेत् ॥ वन्धाटवीष्वतोयासु शुष्ककोटरवासिनः
[1*] कृष्णाहयो हि जायन्ते भूमिदायं हरः¹
- 25 न्ति ये ॥ बहुभिर्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभिः सगरादिभिः [1*] यस्य यस्य
यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं ॥ यानीह तादः²
- 26 नि पुरा नरेन्द्रैर्दानानि धर्मार्थयशस्कराणि [1*] निर्भुक्तमाख्यप्रतिमानि
तानि की नाम साधुः पुनराददेत् ॥ स्वदः³
- 27 तां परदत्तां वा यद्वाद्रक्ष युधिष्ठिर । महीं महिमतां श्रेष्ठ दानाच्छ्रे-
योनुपालनमिति⁴ [1*]

No. I.

संवत्सरशतत्रये [28] द्वि[न]वत्यधिके
वैशाखशुद्धपञ्चदश्यां स्वमुखाक्षया लिखि-
तमिदं सन्धिविग्रहकरणाधिकतरेवेण
[29] सं ३०० ९० २ वैशाख शु
१० ५ दिनकरचरणार्धनरतस्य श्रीवीत-
रागसूनीः स्वहस्तोयं श्रीप्रशान्तरागस्य
[1*]

No. II.

संवत्सरशतत्रये द्विनवत्यधि- [27] के
वैशाखपौर्णमास्यां भोगिकपालककर्कटूतकं
लिखितं सान्धिविग्रहिकरेवेण स्वमुखाक्ष-
येति [28] सं ३०० ९० २ वैशाख शु
१० ५ दिनकरचरणार्धनरतस्य श्रीवीत-
रागसूनीः स्वहस्तोयं श्रीप्रशा- [29]
न्तरागस्य ॥

No. 6.—EIGHT VATTELUTTU INSCRIPTIONS OF CHOLA KINGS.

By E. HULTZSCH, Ph.D.

Professor Bühler in his *Indian Palaeography* (p. 72 f. of the German edition) and Mr. Venkayya in his paper on the Kōṭṭayam plate of Vira-Rāghava (above, Vol. IV. p. 293) have lately urged the necessity of publishing Vatteluttu inscriptions, the dates of which can be fixed with some certainty. Hence I take this opportunity for issuing mechanical copies of eight Chōla inscriptions. None of these is in a condition of complete preservation; but I trust that, even in their necessarily imperfect state, the accompanying facsimiles will prove useful for tracing the development of the Vatteluttu alphabet.

Five of the inscriptions (A. to E.) are engraved on two boulders in the Sthāpanātha temple at Śuchindram between Kōṭṭāru and Cape Comorin in the Travancore State, and the remaining three (F. to H.) on the north wall of the shrine in the Rāmasvāmin temple at Shermādēvi in the Tinnevely district: They belong to the reigns of the Chōla kings

¹ No. II. omits the verse व(धि)वन्धाटवीष्वत्यादि.

² No. II has राजभिश्च^०.— In No. II. line 23 ends with यस्य यस्य.— Read यानीह दत्तानि with No. II.

³ In No. II. line 24 ends with यशस्कराणि.— No. II. has निर्भुक्त^०.

⁴ In No. II. line 25 ends with यद्वाद्र^०.— No. II. has महीं.— Read महीमतां.— No. II. has 'पालनं' इति.

Parakēsarivarman (A.), Parāntaka I. (B.), Rājārāja I. (C. to G.) and Rājendra-Chōla I. (H.). The fact that all those inscriptions are found in the extreme south of the peninsula proves, what the Vaṭṭeḷuttu inscriptions of the earlier Pāṇḍya kings suggest, that, about the 10th century of our era, the Vaṭṭeḷuttu was current in the country of the Pāṇḍyas, but unknown in the native territory of their Chōla conquerors.

The characters of the subjoined inscriptions agree more closely with those of the Cochin and Tirunelli plates¹ than with those of the plates of Jaṭilavarman.² Throughout F., G. and H. once in C.³ and twice in D.⁴ occurs a variant of *y*, which is known from the Kōṭṭayam plates of Sthānu-Ravi.⁵ In H. the double *h* is written as a group, as in many inscriptions in the Tamil alphabet. As in all other Vaṭṭeḷuttu inscriptions, Grantha letters are occasionally used in the subjoined eight records. The following is a list of the Grantha words and letters:—

Svasti śrī at the beginning of each of the eight inscriptions.—A., l. 11, *sabhai*.—C., l. 4, *brahma*; l. 5, *Mahādē*; l. 11, *sabhai*.—D., ll. 4 and 5, *ja* of Rājārāja; l. 7 f., *brahma* and *m* of *brahmadēyam*, and *Sujātāra*.—E., l. 8, *brahmādē* and *mal[ā]* *sabhai*.—F., ll. 3 and 4, Rājārāja; l. 4 f., *brahma*, *maḥd* and *ekahaturvrē*.—H., l. 1, *śrī* and *jēndra* of *śrī-Rājēndra*, *ja* of Rājārāja; l. 2, *brahma*; ll. 2, 8 and 9, *sa* of *Vaiṣṇava*; ll. 5 and 6, *śrī*.

A.—Inscription in the Sthānūnātha temple at Śuchindram.⁶

This inscription records the gift of a lamp to the Śiva temple at Tiruchchivindiram, the modern Śuchindram, and is dated in the 34th year of the reign of the ancient Chōla king Parakēsarivarman.⁷ As we know from the large Leyden grant and from actual examples in the history of the later Chōlas that the titles Rājakēsarīn and Parakēsarīn were borne alternately by reigning kings,⁸ some of those inscriptions which are dated in the reign of Parakēsarivarman—without any distinguishing epithet, as *Madirai-konṇa* in the case of Parāntaka I.,—may perhaps be attributed to Vijayālaya, the grandfather of Parāntaka I. and the earliest historical person that is referred to in two genealogical inscriptions of the Chōla dynasty.⁹

TEXT.¹⁰

| | | | |
|----|--------------------|-------------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1 | Svasti | śrī [\|\|*] | Kô=Pparakê[śa]ri[vaṇma]- |
| 2 | rkku ¹¹ | y[ā]ndu | muppattu-nāku i. |
| 3 | vv-[ā]p[ā]u | Nāñji-nā[t]tu | Tiruch- |
| 4 | chivindirattu | [M]ād[ā]varkku | Te- |
| 5 | n-nāṭṭu | Talaikkulattu | [A]raiyaṇ=A- |
| 6 | ravin[daṇ] | śandi[r-ād]i[ta]-va[la]- | |
| 7 | m ¹² | niyadi | uḷakku ne[y] mutt[ā]- |
| 8 | mal | erivadāga | vaichecha tira-no- |
| 9 | ndā-viḷakku | onriṇṇakku | vaich[cha*] |
| 10 | [ā]āva | [mā]vi pēr ādu | a[m]baḍu [\|\|*] [i]vai |
| 11 | aimbadu | paraḍ[ai]-sabhaiyārkkku [\|\|*] |  |

¹ Above, Vol. III. p. 66 f. and *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XX. p. 283 ff.

² *Ibid.* Vol. XXII. p. 57 ff.

³ In the second *yāpā* of line 2.

⁴ In *yam*, l. 8, and *vāyāga*, l. 12.

⁵ Compare above, Vol. III. p. 66 f.

⁶ No. 81 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1896.

⁷ To the same reign belong Nos. 85 and 148 of *South Ind. Inscrip.* Vol. I., and No. 11 of Vol. III.

⁸ *Ibid.* Vol. I. p. 141, note 4.

⁹ *Ibid.* Vol. II. p. 379. Vijayālaya is not mentioned in the Sholinghur inscription; above, Vol. IV. p. 222.

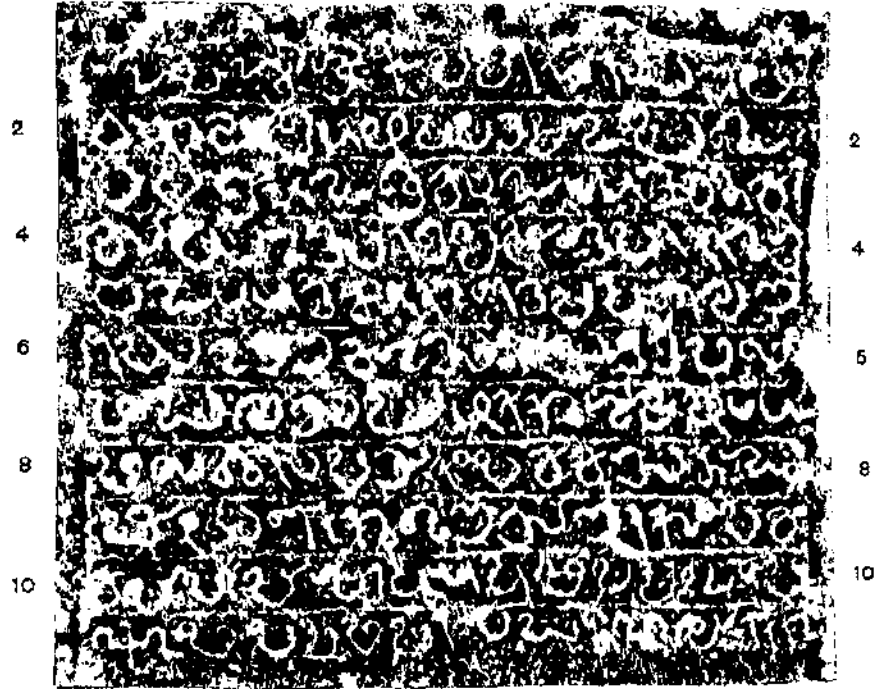
¹⁰ From an inked stampage.

¹¹ Read *rku* or *rkku*.

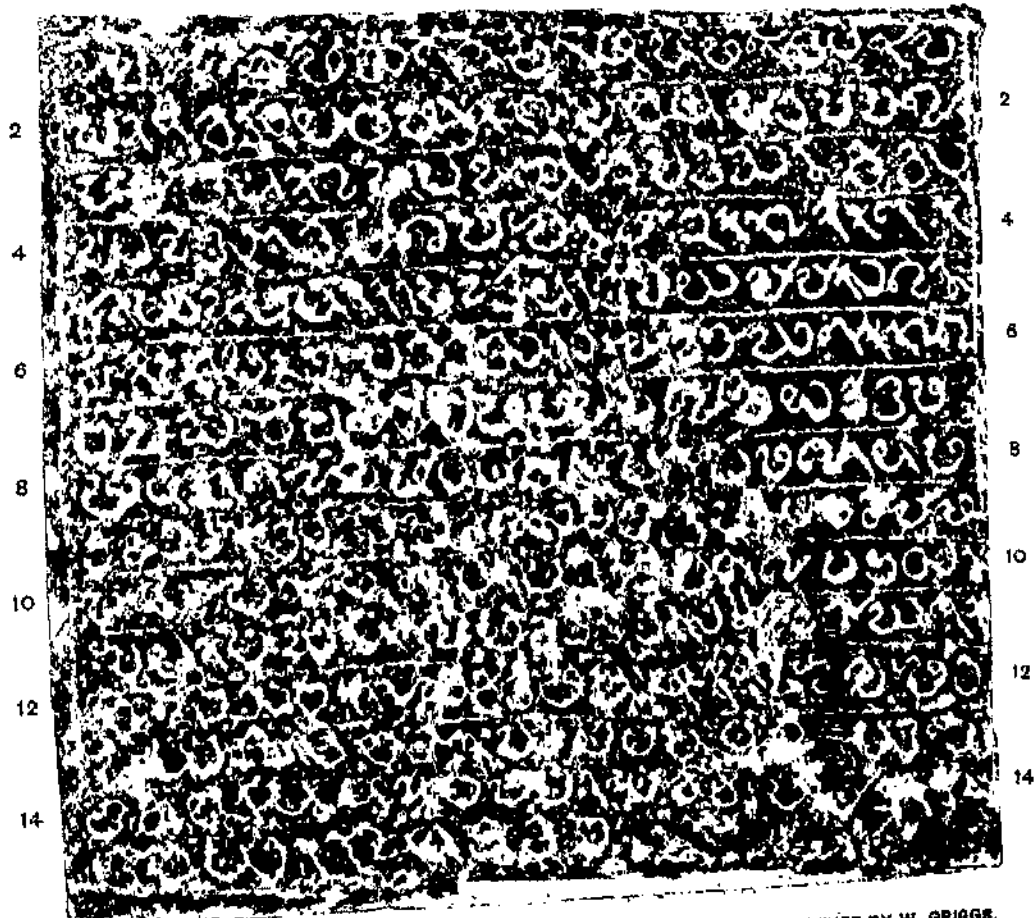
¹² Read *va?*

Vatteluttu Inscriptions of Chola Kings.

A.



B.



E. HULTZSCH.

SCALE 1/2.

COLLOTYPE BY W. GRIGGS.

TRANSLATION.

Hail! Prosperity! In the year thirty-four (of the reign) of King Parakēsarivarman, in this year Araiyaṇ Aravindaṇ of Talaikkulam in the southern country (Tēyāṇ) (the temple of) Mahādēva (Śiva) at Tiruchonivindiram in Nāḷji-nāḍu one lamp, to burn without fail (one) *valakku* of ghee per day, as long as the world shall exist. For (this lamp he) gave fifty full-grown ewes, which must neither die nor grow old. These fifty (ewes were made over) to the members of the assembly (of the village).

B.—Inscription in the Sthānanātha temple at Suchindram.

This inscription is dated in the 40th year¹ of the reign of "Parakēsarivarman who conquered Madirai (Madhurā) and Īlam (Ceylon)." ² *I.e.* the Chōla king Parāntaka I.³ It records that a merchant of Karavandapuram⁴ granted two lamps to two shrines of Viṣṇu, which seem to have been located in the Śiva temple at Suchindram.

TEXT.

- 1 Svasti [śrī] [||*] Maḍi[raiy]m Īlamum konda kō-P-
- 2 para[kē]śa[ri]vaymarkku [yān]ḍu nārpadu i-
- 3 v[v-ān]ḍu Ku[m]ba-nā[y]ir[ru]=Ttiruchchi-
- 4 vindirat[ta] Emberumāṇukku-Kkaḷak-
- 5 [k]nā[i]-nāṭtu=[K]kara[va]ndapurat[ta] vi[ṣ]ṇāpāri Oru-
- 6 [n]g[ai] Araṅga[n] vaṭṭa tiri-nondā-viḷakku a-
- 7 [n]ru nira [paḷattu] mu[ppadu] [||*] i[ḍu] ni[śa]dam
- 8 n[ā]kk-a[ra]i ne[y] muttā[mai] pa[ḷadu]n iravum
- 9 [śa]ndi[r]-ādi[ṭta-vay] e[r]i[va]dā[ga] [vi]t[ta] [śā]vā mū-
- 10 vā=[p]pēr-āḍ[u] e[ḷu]ba[ṭṭa-ai] [||*] iva[nē] Tir[u]-
- 11 vē[ḷ]gaḍa[nilai]kku [vaṭṭa] tiri-[non]dā-viḷak-
- 12 ku oṇṇi[ṇuk]ku [ni]śa[da]m ā[ḷ]k[ku] ne[y] mē-
- 13 [pa]ḍi [e]ri[va]dā[ga] vi[t]ta āḍ[u] i[rubatt-ai-
- 14 āju [||*] ā[ga] āḍu nā[ṇum] pa[ra]ḍai-chehavai[ṇ]r[akku]
- 15 [kāt]ti=kkūḍu[t]taṇa [||*]

TRANSLATION.

Hail! Prosperity! In the year forty (of the reign) of King Parakēsarivarman who conquered Madirai and Īlam,—in the month of Kumbha of this year, Oruṅgai Araṅga, a merchant of Karavandapuram in Kāḷakkudi-nāḍu, gave one perpetual lamp,⁵ weighing thirty *paḷam*, to (the temple of) Emberumāṇ (Viṣṇu) at Tiruchchivindiram. In order that this

¹ *I.e.* which have to be replaced by fresh ones when they die or cease to supply milk for the ghee; compare *South-Ind. Insor.* Vol. II. p. 375, note 3.

² *Sabhai* or *ṭavai* is the Tamil form of the Sanskrit *śabha*, and *paraḍai* is perhaps a corruption of the Sanskrit *parīśad*.

³ No. 82 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1898.

⁴ An inscription of the same year is noticed in *South-Ind. Insor.* Vol. II. p. 374 and note 8.

⁵ See *ibid.* p. 375 and note 8.

⁶ The same place is mentioned in two Pāṇḍya inscriptions; *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXII. pp. 67 and 74.

⁷ As stated in *South-Ind. Insor.* Vol. II. p. 132, note 3, *nondā-viḷakku* or *nandā-viḷakku* are corruptions of *nandā-viḷakku*, which occurs in H., line 4, and in an inscription at Tirukkalukkuṇṇam (above, Vol. III. p. 284). The form *tiri-nondā-viḷakku* in the present inscription further suggests that *tiru-nandā-viḷakku*, 'a sacred lamp which is never trimmed,' has been developed by folk etymology from *tiri-nandā-viḷakku*, 'a lamp the wick of which is never trimmed' (because ghee is continually supplied to it).

(lamp) might burn without fail, as long as the moon and the sun exist, during day and night, (one) *ulakku* and a half of ghee per day, (he) granted seventy-five full-grown ewes, which must neither die nor grow old.¹ For one (other) perpetual lamp, which the same person gave to (the shrine of) Tiruvēṅgaḍa[nilai],² (he) granted twenty-five ewes, in order that (this lamp) might burn, in the same manner as stated above, (one) *ālakku*³ of ghee per day. Altogether one hundred ewes were shown and made over to the members of the assembly.

C.—Inscription in the Sthānunnātha temple at Śuchindram.⁴

This inscription records the gift of a lamp by a native of Ceylon (Īla-nāḍu) in the 10th year of the reign of the Chōḷa king Rājārāja I., who ascended the throne in A.D. 985.⁵

TEXT.

- 1 Svasti śrī [||*] Kō Irāsairāśa-Kēsarivaṇ-
- 2 markku yāṇḍu pattāṁ yāṇḍu tuḍā-
- 3 giṇa Kaṇkaḍaga-nā[yi*]ṅṅu [Nā]ñji-nāṭ[ṭu]
- 4 brahmadēyam Tiruchchi[v]in[di]rat[ṭu]
- 5 Mahādēvark[ku] Īla-[nā]ṭṭu Māla[va]-
- 6 [raiya]ṇ [Śe]ṇ[ṇi] Ka[ṇḍa]ṇ [niśada]m u[ḷa]-
- 7 k[ku] ney śāṇḍir-āditta-val ira-
- 8 [vu]m pa[ga]lum [mū*][t]tā[ma]! erivadāga [vai]-
- 9 chcha tir[u]-nonḍā-vilak[k]u oṇṇu [i*] [i]duk[ku]
- 10 vai[ch]cha [śā]vā ⁶muṇā-ppēr-āḍu aṇṇbadu⁷ [i*]
- 11 ivai mūla-paradai-[sa]bh[aiy]ār vaṣam kātṭi=
- 12 kkuḍuttana || mūla-paradai-chcha[vai]yārum
- 13 Emberumāṇ [V]eṭṭirkūḍi [Pa]ḍait[ṭaru]-
- 14 [ma]ṇ Kaṇai[ya]n=du[n]ai[y=ā]kki⁸ va[śa*][m] k[ā]ṭṭi=
- 15 k[ku]ḍuttana [||*]

TRANSLATION.

Hail! Prosperity! In the tenth year (of the reign) of king Rājārāja-Kēsarivarman, in the month of Karkataka with which (this) year began, Māla[raiyā]ṇ [Śe]ṇ[ṇi] Ka[ṇḍa]ṇ of Īla-nāḍu gave to (the temple of) Mahādēva at Tiruchchivindiram, a brahmadēya in Nāñji-nāḍu, one sacred perpetual lamp, to burn without fail during night and day, as long as the moon and the sun exist, (one) *ulakku* of ghee per day. For this (lamp he) gave fifty full-grown ewes, which must neither die nor grow old.⁹ These (ewes) were shown and made over to the chief members of the assembly. And (by) the chief members of the assembly they were entrusted (?), shown and made over to [Pa]ḍait[ṭaruma]ṇ Kaṇai[ya]ṇ of [V]eṭṭirkūḍi, (a village belonging to the temple of) Emberumāṇ (Vishnu).

D.—Inscription in the Sthānunnātha temple at Śuchindram.¹⁰

This inscription is dated in the 14th year of the reign of the same king as the preceding inscription. Its purport is doubtful owing to the bad preservation of lines 14 to 24, of which I am unable to publish a transcript and translation.

¹ See above, p. 43, note 1.

² Vēṅgaḍam is the Tamil name of the hill of Tirupati, which is sacred to Vishnu.

³ 1 *ālakku* = 1 *ulakku*; see *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. II, p. 48, note 5, and p. 130, note 3.

⁴ No. 71 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1896.

⁵ See below, p. 48 and note 6.

⁶ Read *aṇṇbadu*.

⁷ Read *śāṇḍir* (?).

⁸ Read *mūḍā*.

⁹ No. 75 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1896.

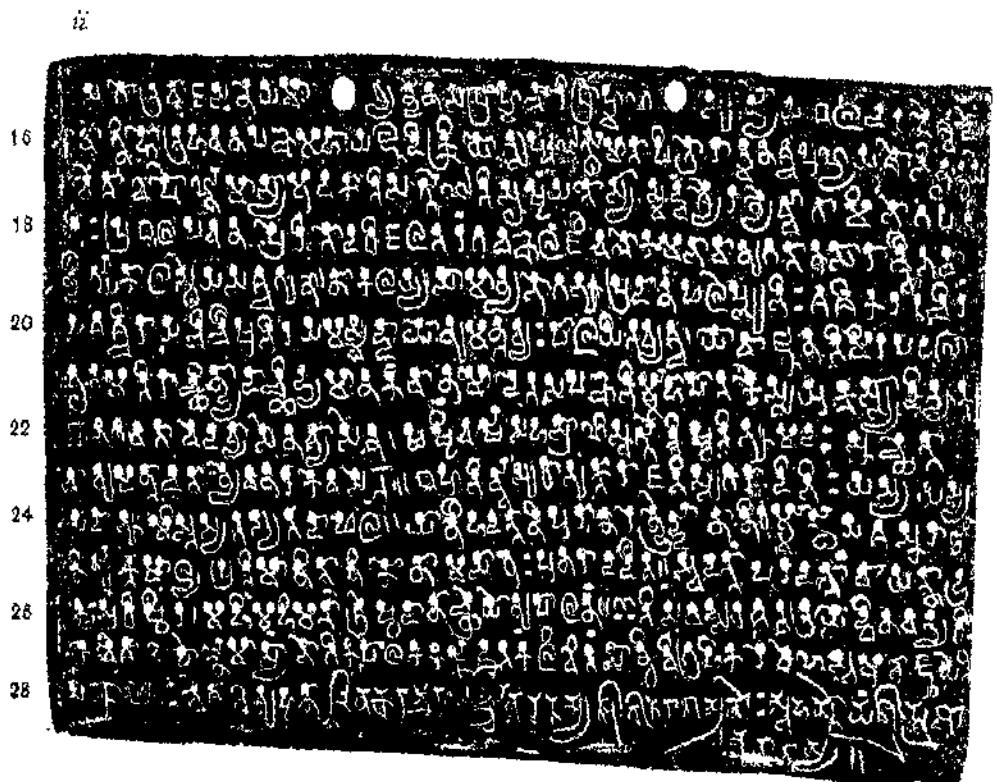
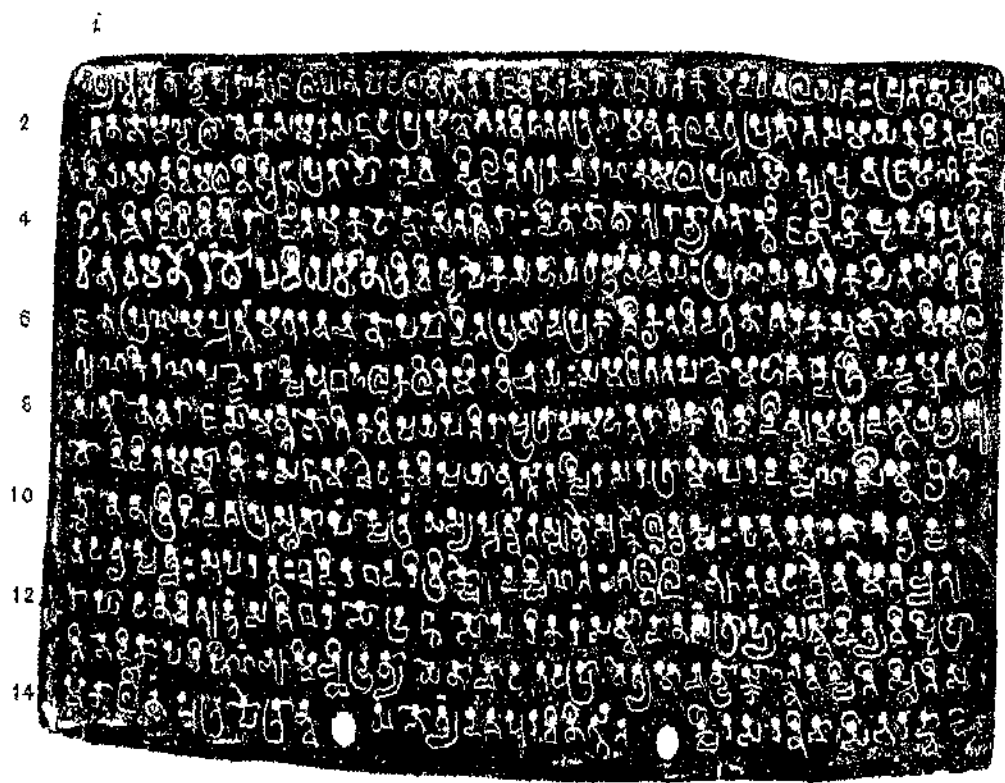
¹⁰ See above, p. 43, note 1.

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E. HULTZSCH.

SCALE TWO THIRDS.

W. BRIGGS, PHOTO-LITH

TEXT.

| | | | | | |
|----|------------------|------------------------------|----------------------------|-------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1 | Svasti | [śrī] | [*] | Kāndaḷūr-śālai | kalam-aṟṟi ¹ |
| 2 | [Ka]ṅga-pāḍiyum | | | Nūḷamba-pāḍiyum | Taḍi- |
| 3 | [y]ḷga-vaḷi[y]um | | | Vēṅgai-nāḍum | ko- |
| 4 | [u]ḍa | kō | | Rājarāja-[K]ēsarivanma- | |
| 5 | [r]ku | yā[ṇ]ḍu | padi-nālu | | ivv-ā- |
| 6 | nā | Vi[ra]ch[oh]ḷiga-nā[ri*][ru] | | | Irōjarāja- |
| 7 | [va]ḷanāṭṭu | Nāḷji-nā[ṭ]ṭu | | | brahmadē- |
| 8 | yam | Sujintirattu | | | Emmerumā[ṇ] ² |
| 9 | tēvadānam | | Niruba[ś]ēgara[va]ḷanallū- | | |
| 10 | r-ppāḷ | [T]eṇvaḷanallūr | | | māṇ ³ |
| 11 | kiḷ-kkāraṇmai | udaiya | | | [k]uḍi- |
| 12 | gaḷ | tānēdā | udaiyār | | udaiya |
| 13 | [nīla]ṅgaḷ | [Nār]i[yaṇ]-Mūvēndavēḷā[r] | śolla | [Nā]ḷji- | |
| 14 | [nā]ṭ[ṭu] | | | | |

TRANSLATION.

Hail! Prosperity! In the year fourteen (of the reign) of king Rājarāja-Kēsarivarma, who, having destroyed the ships (at) Kāndaḷūr-śālai, conquered Gaṅga-pāḍi, Nūḷamba-pāḍi, Taḍiga-vaḷi⁴ and Vēṅgai-nāḍu,—in the month of Vṛiśchika of this year, the cultivators who were formerly sub-tenants of Teṇvaḷanallūr, a portion of Nṛipaśēkharavalanallūr, a *dēvadāna* (of the temple) of Emmerumāṇ (Viṣṇu) at Sujindiram, a *brahmadēya* in Nāḷji-nāḍu, (a district) of Rājarāja-vaḷanāḍu,⁵ at the bidding of Nēriyaṇ-Mūvēndavēḷār⁶

E.—Inscription in the Sthāpurnātha temple at Suohindram.⁷

This inscription is dated in the 15th year of the reign of the same king as the two preceding inscriptions (O. and D.). It consists of 22 lines, of which lines 9 to 22 are here omitted because I cannot make them out in full.

TEXT.

| | | | | | |
|---|---------------------------|----------------------------------|--|--------------------------|---|
| 1 | Svasti | śr[ī] | [\|\|*] | Tiru-maga[ḷ] | pōla-pper[u]-ni[la]-chchēlvi[y]un-daṇṇak[āy-nri]- |
| 2 | mai | [p]ūḍamāi | maṇa-k[k]ōl-Kkān[da]ḷlun-Chchēḷai ⁸ | kalam-aṟṟi- ⁹ | K[ka]- |
| 3 | ṅga-pāḍi[u]m ⁹ | Nūḷambar-p[ā]ḍi[u]m ⁹ | Taḍi[ya]r-pā[ḍ]i[u]m ⁹ | [Vē]ḷ[ga]i- | |
| | nāḍu[m] | Ku- | | | |
| 4 | ḍagamalai-nāḍu[n] | -daṇ[ḍā]ḷ-kko[v]ḍu | taṇṇ-e[ḷ]il | viḷaṅga | ūḷiyil e[ḷ]i[ā-yā]- |
| 5 | nānu-do[ḷ]=Udaḷ[ai*] | viḷa[ḷ]gum | yāḍḍāy | [Śē]ḷiyarai | tēsu koḷ kō Irāśarā[ḍa]- |
| 6 | Kēsar[ivanma]rkku | [yā]ḍu | padin-aḷi[ḷu] | iv[v]-āḍu | Kaṇṇi-[nāy]iṅgu muv[v-a]- |
| 7 | n[ḍi]y-āḷgi | [Ś]e[v]vāy-[k]iḷamai | perṟa | [Pā]rayirattādi-nāḷ | Irāśarāśa-va[ḷa]- |
| 8 | nāṭṭu | [Nāḷ]ji-nāṭṭu | brahmadēyam | T[iruch]chivi[nḍ]irattu | maḷ[ā*]- |
| | sabhaiyōm | kaḷa- | | | |

¹ Read *Emmerumāṇ*.² Read *māṇ*.³ Read *kiḷ*.⁴ Other inscriptions have the forms *Taḍigaipāḍi*, *Taḍigapāḍi*, *Taḍigapāḍi* and *Taḍigavēḷi*; see *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. III. p. 29.⁵ This designation was bestowed by Rājarāja I. on the Pāṇḍya country; see *ibid.* Vol. II. p. 140, note 7, and Vol. III. p. 15, note 4.⁶ The same person is mentioned again in the unpublished portion of the same inscription, l. 16 f.⁷ No. 85 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1895.⁸ Read *śār*.⁹ Read *pāḍiyum*.

TRANSLATION.

Hail! Prosperity! In the year fifteen (of the reign) of king Rājārāja-Kēsarivarma, who, (in) the belief that, as well as the goddess of Fortune, the goddess of the great Earth had become his wife, was pleased to destroy the ships (at) Kānda[ūr]-Śālai; who conquered by (his) army Gaṅga-pāḍi, Nuḷambar-pāḍi, Tadiyar-pāḍi, Vēṅgai-nāḍu and Kuḍagamalai-nāḍu;¹ and who, in the long time during which his youth was resplendent, deprived the Śōliyas (i.e. the Pandyas) of (their) splendour at the very moment when Udag[ai],² which is worshipped everywhere, was (most) resplendent;—in this year, on the day of Pārva-Bhadrāpādī which corresponded to a Tuesday, three evenings having expired of the month of Kanyā,—we, the members of the great assembly of Tiruchchivindiram, a brahmadēya in Nāḍji-nāḍu, (a district) of Rājārāja-valanāḍu,

F.—Inscription in the Rāmasvāmin temple at Shērmādevi.³

This inscription is dated in the same reign and the same year as the preceding one. It has been left unfinished by the engraver.

TEXT.

- 1 Svasti śrī* [!]* Tiru-maṅḍi pōla=pperu-nila-chehelviyū=daṇa-kkēy-arimaṇi pūṇḍamai [mana]-kkōl=Kkānda[ūr]-Cheh[ā]-
- 2 lai kalam-aṇṇṭt=araṇi=Kkāṅga-pāḍiyu=Nuḷam[ba]-pāḍiyū=Daḍigai-pāḍi[y]ūm Vēṅ[ai]-nāḍuṇ=[G]u[ḍa]gamalai-nāḍu=daṇ-
- 3 ḍāl-k[ko]ḍu taṇ=elil vaḷar āliyu [el]lā-yāḍu=doḷ=Udag[ai]* vi[ā]ḷaṅu yāḍēy Śōliya[rai]=ttōṣi⁴ koḷ kōv=Irājārāja-Kēsarī-
- 4 vaṇmarkku yāḍu paḍi-aṇjāvaḍu ivv-āḍu Rājārāja-va[ā]nāṭṭu [M]uḷli-nāṭṭu brahmadēyam Śēramāṇ-mah[ā]dēvi-chehatu-
- 5 [r]vēdimāṅgalat[tu]

TRANSLATION.

Hail! Prosperity! In the fifteenth year (of the reign) of king Rājārāja-Kēsarivarma, who, etc.⁵—in this year of Śēramāṇ-mahādevi-chaturvēdimāṅgalam,⁶ a brahmadēya in Muḷli-nāḍu, (a district) of Rājārāja-valanāḍu,

G.—Inscription in the Rāmasvāmin temple at Shērmādevi.

This inscription opens with the usual historical introduction of the later inscriptions⁷ of the Chōḷa king Rājārāja I., which, however, has been left incomplete by the engraver.

¹ Other inscriptions read *Nuḷamba-pāḍi*, *Tadiya-pāḍi* (compare above, p. 45, note 4), and *Kuḍomalai-nāḍu*.

² See *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. II. p. 250, note 3.

³ No. 182 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1895.

⁴ These two words are engraved in large letters to the left of lines 1 and 2.

⁵ Read =ttōṣi.

⁶ The historical introduction of this inscription agrees almost literally with that of the inscription E.

⁷ This is the ancient name of Shērmādevi. In a later inscription (above, Vol. III. p. 240) the form Śērama mahādevi occurs. Both Śēramāṇ and Śērama are Tamil designations of the Chōḷa king.

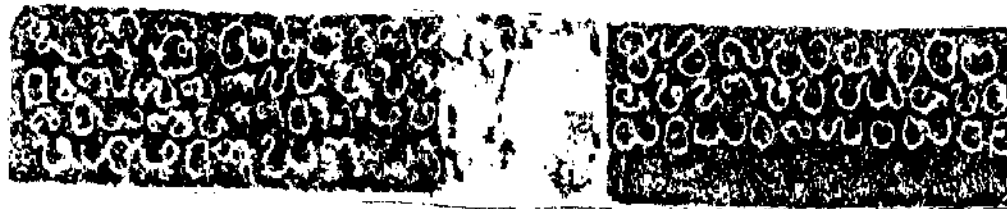
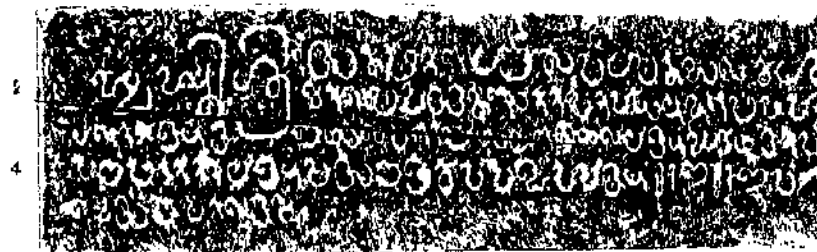
⁸ The introduction agrees with the Tirumalai inscription of the 21st year (*South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. I. No. 66) not mentioning the conquest of Eutṭapāḍi, which is first referred to in an inscription of the 22nd year at Tiruvijā (No. 217 of 1894).

Vatteluttu Inscriptions of Chola Kings.

E.



F.



H.



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சுருதிபுத்திரன்

TEXT.

- 1 Svasti śrī [H³] Tiru-[ma]gaḷ [pōl] [peru-ni³]lai-selviyum taṇakkē u[³]imai
p[ū]ṇḍamai maṇa-[k³]kōl Kānda[³]r-Sālai kala[m-a]rut-
- 2 t-aruli Vēṅgai-nāḍum¹-¹Gaṅga-pādi³iyum Nuḷamba-pāḍiyum Taḍigai-
[va]ḷiyum Kudamalai-nā[ḍu]m Kollamum Kaliṅgamum
- 3 eṇ-ḍisai puga[³] tara ṇa-ma[ṇḍalamum³] tip-ḍiḷal veṇṇi-taṇḍāl [ko³]ḍa taṇ-ḍil
vaḷar ā[³]iyul ellā-yāṇḍu.
- 4 m toḷ=Udagai viḷa[ṇḍu]

H.—Inscription in the Rāmasvāmin temple at Shērmādēvi.³

This inscription is dated in the 3rd year of the reign of the Chōla king Rājendra-Chōla I., who ascended the throne in A.D. 1001-2.³ It records that certain Vaikhānasas pledged themselves to supply daily one half of the amount of ghee that was necessary to keep one lamp burning in the temple, which bore the name Nigarili-Śōla-Vinnagar.⁴ Shērmādēvi itself had then the surname Nigarili-Śōla-chaturvēdimaṅgalam. These two surnames suggest that Nigarili-Śōḷaṇ, i.e. 'the unequalled Chōla,' was a *biruda* of Rājendra-Chōla I.

TEXT.

- 1 Svasti śrī [H³] Kō-Pparakēsarivaṇ[ma]r-āṇa śrī-Rāje[ndra]-Śōladēvarkk[ū]
yāṇḍu ⁵[m]unrāva[ḍa] [rājara]ja-maṇḍalattu Muḷli-
- 2 nāṭṭu bra[hma]dēyam Niga[r]ili-³Śōla-³chaturvēdimaṅgalattu Nigarili-Śōla-
Viṇ[ṇa]gar Vaigāṇasa-
- 3 rō[m] [i³]vv-ār [i]r[ū]k[k]iṇṇa Vel[³]āḷa[ṇ] Kāda[³]Jēṇḍaṇ pōḷṇal
[muṇ] nāṅgaḷ kā[³]śu koḍḍu i-ttē[va]rkku ti-
- 4 ru-nundā-viḷakku eṇ[kka]=kkadavōm=āy eṇichcu [vā]rāṇṇa viḷakku aṇi[y] [i³]
ivv-a[rai] viḷakku-
- 5 kku[m] niṣada[m] āḷakku neyy-āga [e]rippōm=āgarum [i³] i-śrī-kō[y]il ul=
aḷavu[m] śāndir-ā-
- 6 ḍi[t³]targaḷ ul=aḷavum e[r]ippōm=āgarum [i³] eṇiāḍ=ol[³]vil aṇṇu śrī-kōyil
vāri[yaṇ] śa-
- 7 y[vā]rēy muṭṭiṇa ney[y]=irāṭṭi aṭṭavichcu eṇiippōm=āgarum [i³] [i]l-ppari[³]ṇu
ni[³]śa[ḍa]m ā-
- 8 āḷakku neyyu[m] mut[³]āma[³]l [e]rippōm=āgarum [i³] Vāigāṇasa[³]m [i³] i-
ppari[³]ṇu o[³]ṭi
- 9 [i]-kkāśu koḍḍa Vaigāṇasa[rōm]il [muṇ]-ul[³]ā[³]ōmē eṇiippōm=āgarum [i³]

TRANSLATION.

Hail! Prosperity! In the third year (of the reign) of king Parakēsarivarman, alias the glorious Rājendra-Śōladēva,—we, the Vaikhānasas of the Nigarili-Śōla-Vinnagar (temple) at Nigarili-Śōla-chaturvēdimaṅgalam, a *brahmādēya* in Muḷli-nāḍu, (a district) of Rājaraḷa-maṇḍalam, having previously received money from the cultivator (Vel[³]āḷaṇ) Kāḍaṇ Śēṇḍaṇ, who resides in this village, and having (thereby) become bound to burn a sacred perpetual lamp for this god, have been burning half a lamp. We shall have to burn (one) āḷakku of ghee per day in this half lamp. As long as this holy temple exists, and as long as

¹ Read *nāḍum*.

² Above, Vol. IV. p. 266.

³ On *Vinnagar* or *Vinnagaram*, 'a Vishṇu temple,' see *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. II. p. 115, note 6; p. 260, note 2; and p. 344, note 3.

⁵ Read *ma*.

³ No. 179 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1895.

the moon and the sun exist, we shall have to burn (*it*). If (*we*) do not burn (*it*), those who shall be in charge¹ of the holy temple at that time, shall make (*us*) burn (*it*), causing (*us*) to supply double the quantity of the missing ghee (*as fine*). Thus we, the Vaikhāṇasas, shall have to burn without fail (*one*) *āḍḍku* of ghee per day. Having thus agreed, we, the representatives of the Vaikhāṇasas who have received that money, shall have to burn (*that lamp*).

No. 7.— DATES OF CHOLA KINGS.

By F. KIELHORN, Ph.D., LL.D., C.I.E. ; GÖTTINGEN.

(Continued from Vol. IV. page 266.)

A.— RAJARAJA.

No. 25.— Inscription in the Śthāpūnātha temple at Śuchindram near Cape Comorin.²

- 1 Svasti śr[ī] [l]* Tiru-maga[?] pōla=
 5 kō Irāsarā[śa].
 6 Kēsari[vaṇma]kkku [yā]ṇḍa paṇi-ni[ṇ]ju iv[v]-ṇḍa Kanni-[nāy]ṇṇu muv[v-a].
 7 n[diy-āg]i [Ś]e[v]vāy-[k]kilamai pora [Pā]rayirattādi-nā[?]

"In the year fifteen (*of the reign*) of king Rājārāja-Kēsarivarman,—on the day of Pūrva-Bhadrpadā, which corresponded to a Tuesday, three evenings having expired³ of the month of Kanyā in this year."

We have found before (above, Vol. IV, p. 266) that Rājārāja's reign commenced between the 24th December A.D. 984 and the 26th September A.D. 985. A date of the month of Kanyā (August-September) of the 15th year of his reign, therefore, will be expected to fall either in A.D. 999, in Śaka-Samvat 921 expired, or in A.D. 1000, in Śaka-Samvat 922 expired. As a matter of fact, this new date works out correctly for Śaka-Samvat 921 expired.

In Śaka-Samvat 921 expired the month of Kanyā lasted from the 27th August to the 25th September A.D. 999, and during this period the moon was in the *nakṣatra* Pūrva-Bhadrpadā—by the equal-space system for 15 h. 6 m., by the Brahma-siddhānta for 3 h. 56 m., and according to Garga for 3 h. 17 m., after mean sunrise—on Tuesday, the 29th August A.D. 999, which was the third day of the month of Kanyā⁴ (and the full-moon day⁵ of the month of Bhādrpadā).

The date reduces the period during which the reign of Rājārāja must have commenced to the time from the 24th December A.D. 984 to (approximately) the 29th August A.D. 985.⁶

B.— KULOTTUNGA-CHOLA I.

No. 26.— Inscription in the Rājagōpāla-Perumāl temple at Maṇṇārguḍi in the Tanjore district.⁷

- 1 Svasti śr[ī] 6. Paṇa[mā]ḍu vi[laṇ]ga kōv:
 Irājakēsariavarman-āna Tr[i]bhuvanachakrava[rtt]i[ga]l] śrī-Kulōttunga-Śō[?]a-

¹ Compare *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. III. p. 9 and note 4.

² The first 8 lines of this inscription are published above, p. 45 (No. 6, E).

³ *I.e.* either 'on the night of the third solar day,' or 'on the fourth solar day.'

⁴ The moon also was in Pūrva-Bhadrpadā on Monday, the 25th September A.D. 999, which was the 30th day of the month of Kanyā.

⁵ The full-moon *tiṭhi* ended 13 h. 36 m. after mean sunrise.

⁶ [According to the Śuchindram inscription C. (p. 44 above) it commenced in the month of Kārttika.—E H

⁷ No. 103 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1897.

2 dē[va]rkk-iyāp[du] 48 āradu Makara-nāyagru pūrvva-pakshattu trayōdaśiyum
Tiṅgaṭ-kilamaiyum perṛa Tiru[v]ādirai-nāi.

"In the 48th year (of the reign) of king Rājakesarivarman, alias the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷadēva,—on the day of Ādrā, which corresponded to a Monday and to the thirteenth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Makara."

Above, Vol. IV. p. 263, we have seen that a day in the month of Kumbha of the 48th year of the reign of Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷa I. corresponds to the 25th January A.D. 1118. This date, of the month of Makara which immediately precedes the month of Kumbha, of the same 48th year, will therefore be expected to fall within a month before the 23rd January A.D. 1118, the first day of the month of Kumbha of that other date. And so it really does. For, the date corresponds to Monday, the 7th January A.D. 1118, when the 13th *tithi* of the bright half (of the month Māgha¹) ended 15 h. 1 m., and when the *nakṣatra* was Ādrā, by the equal-space system for 14 h. 27 m., by the Brahma-siddhānta for 0 h. 39 m., and according to Garga for 2 h. 38 m., after mean sunrise.

No. 8.— RAYAKOTA PLATES OF SKANDASISHYA.

By E. HULTZSCH, Ph.D.

This inscription is edited from two sets of Sir Walter Elliot's ink-impressions, which I owe to the kindness of Dr. Fleet. On the wrapper in which I received the impressions are the following remarks in Dr. Fleet's hand:—"The original copper-plates belong to Sir Walter Elliot. Three plates, about $8\frac{1}{2}$ " by $3\frac{1}{4}$ ". In good order. They are quite smooth; the edges are not raised into rims. The ring has been cut. It is about $\frac{1}{2}$ " thick and $3\frac{1}{4}$ " in diameter. The seal is circular; 2" in diameter. It has, in relief on the surface of the seal, a kneeling bull facing to the proper left, and some small emblems, which I do not quite understand, above it; and a line of writing, which I cannot read, all round it. The label on them says that they were received from Captain Campbell of Royakota." Royakota is the former spelling of Rāyakōṭa (properly Rāyakōṭe in Kanarese), a hill fort, village and post office in the Krishnagiri tāluka of the Salem district.²

The inscription consists of three Sanskrit verses, a passage in Tamil prose (ll. 11 to 33), and a fourth Sanskrit verse at the end. The four Sanskrit verses must have been written or copied by a person who had only a very faint knowledge of that language. The Tamil portion is more correct, but shows many cases of doubling of initial and final consonants which are not sanctioned by the Tamil grammars.³

The alphabet of the four Sanskrit verses is Grantha. The prose passage is written in Tamil characters, occasionally interspersed with Grantha words. The alphabet of the inscription is decidedly more developed than that of the Kūram and Kaśākūḍi plates,⁴ but more archaic than that of the Hastimalla plates.⁵ If it is admissible to compare the characters of stone inscriptions, which sometimes retain older forms, I would say that the alphabet of

¹ The *tithi* of the date therefore is one of the *Kalpādis*.

² Mr. Sewell's *Lists of Antiquities*, Vol. I. p. 196.

³ Wherever the doubling is inadmissible, I have enclosed one (or two) of the consonants in round brackets.

⁴ *South-Ind. Inser.* Vol. I. No. 151, and Vol. II. No. 73.

⁵ *Ibid.* No. 76.

the Rāyakōṭa plates lies between the two Kūḷ-Muṭṭuṅgūr inscriptions of Narasiṃhavarman as the upper limit, and the two Āmbūr inscriptions of Nripatūṅga-Vikramavarman as the lower one.¹

After an invocation of Viṣṇu (verse 1), the inscription furnishes the same genealogy as three inscriptions of the Pallava dynasty (*viz.* the Kailāsanātha inscription of Rājasimha,² the Kaṣāktūṭi plates,³ and the Udayēndiram plates of Pallavamalla⁴) as far as Aśvatthāman. But while the Pallava inscriptions⁵ continue the line from Aśvatthāman to his son Pallava, the Rāyakōṭa plates seem to state that Aśvatthāman had, by a Nāga woman, a son named Skandaśishya, a descendant of whom was another Skandaśishya, or, as he is called in the subsequent Tamil passage (l. 11), *kō vijaya*-Skandaśishya-Vikramavarman.

The Tamil portion states that, in his fourteenth year, the king issued a written order to the inhabitants of the district of Paḍuvūr-kōṭṭam and to the inhabitants of Mēl-Aḍaiyāru-nādu, a subdivision of this district, by which he granted to a Brāhmaṇa the village of Śārngūr (l. 14) in the same subdivision. This village received the surname Skandaśishyamaṅgalam (l. 22 f.) in honour of the donor. Among its boundaries we find (the hill named) Tiruvēlālamudi (l. 26). This is the Tamil equivalent of Vēlālaśikhara, a hill which is mentioned in the Udayēndiram plates of Pallavamalla⁶ among the boundaries of Udayachandramaṅgalam—the modern Udayēndiram in the Guḍiyātam tāluka of the North Arcot district.⁷ Consequently Śārngūr must have been situated near Udayēndiram, which, like Śārngūr and Āmbūr,⁸ belonged to Mēl-Aḍaiyāru-nādu.⁹

The etymological meaning of Skandaśishya is 'the pupil of the war-god.' The dynasty to which he belonged is not named in the inscription. That he claimed connection with the Pallavas is evident from the two facts that his seal bears a bull,¹⁰ and that he derived his descent from the same mythical ancestors as the Pallava kings of Kāñchi. On the other hand, the two words *kō vijaya* which are prefixed to his name, and the title Vikramavarman which follow it, in line 11, connect him with certain other princes who profess to have been descendant both of the Pallavas and of the Western Gaṅgas.¹¹ As I have stated before, the alphabet of the Rāyakōṭa plates would well suit this allocation. The legend according to which Skandaśishya was a remote descendant of another Skandaśishya, who was born to the sage Aśvatthāman by a Nāga woman, seems to be connected with a similar legend, the heroes of which are the Chōḷa king Kōḱkilī and the Tondaimān (*i.e.* the Pallava king) ṇandiraiyaṅ.¹² An inscription at Tirukkalukkunṇam mentions a Skandaśishya who was anterior to the Pallava king Narasiṃhavarman I.¹³ and who, accordingly, must have reigned long before the king who issued the subjoined grant.

According to line 12, the grant was made at the request of Mahāvali-Vānarāja, who must have been a feudatory of Skandaśishya. The title Bāpādhirāja or Māvali-Vānarāja was bestowed on the Western Gaṅga king Prithivīpati II. by the Chōḷa king Parāntaka I.¹⁴ as appears to have been the hereditary designation of the Bāṇa chiefs, who derived their descent from the demon Bali.¹⁵

¹ See above, Vol. IV. pp. 182 and 360, Plates.

² *Ibid.* Vol. II. p. 342.

³ See, in addition to the three inscriptions quoted in the last sentence, the Amarāvati pillar inscription of Siṃhavarman II. (*ibid.* Vol. I. p. 25) and the Kūraṇ plates (*ibid.* p. 144).

⁴ *Ibid.* Vol. II. p. 368, text line 70 f.

⁵ Above, Vol. IV. p. 130.

⁶ See page 49 above.

⁷ *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. II. p. 377, note 5.

⁸ *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. II. p. 381, and above, Vol. IV. p. 222.

⁹ See above, Vol. III. p. 74.

¹⁰ *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. I. p. 2.

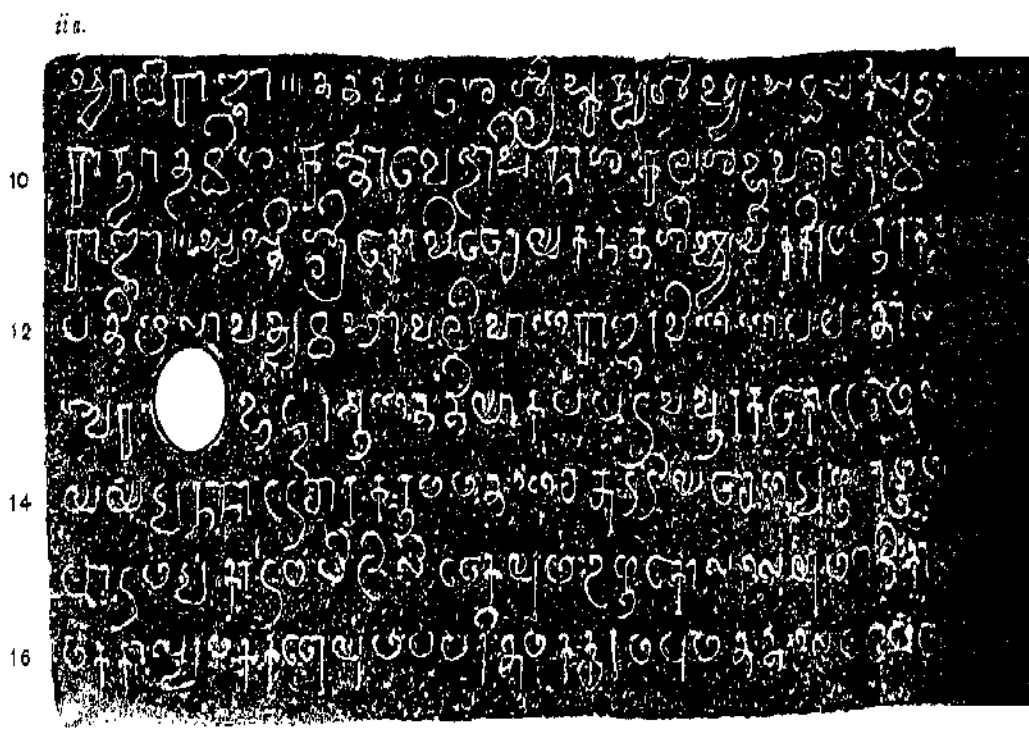
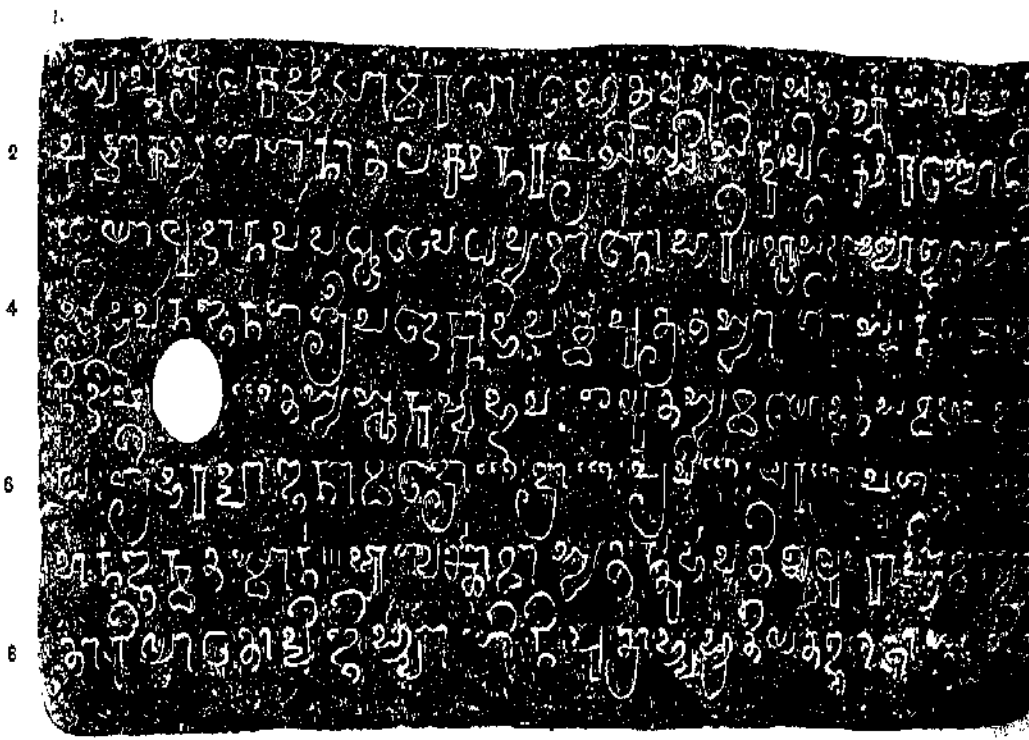
¹¹ *Ibid.* p. 363.

¹² See *ibid.* p. 365.

¹³ *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. II. p. 382.

¹⁴ Above, Vol. IV. p. 181 f.

¹⁵ Above, Vol. III. p. 277.



221 a.

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TEXT.¹

First Plate.

- 1 ²Svasti śrī[h —] ³Lakishmīdhāma radhā. hētu-vasudhāsambhāttu-Kamsat viśnah⁴
- 2 patmāksha[h⁵ ga]ganātalakshanaraprasissinduvvidhiḥ kshikāmbhādh⁶
- 3 śayālu-Dānavavadhūvaidhavyadānō Hari[h*] ||⁷ [1*] Āsīd=Ambōjayōni⁸
- 4 s=tribbhuvana-janaga⁹ Śrīpadōnnābhipatmaputratasy=Āngirā sam samaj¹⁰
- 5 ni Dīshanatasya¹⁰ sūnur=vabhūvah Śayutasyamaṇō-bhūt samabhavān=amap¹¹
- 6 dhah¹¹ śrī-Bharadvāja-nām[ā*] drōṇah¹² Drāṇah pravīṇah charaṇam=upagatām¹³
- labdha-
- 7 vān janma tasmān || [2*] Aśvarttām=āśya¹⁴ tarntur=bhavati khalu purā
- vikramānyakṛa.¹⁵
- 8 tāriyātō Dvijihv-āṅgini-putrāhvahṛitīyatajagatām ¹⁶Skandhaśi-

Second Plate; First Side.

- 9 shy-ādhirājā¹⁷ || tat¹⁸ vamsē¹⁹ (śrī-)Skandhaśishyaḥ samachani²⁰ chaturasy=āka-
- 10 rān=yātum=īśah karttā vēlā-vināśah Kalasābhava iva bhāramayasāksha-
- 11 rājā²¹ || [3*] Svasti śrī [1*] kō visaiya-Kandashishya-Vikkirāmaparu[ma*]rakku
- yāṇḍu
- 12 padipālāvadu Mahāvali-Vānarājar viṇṇappattāl Mahē-
- 13 svara(h)-bhattar āpattiy=āga=Ppadu(v)vūr-kkōṭṭa[ttu*] Mēl-Adai-
- 14 (y)y[ā*]ru-(n)nāṭṭu Śārugūru(m)m=adaṇai=chechurriy ²²seṇṇ=ulū-[p]āḷum ētta-p-
- 15 pādum=aru-kādum pīḍiligaikum ulū-kollaiyum eṇi-kādum(m) ma[ṇ*]ru-
- 16 m (k)kālum (k)karaiyum (p)parisum (k)kurambum (t)talai-ppēlaiyum

Second Plate; Second Side.

- 17 (m)maṇṇum ²³[e]ppōr-ppaṭṭa nil[a]ṇum Vatsa-gōtrattu Prāvachanna²⁴
- 18 sūtrattu Mā[dha*]vaśarmma-bhattar[k*]ku=kkūḍu(r)ttō(mm)m=ēṇṇu²⁵ kōṭṭattār-k-
- 19 kun=nāṭṭārkkum(m)m=eḷugu-²⁶tirumugam ²⁷arulū=chechaydu viḍutār²⁸ [1*] adu kaṇḍu
- 20 kōṭṭa[t]tāru(m)n=nāṭṭārum (t)tolūdu talaiḷku vaiy[t*]tu=kkōyik-²⁹
- 21 karaṇattakku=kkōyil-āṇaikkum munnāy=kkall[un]=galliyu(m)-
- 22 n=nāṭṭu=kkūḍuttu [1*] eḷudi viḍunda³⁰ aṇaiy-ōlai=ppaḍi i-Kandashishya-³¹

¹ From Sir W. Elliot's ink-impressions.
² Before this word there seem to be traces of a symbol, perhaps śh. ³ Read *Lakshmi*.
⁴ Read *ratihāgahēti-vasudhāsambhārti-Kamsadvishah*.
⁵ Read *padmākshō*. I am unable to correct the remainder of this *pāda*.
⁶ Read *kshikāmbhādh*. ⁷ This verse contains only three *pādas*. ⁸ Read =*Ambhōjā*.
⁹ Read *-janakah Śrīpatēr=nābhi-padmat=putras=tasy=Āngirāh svah*.
¹⁰ Read *Dīshanat=tasya sūnur=babhūva* | *Sāmyas=tasy=dtmajō*.
¹¹ Read *taḥ*. ¹² Read *drōṇē Drōṇah*.
¹³ Read *charaṇam=upagatāi=labdhavān=janma tasmāt*.
¹⁴ Read *Aśvarttām=āśya tarntur=*.
¹⁵ Read *vikrama-nyakṛit-ārir=jātō*. I am unable to correct the remainder of line 8 as far as *jagatām*.
¹⁶ Read *vikrama-nyakṛit-ārir=jātō*. I am unable to correct the remainder of line 8 as far as *jagatām*.
¹⁷ *Dvijihv-āṅgini* is probably meant for *Dvijihv-āṅgini* (i.e. *Nāga-kanyā*), which, however, offends against the metre.

¹⁸ Read *Skandā*.
¹⁹ Read *Skandā*.
²⁰ Read *samajani*.
²¹ Read *seṇṇ*.
²² The engraver has himself cancelled the (r) by placing a horizontal line above it.
²³ Read *arulū*.
²⁴ Read *viḍutta*.
²⁵ Read *kkōyik*.
²⁶ Read *śh*.
²⁷ Read *tad-vamsē*.
²⁸ Read *bhāramayannādhirājam* (?).
²⁹ Read *Pravachana*.
³⁰ Read *viḍuttār*.
³¹ Read *i-Kandashishya*.

| | | | | |
|----|------------------------------------|----------------|-------------|---------------------|
| 23 | maṅgalattukku=kkil-pā(1)l-e[1*]lai | [Ma]ṇittidālin | mē[ɛ](k)kum | t |
| 24 | pā(1)l-e[1*]lai | Kurumadiyiṇ | vadaḥkum | mēl-pā(1)l-e[1*]lai |

Third Plate; First Side.

| | | | | |
|----|-------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| 25 | t[ai]yppādiy-egunna | mudn-paḍi[yi]ṇ(kka) ¹ | kilakkura | (v)vada- |
| 26 | ɣ(k)k=ellaṭṭi | Tiruvēlāla(m)maḍiṇ | mēlaiy- K kurukku[di*]ṇ | |
| 27 | (t)terkum [i*] | ikkūṇi[1*] | aga-ppaṭṭa | perun-nān(k)g=ellaṭṭiṇ |
| 28 | gambādi-ppaṭṭa | bhōmi | ² uni-nila(m)m=oliv=igri | udumb-ōḍi ān |
| 29 | y ³ (n)nagol(v)vad=ellān | i-brāhmaṇar[k*]ku=kkuḍuttu=kkuḍutta | | |
| 30 | mihāra(m)m=āvaṇa | taṇiyum (L)kūlanum | (t)taṇi[di*]-kkānamum | (t)taṇi- kkū [r] |
| 31 | yu(m)n=nall-āva(m)n=nall-erudum | ūḷi-la-ppūchechiyum | | idai-[|
| 32 | pūchechiyum | nḷi-irukkaiyum | (m)maṇṇum | ⁴ eppōr-ppaṭṭa sa[r]v |

Third Plate; Second Side.

| | |
|----|--|
| 33 | ⁵ pāda-[pari]hāratā \|\| Vasubhir ⁶ vasu[āh]ā dattā rājabhi[h] Savirājabhi[h] ⁷ \|\| |
| 34 | y[a]ya yasya yadha ⁸ bhāmitasya tasya śatā ⁹ phalam \|\| [4 \|\|*] |

TRANSLATION.

A.—Sanskrit portion.

(Line 1.) Hail! Prosperity! [Verse 1, which is incomplete, seems to enumerate various epithets of Hari (Vishnu)].

[Verses 2 and 3, which are very corrupt, contain the following genealogy:— From the lo on the navel of Śrīpati (Vishnu) was produced the lotus-born (Brahmā). His son was Aṅgir his son Dhishāṇa (Brihaspati); his son Śamyu; his son Bharadvāja; his son Drōṇa; ; his son Asvatthāman. His son (?) by a Nāga woman (*Dvijika-dāgan[ā]*) was the over (cāhira) Skandaśishya. In his family was born (another) Skandaśishya, who resembled the pitcher-born (Agastya)].

B.—Tamil portion.

(L. 11.) Hail! Prosperity! In the fourteenth year (of the reign) of the king, victorious Skandaśishya-Vikramavar[ma]n,— (the king) was pleased to issue the following written order to the inhabitants of the *kōṭṭam* and to the inhabitants of the *nāḍu*:— “At request of Mahāvali-Vānarāja, Mahēśvara-bhaṭṭa being the executor,¹⁰ we have given Mā[ḍa]vaṭṭa-bhaṭṭa, of the Vatsa *gōtra* (and) of the Prarachana *sūtra*,¹¹ (the village Śārugū in Mēl-Adaiy[ā]ru-nāḍu, (a subdivision) of Paḍuvūr-kōṭṭam,— the waste land or cultivation which surrounds this (village), (the land) irrigated by water-levers, cut jun *pūḍiliga*,¹² dry land under cultivation, burnt jungle, commons,¹³ channels, embankments, ferry-boats, causeways, *talaippēlai*,¹⁴ and all other kinds of land.”

¹ The engraver has himself cancelled the *ku* of (*kku*) by placing a horizontal line above it.

² Read *un-nilum* = १०८

³ Read *nagarvair*.

⁴ Read *eppōr*.

⁵ Read *bhāmit*.

⁶ Read *bahubhir*.

⁷ Read *Sagar-dādhik*.

⁸ Read *yadā bhāmit=tasya*.

⁹ Read *śatā*.

¹⁰ *Āṇṭi* is the Tamil form of the Sanskrit *ājṇapti*; compare line 106 f. of the Kaśikāḍi plates.

¹¹ According to Professor Jolly (*Recht und Sitte*, p. 4), *Prarachana-sūtra* is the same as *Baudhāyana*. The same term occurs in two of the Udayēndiram grants; see above, Vol. III. p. 144, and *South-Ind. Inscr.* II. p. 273.

¹² The same term occurs in line 282 of the large Leyden grant.

¹³ *Mazga* occurs in line 281 of the same grant.

¹⁴ The same term occurs in line 80 of the Kāraṇ plates.

No. 33—STRAY PLATE IN MADRAS MUSEUM

(1 Plate)

P. R. SRINIVASAN, MADRAS

(Received on 6.2.1958)

This is a single plate bearing inscription on both sides, which was purchased by the Government Museum, Madras, in 1955, from a person who is stated to have got it from Tirupparan Kuppan, a suburb of Madurai. Obviously it belonged to a set of which the other plates are missing. I am editing it here with the kind permission of Dr. A. Aiyappan, Superintendent, Government Museum, Madras.

The plate measures $10'' \times 3.4'' \times .075''$. There are ten lines of writing on each side. The preservation of the writing is satisfactory excepting some letters at the beginning of a few lines on both the obverse and reverse of the plate. Though the inscription is fragmentary it is interesting in more respects than one.

The characters of the inscription are Tamil and the record may be assigned to circa 10th century A.D. on palaeographical grounds. If the information about the provenance of the plate is correct, it may suggest that the charter was issued from the Pāṇḍya kingdom. This is to some extent borne out by the use of certain expressions in the record. Cf. *āṇṇṇu* (lines 1-2), *Poduwaṇ* (line 6), *ṇavaṇ* (line 18), etc. The introduction of the Chōḷa variety of the Tamil script in the Pāṇḍya kingdom, where Vatteḷuttu was formerly in general use, was largely due to the Chōḷa kings who began to establish their sway over the Pāṇḍya region in the tenth century.

The expressions *rottar* (each member), *orōttar* (each member) and *orōkuḍi* (each family) are interesting. They are characteristic of the region where the record is stated to have been found. The use of *paḍu* in *ponpaḍuṇiḷam* is interesting because it refers to a period earlier than the stage of its use solely as a passive participle. The epigraph uses the marks of *puḷḷi* or *virāma*, though not uniformly.

The passage that is preserved in this stray plate seems to record the settlement of one family each of the classes of shepherds, oilmongers, potters, goldsmiths, carpenters, blacksmiths, washermen, ṇavas, Pāṇḍas and Paraiyas in a village. Some of them were assigned lands belonging to a god with whom they were required to share the produce. Unfortunately other details are lost.

The term *āṇṇṇukkāṇam* and *niḷakkāṇam* mentioned in the record require a word of explanation. The former stands for some kind of a tax levied from the people of the particular colony referred to in the inscription for the specific purpose of the festival of bathing the images of gods and goddesses in river water. The second term means 'the remittance both in kind and cash according to the land holdings that are leased out to them and enjoyed (*uṇḍadu*) by the various classes of people settled in a colony'. The word *kombu* occurs twice in the inscription in two different contexts. In the first instance it is associated with *nel* or paddy (line 4) and this paddy is said to be divided (into shares) and received as wage individually [by the labourers]. Here the term *kombu* indicates the quality of the paddy. In the villages, especially in the District of Ramanathapuram, the *meṇṇṇu-āḷ*, i.e. the man or woman employed on daily wages basis, is usually paid in kind and gets a quantity of paddy of the first quality. In the second instance, it finds a place in the passage *kombil kālē-māḡāṇiyum* (line 8) as well as in the passage *ponpaḍu-niḷattu orōttarkku kāl cheyyum kombil rotarkku [māḡāṇiyum]* in lines 9-10. The word *kombu* is associated with *kālē-māḡāṇiyum* in the first expression and with *māḡāṇiyum* in the next. It,

(173)

therefore, seems to indicate a variety of land. The *Maṇṛāḍis* were thus granted two varieties of land. *Ponpaḍuṇilam* is one variety and the other variety is qualified by the term *kombu*. While the former refers to the most fertile class of land usually situated near the residential site or central belt of fields in a village, the latter may refer to land situated in the outlying parts of the village.¹ This meaning seems to be quite in accord with the context.

The term *ponpaḍu-ṇilam* means 'golden land', i.e. the most fertile land. It may be mentioned here that in every village, the lands are classified into several categories according to their fertility. By specifying the land as *ponpaḍu-ṇilam* it is presumable that the place referred to in this inscription should also have other categories of less fertile lands and that the practice of classifying the land is an ancient one. Such expressions as *ūṭṭapayaṇ*, *meṅkkāṭṭu* and *melicūṭṭaṇ* are equally interesting. Of these, the term *meṅkkāṭṭu*, as indicated above, is in vogue even today. The adjectives preceding the names of individual *Maṇṛāḍis* such as *pañjirriyaṇ* seem to stand for the names of various classes among them. Of these adjectives *maḷḷaṇ* continues to be in vogue to this day.

The locality called *Paṇṇiyūr* was probably situated in the ancient *Pāṇḍyan* kingdom, though it is not possible to identify it.

TEXT*

First Side

- 1 l peru(va*)du [*] āraṭṭu-[k*]kāṇam samūha*ttil panniraṇḍu ūṭṭa-payaṇ kū-i-
- 2 ṭṭu koḷḷum mudalum ūṭṭa-kkuraivum āraṭṭu-p[p*]ṇaiyam-āga koḷvadu [*] A-
- 3 ṭṭil-paḷḷiyār paṇikk-urīyār āraḍu-nāḷ roṭṭar* kala nel peruvaḍu [*] Pa-
- 4 ṇṇi ūrāruṇ-kālāruṇ* pāṭṭam ālavum tāḷiy-ālavum perār [*] kombiṇ nel
- 5 uḷḷūr meṅ-kkātṭiṇāl kūrai vilaiy-āga kaḷattilē kū-iṭṭu koḷvadu [*] i-chchēri-
- 6 [lku] Maṇṛāḍigaḷ Pañjirriyaṇ Vaṭṭam Poduvaṇum Pūśal Kāvaṇ-chellaṇu-
- 7 m [chēr?]ppaṇ Nīlaṇ-kāvaṇum Maḷḷaṇ Kāvama[rai]*yaṇ Kūrṇaṇ Kōdai Araiyaṇu-
- 8 m Maḷḷaṇ Śāttam Vaṭṭaṇum [*] Śāttam Vaṭṭaṇukku kombil kālē-māgāṇiyum ma-
- 9 ṇ[rai] Maṇṛāḍigaḷukku poṇ-paḍu-ṇilattu orōṭṭarkku kāl chey*yum kombil ro-
- 10 tta[rkku] mā[gāṇi]yum uḷudu Dēvarroḍum* pādi iṭṭ-uṇpaḍu [*] nilakkāṇam kāṅ-chey-

* [This explanation is not convincing. The meanings given by the author for the word *kombu* in the two contexts are contradictory. In the first instance also it may mean 'paddy grown in the *kombu* variety of land'. The *Tamil Lexicon* explains the word as 'the farthest end of a tank bund'.—Ed.]

* From the original plate.

* Its head has been effaced due to corrosion of the plate; so it looks like *pa*.

* The word *samūha* is in Grantha.

* This expression which has its variant *orōṭṭar* in line 9, is in vogue in the Ramanathapuram, Madurai and Tirunelveli Districts as well as in Kerala.

* This *n* is a mistake for *m*.

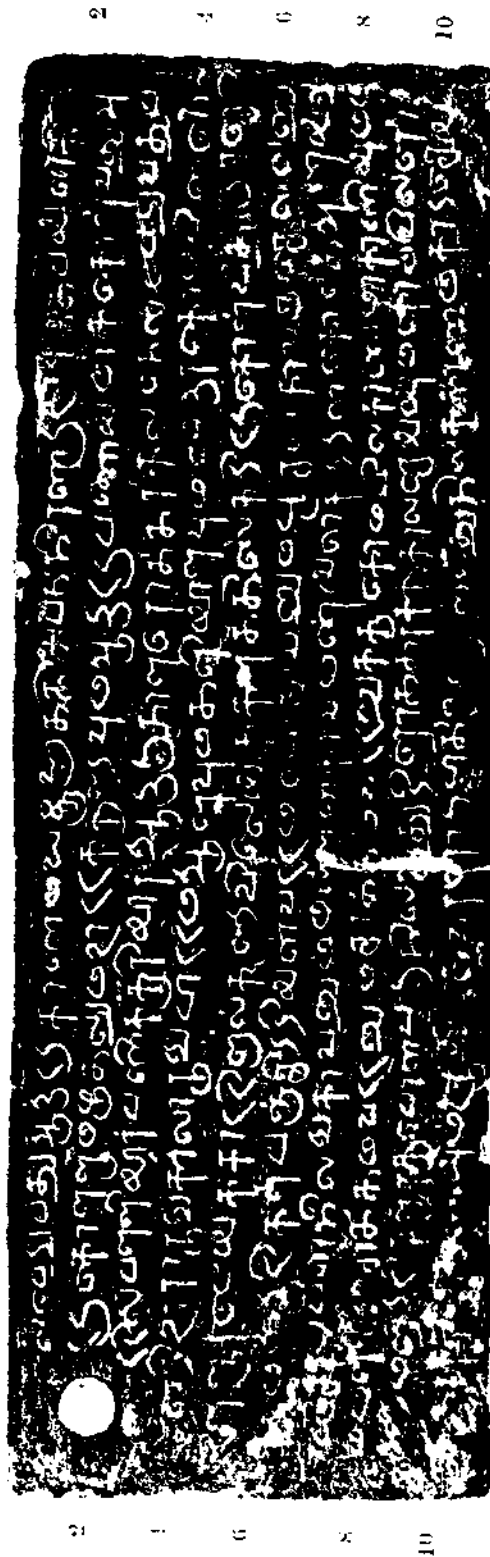
* There is a dot over this letter.

* In the Ramanathapuram District, a *chey* is a measure of land, also called *mā*, comprising sixteen *maṇḍiris* which is approximately equal to $\frac{2}{3}$ of a *veli* or 2½ acres. [*Mā* was one-twentieth of a *veli* in those days.—Ed.]

* Read *Dēvarroḍu*. The letter *m* is incised below the letter *pā*.

STRAY PLATE IN MADRAS MUSEUM

First Side



Scale : Nine-tenths

Second Side

12
 14
 16
 18
 20

12
 14
 16
 18
 20

Second Side

- 11 yā[ll=a]rai=kkaḷāṇju poṇ iruppadu [*] Melleḷutaṇum Tā[pa]ṇṇiyum rotta
 12 r poṇ-paḍu-nilattu kālē-araikkāl nilam² Dēvarroḍu³ pādi iṭṭu uppadu [*]
 13 [nila]-kkāṇam rottar paḍiṇ-āṇ-arai-kkāṇam poṇṇ-iru[p*]padu [*] Melleḷuttaṇ-
 14 [ṇum Tā[pa]ṇṇiyum āṭṭ-oruvar paṇi śeyvadu [*] kālārum⁴ [Ma*]ṇṇāḍigaḷum kuḍiyi-
 15 [l]=mūttāṇ paṇi śeyvadu [*] i-chchēri kuḍigaḷ kāl cheyyāl arai=kkaḷāṇju poṇ
 16 [nila]-kkāṇamum kalav-ariśiyum nāḷi neyyum iṇuttu Dēvar nilam uḷudu
 17 pādi iṭṭ=uppadu [*] Vāṇigaṇum Kuśavaṇum Kāvidiyum Taṭṭāṇu[m*] Tachchaṇum Kol-
 18 laṇum Vāṇṇāṇum Iḷavaṇum Paṇambaṇum Paṇaiyaṇum orōkuḍi irup-
 19 padu [*] Dēvar-vāṇṇāṇukku kāl cheyyāl oru paḍugaiyum kaḷa=ppērum āṇ-
 20 ḍuvarai pann-iru kala nelli peruvadu [*] i-chchēri kuḍigaḷ [vā]ḍḍēham⁵

¹ Read 'paḷ=ara'.

² Nilam preceded by *kālē-araikkāl* (i.e. ḷ) seems to suggest that here it is a synonym of *chey*. [The language seems to suggest that *chey* was different from *kālē-araikkāl*.—Ed.]

³ Read *Dēvarroḍu*.

⁴ Read *kālārum*.

⁵ The letters 'ḍḍēham' are in Grantha.

Edict agrees with the Rūpnāth version or with that of Śiddāpura, or if it tells us something still different, as M. Senart thinks, will be discussed on another occasion. I, of course, admit that M. Senart is right in rejecting Dr. Bhagvānlāl's conjectural emendation *husaṁ te* for *saṁta*, which, in 1877, I inserted in my text. I now believe that *saṁta* does not require any alteration.

7. *Kāmaṁ*, 'in any case,' may also be translated by 'at his desire.'

8. The sermon which is spoken of here and at the end of this section, consists only of the six words beginning with *khudakā cha* and ending with *pakameyu ti*, and it does not, as I thought formerly, go as far as *diyaḍhiyaṁ vaḍhisiti*. The *ti* after *pakameyu* proves the correctness of the former statement. The use of an additional pleonastic *yathā* in No. II. at the beginning of the sentence is in accordance with classical Sanskrit usage; see the examples quoted in the larger *St. Petersburg Dictionary* under *yathā*.

9. The correct explanation of *amā* has first been given by M. Senart. If further proof were needed, it is furnished by the additional *mai*, i.e. *me*, of our version.

10. As stated already in the introductory remarks, I still believe the word *Vyūtha* to refer to Gautama-Buddha, and the figure to the number of years elapsed since the Nirvāṇa. But I now admit that *Vyūtha-Vivutha* may be derived from *vivas*, and I take it as representative of *Vyushṭa*. The verb *vivas* occurs indeed not rarely in the sense of 'to elapse, to pass away;' see, e.g., Gōbhila's *Gṛihasūtra*, ii. 8,—*jananād daśarātrē vyushṭē*, which Professor Oldenberg renders correctly: "When ten nights have elapsed after (the child's) birth;" and *Pañchatantra*, ii. p. 25, l. 11 (Bombay S. Ser.),—*anēna vārttāvayatīkarēṇa rajanī vyushṭā*.

11. The correct beginning of the second edict has been first recognized by M. Senart.

12. *Garutva*, which (if the correct reading) is analogous to the form *tadatva* (Rock-Edicts, Kālsī, X.), can of course be used like *gaurava*¹ in the sense of 'respect for.' *Drahyitavyaṁ* is the future passive participle formed from the stem of the present *drahyati*, which corresponds to the Sanskrit *drahyati*. It may be noted that the Pāli dictionary does not give any representative of the Sanskrit verb *drah*, though the participle *daḥha* and its derivatives show that one must have existed.

13. If the reading *ku* is the correct one, the word must be taken as a representative of *khu* or *kho*; compare the Shāhbāzgarhī version of the Rock-Edicts, IV. 9, etc.

14. *Pakīṭ* has here either the meaning of *svarūpa* or of *yōni*, which the Sanskrit *prakṛiti* has so often. *Dharmasya* or *āchāryasya* must be understood.

15. Compare Manu, ii. 121 :—*Abhivādanāśīlasya nityaṁ vṛiddhōpasēvinaḥ | chatvāri tasya vārdhanta āyur vidyā yaśo balam ||* and the parallel passages quoted in the Synopsis to my Translation.

No. 23.—UDAYENDIRAM PLATES OF NANDIVARMAN.

By F. KIELHORN, PH.D., C.I.E.; GÖTTINGEN.

This inscription has been previously published, with a photo-lithograph, by the Rev. T. Foulkes, in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. VIII. pp. 167 ff., and in the *Manual of the Salem District*, Vol. II. pp. 349 ff. I re-edit it from an excellent impression received from Dr. Hultsch, to whom the original plates, which are at Udayendiram in the Guḍiyātam tālukā of the North Arcot district, were lent by the Acting Collector of the district, Mr. F. A. Nicholson, I.C.S.

The inscription is on three copper-plates, each of which measures 8½" long by 2½" high. The first and second plates are inscribed on both sides, and the third is inscribed on one side

¹ See the passages quoted in the two *St. Petersburg Dictionaries*.

only; the writing on the first side of the first plate, however, does not form part of the body of the inscription (which is in Sanskrit), but is an endorsement in Tamil. The plates are held together by a ring, 3" in diameter and about $\frac{3}{8}$ " thick, which is now cut. It holds a circular seal, $2\frac{1}{8}$ " in diameter, which contains in bas-relief a standing bull, facing the proper left, and a much worn and illegible inscription round the margin. The engraving is good, and the writing is well preserved.—Of the inscription proper (on plates i.b, ii. and iii.a) the size of the letters is between $\frac{1}{4}$ " and $\frac{3}{8}$ ". The characters belong to the southern class of alphabets. They closely resemble the characters of what the late Dr. Burnell has termed the Eastern Chālukya alphabet of about A.D. 680 (*Elements of South-Indian Palæography*, second edition, Plate v.), and differ¹ therefore decidedly from those of the Uruvupalli grant of the Pallava dynasty (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. V. p. 51, Plate), with which the present inscription otherwise has much in common. The language is Sanskrit, and, excepting two imprecatory verses in lines 17 and 18, the whole is in prose.—The text has been drawn up most carelessly, as may be seen from the omission of single syllables and whole words, as well as from the repeated occurrence of groups of *aksharas* that are devoid of meaning. In respect of orthography also, the inscription is full of faults, some of which may be accounted for by the influence of the writer's vernacular. Thus, the sign of *visarga* is throughout omitted; and similarly the sign of *anusvāra* or of the final *m* is omitted everywhere except in the word *Pallav[ā*]nām*, in line 10. We have *a* instead of final *ō* in *prapautra*, l. 2, *pautra*, l. 4, *-dīkshita*, l. 8; and instead of final *ē* in *-rāshṭira*, l. 11. The palatal sibilant is used six times for the dental sibilant, and the dental five times for the palatal. Unaspirated letters are employed instead of aspirates in *Vasāka* (for *Vaiśākha*), l. 19, *lavda* (for *labdha*), l. 8, and *bakti* (for *bhakti*), l. 6; and sonant consonants instead of surd ones in *bhaṭṭāragō* (for *bhaṭṭāraka*), l. 9, and *Daitriya* (for *Taittirīya*), l. 12. Besides, we find *ch* for *ś* in *Kuṭacharmmanē*, l. 13; *tth* for *ddh* in *-ātiharana* (for *-ōddharana*), l. 9; *dh* for *d* in *-ādi-prādhānai* (for *-ādi-prādānaiḥ*), l. 5; and for *ddh* in *sidhi*, l. 3, and *sannadhō*, l. 9; *b* for *v* in *brata*, l. 7; and *v* for *p* in *uvanata*, l. 3; and for *b* in *vala*, lines 1 and 14, *lavda*, l. 8, and *vappa*, l. 9. In lines 17 and 18 a final *m* has been five times left unchanged before a consonant, where it should have been changed to *anusvāra*; and *m* is irregularly doubled in the body of a word in *avagammya*,² l. 14, and at the end of a word before a following vowel in *°svāsana-mm=ati°* (for *°chchhāsanam=ati°*) and *śārīramm=aruha°* (for *śārīram=arha°*), in l. 16. Instead of the conjunct *jñ* we have *ñy*³ in *rāñya* (for *rājñā* and *rājñāḥ*), in lines 1 and 2; and, to facilitate the pronunciation, a vowel has been inserted or *y* vocalised in a conjunct in *rāshṭira* (for *rāshṭrē*) l. 11, *arukati* (for *arhati*), l. 16, *salōkā* (for *ślōkā*), l. 16, *-mariyādayā*, *mariyādeyā*, *mariyādayā* (for *-maryādaya* and *maryādayā*), lines 2, 11, and 13, and *aivariya* (for *aivariya*), l. 14. The vowel *ri* is represented by the syllable *ir* in *virḍha* (for *vriḍha*), twice in l. 4, *pravirḍha* (for *pravriḍha*), l. 5, and *bhavirḍhaē* (for *abhivriḍhayē*), l. 14; and, on the other hand, *ri* is employed instead of *irī*⁴ in *Daitriya* (for *Taittirīya*), l. 12. Lastly, the short vowel *e*, which is unknown to Sanskrit, but common in Tamil, is improperly used, partly through the influence of a following *y*, in *maryādeyā* (for *maryādayā*), l. 11, *vijeyā* and *vejeyā* (for *vijaya*), in lines 8, 14, and 19, and *veneyā* (for *vinaya*), l. 4. In addition to these errors the text contains others which need not be enumerated here.—The size of the letters of the endorsement on the first side of the first plate is between $\frac{1}{8}$ " and $\frac{1}{4}$ "; the characters are Tamil and Grantha; and the language is Tamil.

¹ This difference is shown especially, e.g., by the forms of the initial *a* and of the consonants *k*, *t*, *n*, and *r*.—I may state here that in the present inscription it is often quite impossible to distinguish between the superscript *i* and *ī*, and that, accordingly, in my transcript of the text, I have put *i* and *ī*, where either of the two was required.

² Here the doubling of *m* might be justified by Pāṇini, viii. 4, 47.

³ It is clear that *jñ* was so pronounced by the writer.

⁴ *Satṛi* for *satra* (*satira*) in l. 7 is probably due only to an error of the engraver.

The inscription professes to be one of the devout worshipper of Bhagavat (Vishnu), the law-abiding *Mahārāja* of the Pallavas, the illustrious Nandivarman (l. 10), a member of the *Bhāradvāja gōtra*, who is described as the son of the *Mahārāja Skandavarman* (l. 6), the son's son of the *Mahārāja Simhavarman* (l. 4), and the great-grandson of the *Rājā Skandavarman*¹ (l. 2). It informs us (in ll. 11-14) that, from the victorious *Kāñchipura* (l. 1.), Nandivarman gave the village of *Kāñchivāyil* and four pieces of forest-land, situated in the district (*rāshṭra*) of *Aḍēyāra*, to a *Brāhmaṇa* inhabitant of *Kāñchivāyil*, named *Kuṣāsarman*, who belonged to the *Kauśika gōtra* and to the Vêdic school of the *Taittirīyas*, and whose *sūtra* was the *Pravachana*.² The inscription further (in ll. 15-18) contains an admonition not to levy taxes on the land so granted, threatens with corporal punishment those who should transgress the king's commands, and cites two of the ordinary imprecatory verses; and it closes (in l. 19) with the statement that this document (*paṭṭikā*) was issued on the fifth (lunar day) of the bright half of *Vaiśākha*, in the first year of the victorious reign (apparently of Nandivarman).

The Tamil endorsement on plate i.a runs thus:—"In the twenty-sixth year (*of the reign*) of *Madirai-konḍa Kō-Parakēsarivarman*,³— we, (*the members of*) the assembly of *Kāñchivāyil*, *alias Igaṇmaraimaṅgalam*, and we, (*the members of*) the assembly of *Udayachandramaṅgalam*, (*have agreed as follows*):— We, (*the inhabitants of*) these two villages, having joined (*and*) having become one, shall prosper as one village from this (*date*)."

Without the endorsement, this inscription is very similar to the *Uruvupalli grant* of the Pallava *Yutamahārāja Vishṇugōpavarman*, published by Dr. Fleet in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. V. pp. 50 ff. Indeed, but for the circumstance that our grant was issued (not from *Palakkada*, but) from *Kāñchipura*, and that the rulers mentioned in it are *Skandavarman*, *Simhavarman*, *Skandavarman*, and *Nandivarman* (instead of *Skandavarman*, *Viravarman*, *Skandavarman*, and *Vishṇugōpavarman*), lines 1-10 of it read much like a mutilated copy of lines 1-16 of the *Uruvupalli grant*; and in a similar, though perhaps less striking manner,⁴ lines 15-18 of *Nandivarman's grant* may be said to resemble lines 28-32 of the grant of *Vishṇugōpavarman*. This fact has not escaped the Rev. T. Foulkes, and the conclusion which he has felt inclined to draw from it, apparently is, that both grants were issued by the same prince, and that, accordingly, the *Viravarman* and *Vishṇugōpavarman*⁵ of the one grant are identical with the *Simhavarman* and *Nandivarman* of the other. I myself am of opinion that the present inscription must, on palæographical grounds, be assigned to a later period than the *Uruvupalli grant*; and, considering it suspicious that, at different periods, there should have been two Pallava princes whose fathers and great-grandfathers were called *Skandavarman*, and that, moreover, two sets of four consecutive princes should have been described in almost identical terms, and taking also into account the extreme slovenliness of the wording of *Nandivarman's grant*, I cannot suppress the belief that this grant may be a spurious document,⁶ the writer of which took for his model either the *Uruvupalli grant* of *Vishṇugōpavarman* itself or some other inscription of the same prince.

The Tamil endorsement of this inscription is practically identical with the endorsement at the end of the grant of *Nandivarman Pallavamalla*, published by the Rev. T. Foulkes in the *Indian*

¹ For a translation of the various epithets applied to these kings, which for the historian are quite worthless, see *Ind. Ant.* Vol. V. p. 52.

² The expression *Pravachana-sūtra* occurs seven times in the description of the donees in the grant of *Nandivarman Pallavamalla* (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. VIII. pp. 276 and 277). I do not know what particular *sūtra* is referred to by it.

³ See *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. I. p. 112.

⁴ Compare also lines 29-35 of the grant of *Simhavarman* in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. V. p. 156.

⁵ Or the *Simhavarman*, during whose reign the grant of *Vishṇugōpavarman* was issued.

⁶ Compare also Dr. Fleet's remarks in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. IX. p. 101, and Vol. XV. p. 274.

Antiquary, Vol. VIII. p. 273 ff. Dr. Hultzsch thinks that this grant and its endorsement, the characters of both of which are modern, were copied from a lost, but genuine original. The original of the grant of Nandivarman Pallavamalla must now¹ be assigned to about the first half of the 8th century A.D. As pointed out to me by Dr. Hultzsch, the lost original of the Tamil endorsement of the grant of Pallavamalla must belong to the time of the Chôla king Parântaka I.,² and presupposes the original of the grant of Pallavamalla, because it refers to the village of Udayachandramaṅgalam, which was only founded by that grant. Probably both endorsements which we possess now, were copied at different times from the endorsement on the lost original of the grant of Nandivarman Pallavamalla. To judge from the alphabets employed, the endorsement of the subjoined grant may actually belong to the time of Parântaka I., while the existing copy of the Pallavamalla grant and of its endorsement has to be assigned to a still more recent period.

As regards the localities which, in addition to Kāñchipura, are mentioned in this inscription, Mr. Foulkes has already stated that the village of Kāñchivâyil, under its Sanskrit name of Kāñchidvāra, is mentioned in line 72 of the grant of Pallavamalla,³ and that the same grant, in the word *Āśrayanādī-vishaya* in line 62, contains the Sanskrit equivalent of the term *Adēyāra-rāshṭra*⁴ of the present inscription. The village of Udayachandramaṅgalam is probably identical with the modern Udayēndiram, which in another inscription is called Udayēndumaṅgala.⁵

TEXT.⁶

First Plate; Second Side.

- 1 Svasti [||*] Jita[m*] bhagavatā rānya⁷ [||*] Śrī-vijaya-Kāñchipurāt-parama-
brahmanyasya sva-bāhu-va(ba)l-ā-
- 2 rjjin(t)-ōrjjita⁸ vidhi-vihita-sarvva-mariyādaśya⁹ rānya śrī-Skandavarmanā[h*]
prapautra¹⁰ abhyarchchi-
- 3 ta-śakti-sidhi(ddhi)-sampannasya pratāp-ōva(pa)nata-rājamaṇḍalasya vaśu(su)dhātā-
aikavīra-¹¹
- 4 sya mā(ma)hārāja-śrī-Siṅhavarmmanā¹² putra dēva-dvija-guru-virḍh-āpachāyīnō¹³
virḍha-ve-
- 5 neyasya¹⁴ saugō-hiranya-bhūmy-ādhi-prādhānai¹⁵ pravirḍha-dharmma-saṅchayasya
prajā-

See *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. I. pp. 11 and 145.

² See *ibid.* p. 112.

³ See also *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXII. p. 66 f.

⁴ Adēyāra is either a mistake for, or an attempt to Sanskritise, Adaiyāru, 'the river of refuge,' which occurs in another Udayēndiram grant; *Salem Manual*, Vol. II. p. 371, plate vi. a, text line 2 f.

⁵ See *ante*, p. 75.

⁶ From an impression received from Dr. Hultzsch.

⁷ This is the actual reading of the original. It is most probably intended for *rājā*, but this word is meaningless and superfluous here.

⁸ Here one or more words have been omitted. Dr. Fleet's Uravupalli grant (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. V. p. 51) has *-ōrjita-kshātra-tapōnidhēh*; the same reading we have in Dr. Hultzsch's fragment, *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 398; and similar expressions occur elsewhere.

⁹ Read *-maryādaśya rājāh*.

¹⁰ Read *-trō-bhya*.

¹¹ Originally *vaśudhālaivikara* was engraved; but the *aksharas* *ta* and *ka* are added below the line, and the *ka* between *cf* and *ra* is struck out.

¹² Read *-Siṅhavarmmanāh putrō*.

¹³ Read *-virḍh-āpachāyīnō virḍha-vināyasya*.

¹⁴ The *akshara* *au* before *gō* is quite meaningless; what one would have expected, is *auka-gō*.

¹⁵ Read *-ādī-prādhānāh praciriddha*.

Second Plate ; First Side.

- 6 pālana-dakshasya saty-ātmanô ¹mahârāja-śrī-Skandavarmanā[h*] putrô bhagavata-
ba[k]ti-samp[â]-²
7 dīta-sarvva-kaly[â*]na[h*] prajā-samrañjana-paripālan-ōnyayēpagata-śatata-satṛi-
brata-³
8 dīkshita naika-samara-sāhas-āvamardda-lavda-vijeyā-prakāsana ⁴ kaliyuga-dō-
9 sh-āvaśak-dharm-āttharaṇa-⁵nitya-sannadhô(ddhō) bhagavaka-pānudhyatō ⁶ vappa-
bhaṭṭāragō-pāda-bha-
10 kta[h*] parama-bhāgavatō Bhāradvāja-sagōtra[h*] Pallav[â*]nām dharmma
[ma*]hārāja[h*] śrī-Nandivarm[mā?]

Second Plate ; Second Side.

- 11 na ⁷ Adēyāra-rāshṭira Kāñchivāl-grāma āraṇya-kshētra-chatusṭayañ=cha pūrv
ōpabhukta-mariy[â]-
12 deya ⁸ Kāñchivāyil-v[â*]stavyāya brahmāṇa ⁹ Kausi(śi)ka-sagōtr[â*]ya Daitṛiya
charaṇaya ¹⁰ sūtrata
13 Pravachanāya Kuḷacha(śa)rmmanē brahmadē-mariyādayā ¹¹ sarvva-parihār-ōpata
dēva-bhō-
14 ga-hala-¹²varjjam=asmad-āyu-vala-vejeya-aisvariya-bhavirdhaē ¹⁴ dattavā[n ||*] Tad
avagammya ¹⁵ sa-
15 rvva-parih[â*]rai[h*] K[â*]ñchivāyil-grāma[m]=āraṇya-kshētra-chatusṭayañ=ch
parihārai ¹⁶ pahārata [||*] Yō=¹⁷

Third Plate ; First Side.

- 16 smasvāsanamm=atīkrāmē śa pāpa sārīramm=aruhaty=āpi chatra brahma-gītā[h*]
salōkā ¹⁸ bhavanti [||*]
17 ¹⁹Bhūmi-dānam=param(m)=dānam(m)=na bhūtam(m)=na bhati(vi)shyati [||*] sēva
haraṇāt=sapān=na bhūtam(m)=na bhavishyati [||*]

¹ The *akshara ja* is engraved below the line.

² Read *bhagavad-bhakti-sampā-*.

³ I believe the intended reading to be *-paripālan-ōdyōga-satata-satṛa-vrata-dīkshitō*; compare *t* Urupallī grant, line 10.

⁴ Read *-labdha-vijaya-yasāḥ-prakāśaḥ*; see *ibid.* line 11.

⁵ Read *-āvasanna-dharm-ōddharaṇa-*; see *ibid.* line 12.

⁶ Read *bhagavat-pādānudhyatō bappa-bhaṭṭāraka-pāda-*.

⁷ This *akshara* looks as if it had been struck out. Perhaps *°varmmanā* may have been originally engraved and this may have been altered to *°varmmā*. Read *°varmm=Adēyāra-rāshṭrē Kāñchivāyil-grāmam=*.

⁸ Read *-maryādayā*. ⁹ Read *brāhmaṇāya*.

¹⁰ Read *Taittirīya-charaṇāya Pravachana-sūtrāya*. The word *sūtrata* of the original is evidently intended for *sūtrataḥ*.

¹¹ Read *brahmadēya-maryādayā*.

¹² Read *-ōpētām*; compare *Ind. Ant.* Vol. V. p. 156, line 25.

¹³ The *akshara la* of *hala* is engraved below the line.

¹⁴ Read *asmad-āyur-bala-vijay-aiśvary-ābhividdhaye*. As the donor is spoken of in the third person, it would have expected *sv-āyur-* instead of *asmad-āyur-*.

¹⁵ Read *°gamyā*.

¹⁶ What was intended, is probably *pariharata parihārayata cha*; compare *Ind. Ant.* Vol. V. p. 156, line 2 and p. 52, line 29.

¹⁷ Read *Yō=smach-chāśanam=atīkrāmēt=sa pāpaḥ sārīram dādam=arhati || Api ch=dātra*; compare *ibid.* p. 52, line 30; p. 137, line 4; and p. 156, line 30.

¹⁸ Read *ślōkā*.

¹⁹ Metre: *Ślōka* (Anuṣṭubh); and of the next verse.— Read *-dānāt=param*.

²⁰ Read *tasyaiva haraṇāt=pāpam*.

No. 18—ATIYA INSCRIPTIONS FROM NAMAKKAL

(2 Plates)

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(Received on 20-6-1961)

The inscriptions dealt with here are found in the rock-cut cave temple dedicated to the god Raṅganātha¹ at **Nāmakkal**, a large town in the Salem District of Madras State. Of these, Inscription A² was discovered only recently by K. R. Srinivasan and copied by P. R. Srinivasan. The rest were copied by the Epigraphist in 1906³ but only cursorily examined by him. Fresh copies of these also were taken by P. R. Srinivasan. They are edited here with the kind permission of the Government Epigraphist for India. We are thankful to Pandit V. S. Subrahmanya Sastri for his assistance in deciphering the inscriptions.

Nāmakkal seems to have been known by this name only from the late Nāyaka period.⁴ It is not known how and why the place came to be so called⁵. The earlier Tamil name of the hill of the place is Tiruvāraikkal (Tiru-Āraikkal or Āraikkal with the honorific prefix *Tiru*) in Ēlūr-nāḍu of North Koṅgu.⁶ *Ārai* means a fort wall (*Tamil Lexicon*, s.v.) and *kal* refers to the rock; hence *Ārai-kkal* may be taken to mean the fortified rock. *Tiru* denoting its sacredness because of the two cave temples and a structural temple on top.⁷

The inscriptions are found engraved in two places in the cave temple which has two parts, namely a rectangular sanctum with a high floor level with two pillars and two pilasters on the front line and containing the huge two-armed reclining rock-cut sculpture of god Raṅganātha with a number of attendant figures⁸ carved on the walls, and a verandah in front of the sanctum with two pillars and two pilasters on its facade but with a lower floor level. Inscription A is engraved on the east face of the two-armed corbel over the northern pillar of the verandah⁹. Inscription B is engraved on the beam cut above the corbels of the pillars of the sanctum while Inscriptions C and D are engraved on the eastern faces of the corbels of the southern and northern pillars of the sanctum respectively. There are nine single-line inscriptions of *virūdas*, found here, and they

¹ It has been called also Paṭṭikondaperumāl (*vide* A. R. Ep., No. 10 of 1906). There is another cave temple here dedicated to Lakshminarasimha known as the Singaperumāl temple (*ibid.*). These two cave temples have been noticed by the Epigraphist in the Annual Report for 1906. For further inscriptions from the place *vide* Nos. 328-29 of 1938-39 and Part II, p. 71 of the Report for 1938-39.

² A. R. Ep., 1960-61, No. B 291.

³ *Ibid.*, 1906, No. 7 and Part II, pp. 57-59.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 1906, No. 12.

⁵ Perhaps the place was named Nāmanūr after a certain Nāman, and the rock came to be called Nāmanūr-kkal or Nāmakkal. Tiruchendūr or Śrī Mādāy in the Tirunelveli District had an alternative name of Nāmanūr. (See *Tirumurai-kāraṇṇipadai*, line 125, commentary, Dr. V. V. Swaminatha Iyer's Edition).

⁶ A. R. Ep., 1906, Nos. 5 and 11.

⁷ There are a number of names of towns and places in South India ending in *kal*, as for instance Vāṅgal, on the South bank of the Kāvēr near Kārūr; Dindūkkal in Madurai District; Orungal (Waraṅgal) in Andhra Pradesh; Tōraṇakal (Tōraṅgallu) in Mysore, etc.

⁸ For particulars see A. R. Ep., 1906, Part II, p. 58, para. 35.

⁹ The corbel over the southern pillar seems to have borne an inscription. Unfortunately it is completely effaced except for traces of some letters.

occur as follows : three on each of the pilasters of the sanctum ; one at the top of each of the pillars, just below the corbel, all these on the sanctum facade ; and one on the northern pillar of the verandah, at its top, just below the corbel.

The **characters** are Grantha and they are akin to those in which some of the inscriptions of the Pallava kings that ruled after Pallava Narasimhavarman I (c. circa 630-668 A. D.) are written, and they bear a special resemblance to the Grantha characters of the inscription in the Atirāṇa-chaṇḍa-maṇḍapam at Śāluvaṅkuppam¹ belonging to the time of Pallava Narasimhavarman II Rājasiṃha (circa 700-728 A. D.). Some of the letters *e.g.*, *gu* and *gu* (Ins. A) and *bhri* in *bhriḡu* (Ins. B, line 1) of the inscriptions dealt with here are nearly identical with the respective letters occurring in the Śāluvaṅkuppam inscription. The letters *u* and *h* of the present inscriptions have two forms (Ins. B) of which the looped variety of *u*, is interesting because of its rarity in the period to which these inscriptions are assigned. The presence of this type of *u* here and in the Śāluvaṅkuppam inscription, might suggest that the inscriptions under review are nearer in point of time to the Śāluvaṅkuppam record. The characters of these inscriptions when compared with those of the Sanskrit portion of the Ānaimalai lithic record of 770 A. D. belonging to the time of Pāṇḍya Mārāṇjaḍaiyaṅ,² show that they are definitely earlier. Thus palaeographically the position of these inscriptions may be said to be somewhere between 720 and 750 A. D. It must, however, be stated that these are the only inscriptions written in this early Grantha script known so far from the Kōṅgu country.

As regards **orthography** some points deserve mention here. There is the doubling of the consonants after *r* *e.g.*, *darppaṇam*³ (Ins. A, line 1), *Mōḱkaṇḍōga* and *parpṇa* (Ins. B, line 1), *ṛpṛreṇ*⁴ (Ins. C, line 2) and *Uṭṭalakarṇṇika* (*brida* on the southern pilaster of sanctum). In *Dakṣaś=śaṣi* (Ins. B, line 1) the *visarga* has been changed to the following consonant. In *griham=Viṣṇōḱ* (Ins. A, line 1) the *anusvāra* is compounded with the following letter. The *jihvāmūliya* occurs in *sahitaki-katrē* (Ins. B, line 2).

The four main inscriptions are in **Sanskrit** verse but their style is, however, defective and errors of spelling too occur. Owing to this, and to the peeling away of some parts of the surface of the rock on which they are engraved, the full purport of two out of the four verses is not clear. The labels are also in Sanskrit.

The inscriptions do not contain any date. But each one of them is important in its own way. Inscription A, discovered recently, is important not only because it is a foundation inscription⁵ mentioning the excavation of the cave temple called the Atiyānātha-viṣṇu-griham, but also because it contains the name of the king (*aripatiḱ*), who caused the work to be done, as Guṇaśīla⁶ which was not known from the other inscriptions examined in 1906. The purport of Inscription D

¹ Above Vol. X, Plate facing p. 12.

² Above Vol. VIII, Plate facing p. 320.

³ A number of such foundation inscriptions are known from South India, belonging more or less to the period to which the inscriptions discussed here are to be assigned *e.g.*, the Tuṭṭarankunram (Madurai District) inscription (A. R. Ep., 1951-52, No. B 143), the Malaiyaḱṅkuricḱhi (Tirunelveli District) inscription discovered by K. R. Srinivasan (ibid., 1959-60, No. B 358) and the famous Maṇḍagappattu (Chingleput District) inscription of Pallava Mahēndravarmān I (ibid., 1905, No. 56) and similar but earlier ones in many of the Mahēndravarmān cave temples in Toplāmaṇḍalam and Tiruchirapalli (Upper Cave-Laṭṭānkura, Pallavaśvaragriham).

⁴ A place (an important Vaiṣṇavite pilgrim centre) on the north bank of the Kāvēri north of the Upper Anicut) in the Tiruchirapalli District is named Guṇaśīlam perhaps an abbreviation of Guṇaśīlaśhataṛḱḱimangalam which is referred to in an inscription (A. R. Ep., 1953-54, No. 377) from Śīrangam dated in the ninth year of the reign of Vīra-Rāmaṇa (i.e., 1264 A. D.). It is about ten miles from Tiruchirapalli on the Tiruchirapalli-Nāmakkal road. The place was evidently named after this Atiya king, when his territories perhaps reached up to this place at the height of his power.

ATIYA INSCRIPTIONS FROM NAMAKKAL—Plate I

A



Scale : One-sixth

B



Scale : One-sixth

seems also to have been similar to that of Inscription A, but as it is damaged, its full import cannot be easily made out. However, it mentions the name of the temple as Atiyēndra-vishṇu-griham, and seems to refer to its author who could no doubt be identical with him of the Atiyamātha-vishṇu-griham of Inscription A, i.e., Guṇaśīla. Inscription C is interesting in that it gives some details about a king. But unfortunately it is difficult to make out with certainty to which particular king these details refer as that quarter of the verse which should furnish the connecting links of these details is damaged beyond redemption. However, the extant portion of the record appears to refer to Sōma of the Atiya family who is described as the senior (*pūrva*) among the daughter's sons of a person whose name is lost.¹ From the prominent mention of the king's name as Guṇaśīla in Inscription A we are tempted to attribute the descriptive details of the king in Inscription C also to Guṇaśīla and therefore construe Sōma as an *alias* name of this king. Inscription B contains a list of the names of gods, demi-gods and *asuras* associated with the principal deity. They are, in the order in which they are mentioned in the inscription, Mārkaṇḍēya, Parṇa (for Suparṇa i.e., Garuḍa), Varuṇa, Brahmā, Īśa, Dakṣha, Śaśi, Sūrya, Tumburu, Nārada, Guru, Bhṛigu, Śārṅga, Kaupōdaki, [Chakra], Nandaka, Pāñchajanya, Śrī, Madhu and Kaiṭabha. These names when checked with the figures carved on the walls of the sanctum round the reclining Vishṇu seem to tally almost, except for slight variations. There is hardly another iconographic inscription of this kind relating to this period and so the importance of this inscription needs no stressing. It is valuable in another respect also, as it contains the interesting architectural expression namely *śayyā-griham*, meaning literally the sleeping-apartment, but here the abode for the *śayana* (reclining) form of the deity. This term is perhaps the precursor of the later-day expressive Tamil term *paḷḷigai* in temples. Texts on architecture (e.g. *Vaikhāṇasāgama*) speak of *śayana* forms of *vimāna* (temple), one of the three types of *vimānas*, which is essentially rectangular with *śāla-śikhara*, or oval, and intended for *śayana-mūrtis*. The *Mānasāra* calls it a *śayana-prāsāda*.² The occurrence of this term in this technical sense here, therefore, may be said to be the earliest.

In the four main inscriptions the word Atiya occurs at least five times, of course in compound forms, e.g., Atiya-(kula?) and Atiyamātha-vishṇu-griham (Ins. A), Atiyēndrānām (Ins. C) and Atiyānāvavāya and Atiyēndra-vishṇu-griham (Ins. D). Obviously the king who was responsible for engraving these inscriptions was proud of his lineage, the Atiya line or the Adiyamān family which ruled over this part of Tamilnad, for some centuries. The word Atiya may be said to be the Sanskritised form of the Tamil word Adiyaṇ. From three verses of the Saṅgam classics³ it is known that an Adigaṇ, as an able subordinate of Paṣumpūṭ Pāṇḍiyaṇ was killed in the battlefield of Vāhai by the Koṅgar who celebrated the event with great eclat and that the Pāṇḍya, perhaps in retaliation routed the Koṅgar and overran their country and celebrated the victory in his capital town Kūḍal, (Madurai). The battlefield of Vāhai is perhaps the same as the battlefield of Karikāla Chōla referred to by the same Pararaṇar in *Ahanānūru*, 125. The *Padirupattu* ("Ten-tens") in its 4th decade by the poet Kāppiyārruk-Kāppiyaṇār on the Chēra king Kaḷaṅgāy-kkaṇṇi Nārmuḍichehēral refers to the defeat of a chieftain called Neḷumūdal, explained by the commentators as the real name of Añji or Adiyamān Neḷumān Añji of Tagaḍūr in verse 32. The 10th decade of the same work by the poet Ariśilkiḷār, eulogising the Chēra king Peruṇ-Chēral Irumporai "who

¹ This individual was perhaps a very high personage to merit special mention in this inscription.

² *Mānasāra*, Ch. XIX, 11.7-9. See also Dr. N. V. Mallaiyya's *Studies in Sanskrit Texts on Temple Architecture* pp. 285-86. The term *śayyā-griham* occurs in the invocatory verse of the Cambodian inscription of Kulaprabhāvatī, queen of Jayavarman (5th and 6th centuries A. D.) which is as follows :

yañjan yōgam=atarkitana=kam=api yathā kshīrōda-śayyā-grihē sītē Śēsha-bhujāṅga-bhōga-rachanā-paryyanka-prishṭh-āśritāḥ [(Majumdar, *Inscriptions of Kambuja*, No. 1; Coedes, *Journal of the Greater India Society*, Vol. IV, p. 117).

³ *Kuruntokai* 393 and *Ahanānūru*, 162, both by poet Pararaṇar and *Ahanānūru*, 253, by Nakkirar. See above, Vol. XXX, pp. 97-98.

sacked Tagadūr" refers to the well-fortified and strongly garrisoned Tagadūr in verse 78 and its sack by the Chēra king; and the colophon-like *paṭigam* at the end (of apparently later date than the compilation, and earlier to the commentaries) states that the Adigamāṇ who had a great army and was the lord of Kolli-kkūram (the country around Kolli hills) was defeated along with the two great kings (Chōla and Pāṇḍya) and the drums, royal parasols and ornaments of the latter were captured and the fortress of Tagadūr sacked by the Chēra king, Peruñ-Chēral Irumporai. This event formed the theme of a poem of later times, the *Tagadūr Yāttirai*, now lost but known only from quotations in other works. Nachehinārkkiniyār, the great Tamil commentator in his commentary on the *Tolkappiṭṭam-paṭṭaṇṇai sūtram* 7, on the material theme of *uḷḷūnai* (or the theme of besieging a fortress wearing the *uḷḷūnai*—a parasitic herb—*cuscuta*) cites as example the incident of the Adigamāṇ's staying inside Tagadūr fort till the Chēra king Peruñchēral Irumporai advanced, laid siege and took it. The colophon of *Puṇanāṇṇūru*, 50, calls this Chēra king *Tagadūr-crinda* (he who took Tagadūr) Peruñchēral Irumporai and the verse in praise of him was by the poet Mōsi Kīraṇār. The Adiyamān is also called Neḍumāṇ Añji or Añji or Eḷiṇi, in *Puṇanāṇṇūru* verses 158, 230, and 392; and verse 138, enumerating the various liberal patrons, curiously enough, mentions Eḷiṇi as the lord of Kudiraimalai (also *Ahanāṇṇūru*, 372) and Ōri, another patron as the lord of Kollimalai (also *Narppai*, 265). *Puṇanāṇṇūru*, 22, *Paṭṭirappattu*, 73 and also *Śilappadi-kāraṇam*, 21, *pāṭṭamaṇḍai*, attribute the overlordship of Kolli to the Chēra king. *Ahanāṇṇūru*, 209 and *Narppai*, 320 state that Ōri was defeated by the Malaiyamān chieftain of Muḷḷūr, Kāri by name, and the Kolli hills were transferred to the Chēralar (Chēra). Adigamāṇ or Adiyamāṇ Neḍumāṇ Añji was a patron of the celebrated poetess Auvaiyār who has praised him in many songs and his son Pohuttelipi, in some. It was this Adiyamān who presented to her the fruit of longevity, a black *uḷḷi* or *āmalaku*, a story alluded to in the *Śrīrūpāṇṇṇūppaḍai* of the *Paṭṭuppāṭṭu* collection, (II, 99-102) and in later works as well in the context of enumerating the seven *Vallals* or liberal patrons (II, 84-113). She calls him the leader of the Malavar, *Malavar Perumakan*, *Malavar Kōmāṇ* (*Puṇanāṇṇūru* 88, 90) and is said to have gone on a diplomatic mission to the Tonḍaimāṇ ruler of Kāñchī (identified by some as Tonḍaimāṇ Ilantiraiyan) on Adiyamāṇ's account (*Puṇanāṇṇūru*, 95). In *Puṇanāṇṇūru*, 99, she relates many facts about the Adiyamāṇ, her patron. According to her, the Adiyamān was born of a family which as a result of their worship, sacrifices, and offerings of *āhuti*s (oblations) to the gods, brought the sweet sugarcane to this world, and ruled the world with great ability for a very long time. Adiyam fought successful battles against seven opposing kings and destroyed among other rebellious strongholds, the fort of Kōvalūr (which is mentioned in his praise by poet Parakkar) and possessed all the seven *poḷis* or *lāṇchanas* (royal insignia).¹ In *Ahanāṇṇūru*, 142, an Adiyam leader of a great army, is said to have been killed in battle by Mūṇḍi or Nūṇḍi, the intrepid general of the chieftain Nannan. Eḷiṇi (Adigan) was one of the seven foes (the two kings and five *oḷis* or chieftains, viz., Chēra, Śembiyan or Chola, Titiyan, Eḷiṇi, Erumaiyāraṇ, Vēṇmāṇ and Poruṇan) of Talaiyālaṅkāṇattu-eh-cheraveṇṇa Neḷuñcheliyan, i.e., the great Pāṇḍya, who gained a victory in the battlefield of Talaiyālaṅkāṇam, (*Ahanāṇṇūru*, 36; *Puṇanāṇṇūru*, 76).²

The name Sōma of the Aḷiya king in Inscription C has a curious parallel with three early Cambodian inscriptions in Sanskrit, one of them referring to a Koṅḡavarman born of that lineage.³

¹ The seven *lāṇchanas* or *poḷis* as enumerated in a later work, the *Kāṇḡattar-paṇṇai* (*Kudavāl*, 18) are *kēḷal* (boat), *mēḷi* (plough), *kaḷai* (lion or elephant), *oḷi* (lion or tiger), *oṭṭar* (lute), *śalai* (bow) and *keṇḍai* (fish).

² The other verses in *Puṇanāṇṇūru* which refer to Adiyamān and his other names are 87, 89, 93, 94, 97, 98, 103, 104, 209, 208, 231, 232, 235, 310, 315, and 390. See also K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *History of South India* (1958), p. 118.

³ Majumdar, *Inscriptions of Kamboja*, No. 26-3; Coles, *Inscriptions du Cambodge*, Vol. I, pp. 251 ff.; see also *Inscriptions of Kamboja*, No. 2 (B. E. F. E. O., XXXI, 1) referring to the king Gmavarmān, the donor, as born of the family of Kaṇḡadmya and the line in verse 6 reading *Kaṇḡadmya-vaṇḡa-mācū*. A Jayavarman (*Śaka* 580 and 802) refers to a Bāḷāditya belonging to the lineage of Sōma and Kaṇḡadmya. Majumdar, *Inscriptions of Kamboja*, No. 111 (A, vv. 5 and 6); Barth and Bhandakere, *Inscriptions Sanscrites du Cambodge*, No. 77 and Aymonier, *Le Cambodge* (Paris), II, 494-497—the text reads *Sōma-Kaṇḡadmya-vaṇḡa*.

This inscription records gifts to god Utpannōśvara by King Bhavavarman, descended from the Kaundinya and Sōma family. 'Koṅga' or 'Koṅgu' in the name Koṅgavarman is a characteristic Tamil name not met with elsewhere in Kambuja or other places in the far east.

The later Adigamāns were Chōla feudatories and fought against the Hoysalas, in whose inscriptions the name is further changed into Adiyama (*Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 195). Some later Adigamāns like Eḷiṇi and Vēḷukāḍaḷagiya-Perumāḷ claimed to belong to the Chōra dynasty (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, p. 332). And one Adigaṇ (abbreviated form of Adigamān) is said in the *Periyapurāṇam* (verses 3947, 3987) to have fought against the Chōla king, Puḷaḷ-chēchōḷa (*ibid.*, p. 66) who died in Karuvūr (Karūr).¹

Now, regarding the date of the king. Obviously, King Guṇaśīla of these inscriptions was a member of this ancient Adiyamān family, although no king of this name belonging to this family is known from other sources, literary or epigraphical.² That he was endowed with independent authority, power and resources is clear from the fact of his having excavated the large Raṅganātha cave temple, perhaps also the Lakshmi-narasimha cave temple, adorned with bas-reliefs noted for their beauty, and by his affecting the style of the imperial Pallavas in his inscriptions, especially in the *biruḍas*. In order to undertake such magnificent works of art, the king must have had a fairly long, authoritative and comparatively peaceful reign.³ That there is no mention of any overlord in these inscriptions points to the fact that the king enjoyed independence, although it is difficult to say exactly for how long his independent rule over this area lasted. This independent reign of the king could have been possible only when the political conditions of South India, as computed from contemporary sources were favourable to him. It is known that for nearly half a century in the middle of the 8th century A. D., the Pallava authority over South India had waned due to the dynastic revolution at home and change over of the administration from the main line to a member of a collateral line⁴ in c. 730-732 A.D. The earlier part of Nandivarman Pallavamalla's reign was occupied by internecine wars and in conflicts with the Chālukyas in the north. He had in fact to flee Kāñchi when Chālukya Vikramāditya II entered the capital in force before his 8th year (741-42 A. D.). He had also to face Pāṇḍya Rājasimha in many fields of battle according to the Pāṇḍya inscriptions.⁵ Pallava authority or influence did not extend to the banks of the Kāvēri (Chōla and Koṅgu-maṇḍalams) for some time between c. 742 and 780 A.D. as could be seen from the absence of Pallava inscriptions of this period in this area. Nor do the Pāṇḍyas of the period seem to have had a peaceful time, because, of the two Pāṇḍya kings of the period, namely, Kōchchadaiyaṇ (c. 710-743 A.D.) and his successor Māgarvarman Rājasimha (c. 730-765 A.D.), the former was often engaged in warfare with his neighbours⁶ while the latter waged war with Nandivarman Pallavamalla⁷ and obtained victories at several places. Thus it may be presumed that neither the Pallavas nor the Pāṇḍyas, the two imperial powers of South India, had occasion to divert their attention towards the growing Adiyamān power and their territory in and around Tagaḍūr, which included Nāmakkal. The Pāṇḍya king Kōchchadaiyaṇ Raṇadhīra (c. 700-730 A. D.) is called *Kōṅgar Kōmāṇ*, the Lord of the Koṅgar, in the Vēlvikkūḷi plates⁸. His successor Pāṇḍya Māga-

¹ *A. R. Ep.*, 1906, p. 57, para. 34.

² See note on Guṇaśīlam, *ante*.

³ The time taken for the excavation of a cave temple like the Nasik cave No. 3 was twenty years; started by Gōtamiputra in the 24th year or last year of his reign it was completed only in the 19th year of his successor Pulamāvi. See above, Vol. VIII, pp. 60-74, ins. nos. 2-5. More or less the same time if not more, should have been necessary in this instance also, considering the greater hardness of the rock.

⁴ *Mem. ASI.*, No. 63, Historical Sculptures of the Vaikunthaperumāḷ Temple, Kāñchi, pp. 37 ff.

⁵ Above, Vol. XVII, pp. 291 ff. and *J.A.*, Vol. XXII, pp. 64 ff.

⁶ K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *The Pandyan Kingdom*, p. 56.

⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 56-57.

⁸ Above, Vol. XVII, pp. 291 ff.

varman Rājasimha I (c. 740-765 A.D.), in the same grant, is said to have crossed the Kāvērī, subjugated the country of Maḷakoṅgam¹ and proceeded to Pāṇḍikkōḍumuḍi where he worshipped Śiva-Pāśupati. His successor, Pāṇḍya Jaṭila Parāntaka Neḷuṇḷjaḍaiyaṇ (c. 768-815 A.D.) is stated, in the Madras Museum plates (Śrīvaramaṅgalam plates)² dated in his 17th year (c. 784 A.D.), to have defeated the Atiyaṇ and made him flee the field of battle at Āyiravēli-Ayirūr on the north bank of the Kāvērī and Puḡaliyūr, and, advancing further defeated also the Pallava and the Kēraḷa (Chēra) armies which came to Atiyaṇ's aid by deploying forces to both the fronts, east and west, captured the king of Kuḷakoṅgu (Western Koṅgu) with his elephant and imprisoned him in Madurai and subdued the *Koṅgu-bhūmi*. It is to be noted that the exploits against the Koṅgu country or the Atiyaṇ are not mentioned among those of Pāṇḍya Parāntaka Neḷuṇḷjaḍaiyaṇ in his Vēlvikkūḍi plates dated in his 3rd year (770-71 A.D.). The Pallava ally of Atiyaṇ was evidently Nandivarman Pallavamalla (731-796 A.D.). The Pāṇḍyan war with Atiyaṇ and the battles of Āyiravēli-Ayirūr and Puḡaliyūr must have been fought after 770 A.D. and before 784 A.D. perhaps closer to the latter date. It is significant to note that Koṅgu engaged the attention of three successive Pāṇḍya kings of whom the second is said to have overrun Maḷakoṅgam, and the third and most powerful, perhaps, is said to have defeated the Atiyaṇ and the allied Pallava and Chēra armies. Here perhaps we get a hint of the rise into prominence of the Koṅgu area and the Atiyamāns to significant power between c. 700 and 784 A.D.—(the date of accession of Kōchchhaḍaiyaṇ and the date of the Madras Museum plates of Neḷuṇḷjaḍaiyaṇ) and the encouragement they had from Pallava Nandivarman and the Chēra rulers, perhaps as a foil to the Pāṇḍya imperialistic expansion resulting in the wars mentioned above. The wars of the two earlier kings were evidently punitive, their hold over the area not very lasting. But the wars of the last of the three Pāṇḍya kings, including the defeat of Atiyaṇ at Āyiravēli-Ayirūr and Puḡaliyūr³ were apparently the most decisive, and therefore it is very likely that Guṇaśīla of the present record flourished at a time before the period when the regions under the Atiyas became the bone of contention between the Pallavas under Nandivarman Pallavamalla and the Pāṇḍyas under Māravarman Rājasimha and his successor, i.e. sometime before c. 750 A.D.

As has been said above, the fact that the palaeography of the inscriptions is very much nearer to that of the inscriptions belonging to the time of Pallava Narasiṃhavarman II and far earlier than that of the Ānamalai inscription (770 A.D.) of the time of Pāṇḍya Mārāṇḷjaḍaiyaṇ, goes to

¹ Maḷakoṅgam, which included Koḍumuḍi (in the Erode Taluk of the Coimbatore District) was evidently the Koṅgu part of Maḷanāḍu (Maḷavar-nāḍu) or the Koṅgu area adjoining Maḷanāḍu, which is the territory on either bank of the Kāvērī in its eastern course through the Tiruchirapalli District and the western part of the adjacent Tanjavur Taluk of the Tanjavur District. It perhaps extended from Koḍumuḍi on the west where the hitherto south-flowing Kāvērī takes a sharp turn and thence flows east to the sea. This area included Nāmakkal, the Kollimalai and Pachchaimalai hills. An early Chōla inscription from the Koranganūtha temple at Śrīnivāsanallūr, a part of the ancient Mahendramangalam (which is named after Mahendra Pallava I and, perhaps, like the cave temple at Tiruchirapalli, marks a point in the southern limits of the Pallava empire of his times) states that it was situated in *Tuḷakaraṇ-Maḷanāḍu* (north bank Maḷanāḍu) implying that a stretch on the south bank of the river formed the southern *Maḷanāḍu*. (See culture and Heritage Number of the *Q. J. M. S.*, pp. 225 ff.)

² *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXII, pp. 64 ff.

³ Āyiravēli-Ayirūr and Puḡaliyūr are very near Nāmakkal. "Āyiravēli" seems to be more an adjunct of Ayirūr (meaning Ayirūr of 1000 *elus*). Ayirūr is the modern Ayilūr, now called also Śrī-Rāmasaṁdraṁ on the north bank of the Kāvērī near Kāttuputtūr in the Musiri taluk of Tiruchirapalli and on the traditional ferry line across the river from the south from Madurai, *via* Dindigal. Puḡaliyūr is modern Puḡalūr, 10 miles north-west of Karūr on the south bank of the Kāvērī, also on another traditional ferry across from the Nāmakkal side to the south and recently bridged up. It is a modern township with a sugar mill, and its antiquity is evidenced by the rocks containing natural caverns and Brāhmī and Vatteluttu inscriptions. The same place Puḡaliyūr is mentioned in a Chōla inscription at Tiruchengōḍu, *A.R. Ep.*, No. 631 of 1905. It comprises the villages of Puḡalūr-agrahāram, Puṇḷai-Puḡalūr and Naṇḷai-puḡalūr. The Railway Station is called Puḡalūr. The Pāṇḍya after crossing the river from south to Ayirūr must have recrossed the river further west to fight the battle at Puḡaliyūr.

ATIYA INSCRIPTIONS FROM NAMAKKAL--Plate II

C



Scale : One-fifth

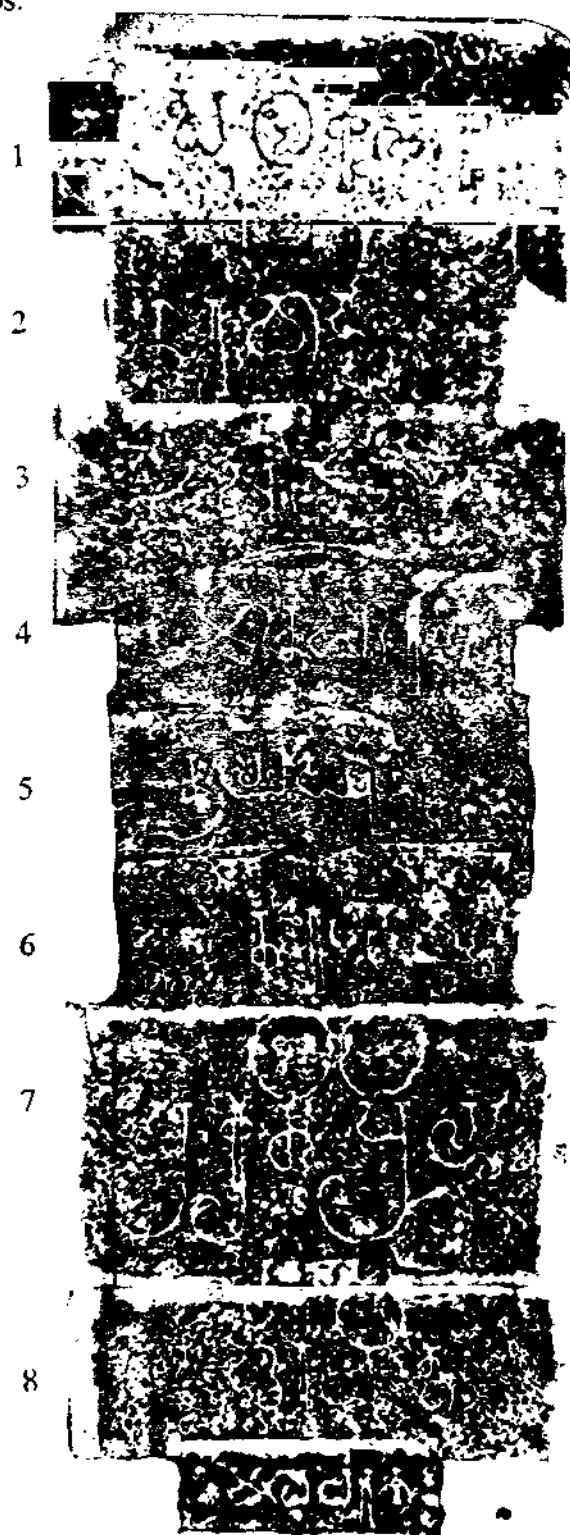
D



Scale : One-fifth

BIRUDAS

Nos.



Scale : One-seventh

confirm this attribution. The style of the sculptures and architecture¹ is also characteristic of this period.

The nine single-line inscriptions mentioning as many *birudas* or epithets are interesting for their originality because from among the countless *birudas* of the Pallava kings, the only other dynasty which specialised in having a string of *birudas*, we find only one or two of them repeated here. The *birudas* are as follows :

Utpala-karṇṇikah (One who has lilly in the ears) ; *Nara-vāhanaḥ* (One who is like Kubēra in riches whose vehicle is man) ; *Madana-vilāsaḥ* (handsome like Cupid) ; *Māna-sūraḥ*² (essence of standards or rich in honour) ; *Naga-parah* (inclined towards gentility) ; *Nara-dēvaḥ* (king or god amongst men) ; *prakṛti-prīyaḥ* (delighting in nature or simplicity or delightful to the subjects) ; *Udāra-chittaḥ*³ (noble-minded) ; and *Vimala-charitaḥ* (possessing blemish-less character).

TEXT⁴A⁵

- 1 **Atiya** [kula] nu[h]kakubbān=darppanam=idam griham=Viṣṇōḥ [| *]
- 2 śrī-Guṇaśīlō nripatīḥ kārītavān=**Atiyanātha**-viṣṇu-griham [| | *]⁶

B⁷

- 1 0⁸ [| *] Ma[r*]kkaṇḍēya⁹-maharshi-¹⁰Pamṇa-Varuṇa¹¹-Brahm-Ēsa-Dakṣhāś=Śaśi Sūryas=
Tumburu-Nāradau¹² Guru-Bhṛigū Śāringaṇ=cha Kaupōta(da)ki [| *]
- 2 ¹³[Chakraṇi] Nāntaka¹⁴-Pāṇchajanya-shahiraḥ¹⁵=kartrē diśa[ntu] śrīya[m*]¹⁶ lhrāja[ntē]
Madhu-Kēṭabha¹⁷-kṣhayikpita[ś*]-śāyyā-grihē-drēr-vpātāḥ [| *]¹⁸

¹ For an exhaustive account of the cave temples, see K. R. Srinivasan's monograph on the *Cave Temples of the Pāṇḍya and Kongu countries* to be published in the *Indian Temple Architecture Series*, by the Archaeological Survey of India.

² It is of interest to note that this *biruda* which is similar to the title of the famous text on architecture, seemingly suggests that the king intended to convey through this title the idea that his work, namely the magnificent cave temple was excavated according to architectural canons.

³ (cf. *Vachitra-chitta*, (curious-minded), one of the titles of Pallava Mahēndravarmar I.

⁴ From impressions.

⁵ *A. R. Ep.*, 1960-61, No. B 291.

⁶ Metre, *Ārjā*.

⁷ *A. R. Ep.*, 1960-61 No. B 292.

⁸ There is a symbol like this here which may stand for an auspicious word like *Om*.

⁹ Read *Mākkandēya*.

¹⁰ The word stands for *Saparna* (i.e., Garuda).

¹¹ The *na* has a hook to its left which is to be ignored.

¹² The following two names are also compounded with a dual ending.

¹³ This line appears to be a palimpsest traces of earlier writing being visible in the super- and subscript-like marks which have to be ignored.

¹⁴ Read *Nandaka*.

¹⁵ Read *śahita*. The words Śāringa, Kaupōdaki, Nandaka and Pāṇchajanya denote the names of the bow, mace, sword and conch respectively of Viṣṇu. Sudarṣana, the name of the discus simply mentioned here as *chakraṇ*, is not given.

¹⁶ Read *śrīya[m*]*.

¹⁷ Read *Kēṭabha*.

¹⁸ Metre : *Sūdūtārikāṇḍita*.

C¹

- 1trashu² yasy-ādyēshu yaśasvishu [] *
- 2 **Sōma**[h*] pūrvvō=tiyēndrānām dauhitrēshv=anvaya(ē)=sthitaḥ [] *

D¹

- 1 Atiy-ānvavāya-gurupā narapatinā⁵[ti][] *
- 2 **Atiy-ēndra-vishṇu-gṛīham**=iti..mamu[nā]⁶ kārī[taṁ] kṛī[ti]nā [] *

BIRUDAS³

- | | | |
|--------------------------------|---|----------------------------------|
| Southern pilaster of sanctum | 1 | <i>Utpala-karṇapukāḥ</i> |
| | 2 | <i>Nara-vāhanaḥ</i> |
| | 3 | <i>Madana-vilāsaḥ</i> |
| Southern pillar of sanctum : | 4 | <i>Māna-sāraḥ</i> (below Ins. C) |
| Northern pillar of sanctum : | 5 | <i>Naga-paraḥ</i> (below Ins. D) |
| Northern pilaster of sanctum : | 6 | <i>Nara-dēvaḥ</i> |
| | 7 | <i>Prakṛī-priyaḥ</i> |
| | 8 | <i>Udāra-chītaḥ</i> |
| Northern pillar of facade : | 9 | <i>Vimala-charitaḥ</i> |

¹ *A. R. Ep.*, 1960-61, No. D: 203.

² Read ³*trēshu*.

³ Metre: *Annshūbh*.

⁴ *A. R. Ep.*, 1906, No. 7.

⁵ The portion after this reads ⁶*agnava*? which is not quite intelligible.

⁶ The form of this *nā* is not satisfactory. It seems to have been inserted later.

⁷ Metre: *Āryā*.

⁸ These are engraved at different places as indicated but illustrated one below the other in the plate.

No. 20—THE PULLUR PLATES OF NANDIVARMAN II PALLAVAMALLA—YEAR 33

(3 Plates)

T. V. MAHALINGAM, MADRAS.

(Received on 27-10-1958)

This set¹ of nine copper-plates is reported to have been unearthed sometime in May 1939 by the villagers of Pullūr in the Polur taluk of the North Arcot District, Madras State, while excavating the *ardha-maṇḍapa* portion of the small Viṣṇu temple there, now dilapidated and in ruins. It is learnt that along with this set of plates were found a metallic image of Viṣṇu about 2 feet in height, a *Sudarśana* and a goddess nearly of the same size, another smaller image of the goddess and one or two conches which may all be assigned to about the 12th century A.D. The plates measure each about 9½ inches by 3-5/8 inches and are written on both sides, except the first one the outer face of which is left blank. The outer face of the last plate bears faint traces of writing. They are all strung together with a copper ring about 3/8 inch thick and 4-3/4 inches in diameter, the ends of which are soldered to the bottom of a circular seal about 2-5/8 inches in diameter. The seal is completely worn out except for the faint traces of a couchant bull facing the proper right. The left hand corner of the first plate is torn off including the ring-hole. Consequently the first plate is found loose and a few letters at the beginning of the first three lines of the inscription are lost. Portions of the first side of the seventh plate have been erased and re-written. The latter writing seems to have been done after the set of plates had been strung and sealed as the particular plate bears traces of having been torn off from the set and re-inserted after re-writing as the twist in the plate has only been levelled up and not soldered. Palaeographically the letters themselves seem to be of a little later period, as may be seen from a few of them such as *ḷku* (lines 104 and 105), *ta* (line 105), etc. The whole set weighs 329 *tolas* with the ring and seal and 240 *tolas* without the ring and seal. The inscription on the plates is neatly executed and is in good preservation except where small portions of the sheets are broken and lost in plates I, III, VIII and IX. The portions damaged and lost in the last three plates are not much, being only one or two letters on each side of them and these letters can be restored without much difficulty.

As is usual with most copper-plate grants of the Tamil country, the record consists of two parts. The first one is in **Sanskrit**, written in the Grantha script (lines 1-17) and the second in the **Tamil language and script** (lines 17-132). The usual imprecatory verses in Sanskrit at the end are again in the Grantha script followed by the signatures in Tamil. The Grantha script is also used in writing some of the Sanskrit words which occur in the Tamil portion of the record.

The script used for writing the record is of an ornamental variety though not highly florid, and palaeographically may be assigned to the eighth century A.D., to which period the inscription belongs. In the Grantha script the symbol for medial *ā* and also for *ō* is not written in the form of a downward stroke on the right of the consonant, but as a zig-zag line going upwards and slanting to the right with its upper end slightly thickened. This is seen adopted even in the Grantha

¹ A. R. Ep., 1939-40, App. A, No. 9. This is the fifth copper-plate charter of King Nandivarman Pallavamalla, the other four being the Udayāndirām plates dated in his 21st year (*S. I. I.*, Vol. II, No. 74), the Kaṭṭakkudi plates of his 22nd year (*ibid.*, Vol. II, No. 73), the Taṇḍantōṭṭam plates of his 58th year (*ibid.*, Vol. II, No. 99) and the Pattattālamangalam plates of his 61st year (above, Vol. XVIII, No. 14).

letters used here and there in the Tamil portion. This form of the symbol for medial *ā* is found, though in a more ornamental form, in the inscriptions of Mahēndravarmān¹, of Rājasiṃha² and even of Paramēśvaravarman I.³ But this is found used alongside the normal form of the vertical stroke with a *talaiṅkaṭṭu* in them, while this is the only form in the Pullūr plates. The use of dots (*puḷḷi*), though not uniform is noteworthy. The doubling of the consonants after *r* like *varmma* in line 7 is a peculiarity usually met with in inscriptions from the south and this is probably due to the influence of the Dravidian languages. Another peculiarity is the letter *tsha* in places where it should be *ksha*; and considering that invariably in almost all the copper-plate inscriptions in the Grantha script of the period this peculiarity is found it would be right to read it only as *ksha*, taking this as its form even though it is found also correctly written occasionally.

There are a few words in the inscription which are of lexicographical interest. One such is *Bappa*.⁴ The Sanskrit portion of the grant narrates the gift of the villages as *deivajara-bappa-bhaṭṭārakānām=ashta(ashṭottara)-śatāya sadapārcam dattacām* (lines 16 and 17) "gave with the libation of water to one hundred and eight *Bappa-bhaṭṭārcakas* (who are) the best of the twice-born". The very fact that the grant registers the gift of the villages as *brahmadēga* would show that the word *Bappa-bhaṭṭāraka* denotes a *Brāhmaṇa* and this is confirmed by the Tamil portion of the grant wherein this is translated as *nūṟṇṇar valgār naṟ-pāṇṇ[r]ppā[r]kku brahmadēgam aruḷi-cheṇṇa* (line 102) "pleased to grant as *brahmadēga* to one hundred and eight *Brāhmaṇas* who are good or pure and poor".⁵ In early Tamil literature the *Brāhmaṇas* are generally referred to only by the term *pāṇṇpār*. The use of this term *pāṇṇpār* in the Tamil portion as against the word *Bappa* in the Sanskrit portion seems to suggest a possible connection of the one with the other, though the process of their derivation cannot be determined. *Bhaṭṭāraka* means a chief; and *Bappa-bhaṭṭārakāḥ* means evidently chief *Brāhmaṇas*.

The term *paradatti* (line 112) is another word of interest. It occurs as *paradatti śeydadu*, meaning *paradatti* was made. The term *paradatti śeyrada* occurs in the Bāhūr plates of Nīpa-tuṅga,⁶ wherein it has been translated as "the grant was made". The same term slightly changed into *paratatti* is used in the Kaṣṭikkudi plates of Nandivarman II⁷ and the Vēlūrpāliyam plates of Nandivarman III⁸ as also the Anbil plates of Sundara Chōla,⁹ in the last of which it is written as *paradetti*. The word *paradatti* would mean either a gift to a third person or a gift made by a third person. It is used in the latter sense in the imprecatory verse '*śradattām paradattām vā*,' usually found in many of the records. The copper plates mentioned before wherein the word *paradatti* occurs also appear to record the gifts made by the subordinate chiefs of village within the region over which they were holding sway, and the orders of the monarchs were more or less in the nature of ratification of these gifts. As such the word *paradatti* may be taken as a gift made by some person other than the king.

Another word of interest that occurs in the plates is *vattaran* which is prefixed to the name of all the donees of the grant after the mention of their respective *gōtras*, *śāstras* and villages. In

¹ Inscriptions at Mahēndravādī (above, Vol. IV, Plate facing p. 152), at Dalavānūr (ibid., Vol. XII, Plate facing p. 226) and at Siyamangalam (ibid., Vol. VI, Plate facing p. 320).

² Kailāsanātha Temple inscriptions (Text *S. I. I.*, Vol. I, No. 24 : Plate, ibid., Vol. II, p. 249).

³ Kūram plates (Text *S. I. I.*, Vol. I, No. 151 : Plate, ibid., Vol. II, p. 342).

⁴ For the use of the words *Bappa* and *Bappa Bhaṭṭāraka* see Dr. D. C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, Vol. I, p. 351. Also see C. Minakshi, *Administration and Social Life under the Pallavas*, pp. 6-8.

⁵ The same expression *naḷgār naṟ-pāṇṇpār* occurs also in the Pattattālmangalam and Tandanūtōttam plates of the monarch. See above, Vol. XVIII, p. 119 ; *S. I. I.*, III, p. 521, l. 37.

⁶ Ibid., Vol. XVIII, p. 12.

⁷ *S. I. I.*, Vol. II, p. 353, l. 133.

⁸ Ibid., p. 509, text, l. 63.

⁹ Above, Vol. XV, p. 65, text-line 150.

Tamil literature the word is used in the sense of a resident of the Vatsa country.¹ But it is not used in that sense here. A reference to the context would show that it is a Tamil form of the Sanskrit word *vīstarya* meaning 'a resident of'.²

The Sanskrit portion of the record commences with an invocation to Śiva (verse 1). It then goes on to praise in general terms the Pallava kings who came in the lineage of Pallava whose ancestry is traced from the *Brāhmaṇa* Bharadvāja through Drōṇa and Drauṇi or Āśvatthāman (verses 2 to 4). Nandivarman born of that line became king (verse 5). He is described as Vishṇu, being the lord of the wealth (Śrī) and of the earth, as Svāmi (Mahāsēna or Kumāra) being the bearer of *Śakti* (power), as the sun with lustre though his rays were soft, and his rule is stated to have extended as far as the sea. This verse which is in double entendre may be interpreted as follows : He was (or bore the name) Śrī Vallabha ; he obtained his kingship with the might of his arm, [he was acknowledged as (suzerain) king by others because of his power] and his taxation was mild.

he next verse (verse 6) says that his orders were obeyed by the Kēraḷa, Chōḷa, Pāṇḍya, Maḷava Kaḷabhira, Bāṇa, Āṇḍhra, Saindhava, Śāntavāṇkuravara,³ Gaṅga and Kadamba kings. Then follows a prose passage in Sanskrit which mentions that once when the king was seated in the audience hall surrounded by courtiers and princes, at the request of **Avanichandra Yuvarāja**, the lord of Vilvalapura and devoted to the Pallava, the king made the grant of four villages Nelli, Pullūr, Kuḍiyūr and Takkār, situated on the southern bank of Cheyāru in the Palkuṇḍa-kōṭṭaka and Kilavēṇāṭaka, clubbed together into one unit and renamed Nayadhīramāṅgalam after the king's surname *Nayadhīra* to one hundred and eight Brāhmaṇas, making his minister Nāgaśarma Brahmadhīrāja, the executor of the grant. The minister is described as the Bṛhaspati in person and well versed in the science of weapons and warfare.

The Tamil portion of the grant says that in the **thirty-third regnal year Vijaya Nandivarman**, on the petition of **Avanichandra-Iḷaraiśan**, the king granted as *brahmadēyam* the four villages of Nelli, Pullūr and Kuḍiyūr of Kil-vēṇāḍu and Takkāru of Maṇalai-kuḷa-nāḍu in Palkunra-kkōṭṭam with Brahmadhīrājan as executor (*āpati*) to one hundred and eight poor and good (or pite) Brāhmaṇas (pā[r*]ppār) whose names are mentioned therein (see table below).

The boundaries of the gift villages according to the headman (*viṅavar*) of the *nāḍu* or the district are then given.⁴ This is followed by the *parihāras* or exemptions granted to the donees to be enjoyed by them. The date of the grant, 33rd year, 330th day (in the reign) of the king is then given. The usual imprecatory verses in Sanskrit are then found, followed by the signatures of those responsible for the drafting and execution of the document on copper.⁵

It is generally considered that Nandivarman was a great devotee of Vishṇu.⁶ But this grant begins with an invocation to Śiva. Of his other grants the Pattattāḷmaṅgalam plates⁷ open with an invocation to Vishṇu, while the introductory portion is lost in the Taṇḍantōṭṭam plates.⁸

¹ Cf. *Manuśikāli*, Canto. XV, line 62, where the king of the Vatsa country is referred to as *Vallavan*.

² The term *vattarman* is found mentioned in similar context in the first few names of the donees of the Taṇḍantōṭṭam plates of Nandivarman II (*S. I. I.*, Vol. II, p. 507). The editor of the plates has taken the word to mean "a resident of the Vatsa country". But a careful perusal of the text would show that there also it would mean only a "resident of" thus making it a tadbhava form of *vīstarya*.

³ It is not clear whom this expression refers to.

⁴ The portion of the grant has been erased and rewritten and as such the reading adopted here is tentative.

⁵ A few more names of Brāhmaṇas written by a different hand follow the signature of Nayadhīra-Peruṅgāṭṭu-kāran. These names were perhaps left out of the main list of donees and were added later.

⁶ R. Gopalan, *A. History of the Pallavas of Kanchei*, pp. 127-8.

⁷ Above, Vol. XVIII, p. 120.

⁸ *S. I. I.*, Vol. II, p. 520.

The Udayēndiram grant,¹ which, like the present one, records the grant by Udayachandra, Lord of Vilvalapura, opens with an invocation to Sadāśiva residing on Mount Mera, i.e. Śiva. In the Kaśākkudi plates² the invocatory portion contains nine verses of which the first one is in praise of *Parabrahman*, the next of Trivikrama i.e., Viṣṇu, the third of Hara (Śiva), the fourth of Trivikrama and Hara jointly, the fifth of Padmā (Lakṣmī), the sixth of Āryā (Pārvatī) and the seventh of Vināyaka. The eighth verse refers to the two-fold gods, i.e. the gods in heaven and the gods on earth (Bhūdēva) i.e. the Brāhmaṇas, while the ninth and the last verse of the section introduces the king Nandivarman, without mentioning his name but by epithets which are at the same time surnames of Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva. The same grant in another verse (verse 30) mentions that he worshipped the feet of Hari (Viṣṇu) while the Taṇḍantōṭṭam plates state that he never knew of bowing down to others excepting to the pair of the worshipful feet of Mukunda (i.e. Viṣṇu). In consideration of the above it will not be quite correct to conclude that the invocatory verses of the grants are indicative of the religious leanings of the monarchs who issued the respective grants, as has sometimes been supposed. Possibly the rulers were worshippers of all gods without any distinction or more probably the invocation found in a grant depended on the nature of the gift recorded therein. The present inscription is more in the nature of a confirmation of the grant made by the heir-apparent of the chief of Vilvalapura. In view of the fact that the Udayēndiram grant registering a similar gift of *brahmadāya* on the request of the chief of Vilvalapura also begins with an invocation to Śiva, we may possibly conclude that Śiva was the deity worshipped by those chiefs and that was probably the reason of the invocation to Śiva in the grant.

The inscription records that the orders of Nandivarman were obeyed by the Kēraḷa, Chōḷa, Pāṇḍya, Mālava, Kaḷabhra, Bāṇa, Āndhra, Saindhava, Śāntavanikuravata,³ Gaṅga and Kaḷamba kings. This is but a conventional account given by the court poet. The Paṭṭattāḷmaṅgalam plates⁴ mention that the kings such as Vallabha, Kaḷabhra, Kēraḷa, Pāṇḍya, Chōḷa, Tulu, Gongana (Konkana) were waiting at king Nandivarman's gate for an opportunity to see him.

Nandivarman had a long reign of sixty-five years. This period witnessed the downfall and disappearance of the Chālukyas of Vātāpi, the inveterate and hereditary enemies of the Pallavas, as a political power to be reckoned with and the emergence of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas in their stead. His reign which overlapped the duration of rule of more than one generation in the contemporary ruling families of the neighbouring kingdoms, was eventful and involved him in frequent warfare; and in these wars he was ably supported by his famous general Udayachandra.

The grant was made at the request of Avanichandra, the *Yuvarāja*, referred to as *Haravaraṣar* in the Tamil portion, and the lord of Vilvalapura. The Udayēndiram grant of the same king⁵ dated in his 21st regnal year, and thus twelve years earlier than the present one, registers the gift made by the king at the request of Udayachandra, his famous general and lord of Vilvalapura. Evidently Avanichandra was the son and heir-apparent of Udayachandra mentioned above; and his father was still ruling the principality at the time when this grant was made. An inscription from Kāñchīpuram⁶ dated in the 17th year of the reign of Dantivarman, the son and successor of Nandivarman mentions one Avanichandra who is obviously the same as the *Yuvarāja* of the present grant. If this identity is accepted, it follows that Avanichandra who was a *yuvarāja* on the date

¹ Ibid., pp. 365-66.

² Ibid., p. 346.

³ See note 3 p. 196.

⁴ Above, Vol. XVIII, p. 116.

⁵ S. I. I., Vol. II, No. 74.

⁶ Ibid., Vol. IV, No. 132. See also C. Minakshi, op. cit., p. 51. Also *Ancient India*, No. 5, p. 48; *A.R. Ep.*, 1939-40 to 1942-43, pp. 229-30.

of the present grant continued to serve till after the 17th year of the reign of Dantivarman. If the reigns of Nandivarman Pallavamalla who ruled for 65 years and his successor Dantivarman who ruled for more than 50 years do not overlap, it may be surmised that Avanichandra served the Pallavas for not less than 50 years. Evidently Avanichandra was young and had been installed as *gucarāja* just before the date of the present grant.

The inscription registers the grant of the village of Nayadhīramaṅgalam which was newly created by clubbing together the four existing villages as a *brahmadīya*. It is generally taken that the term *brahmadīya* stands for a tax-free gift of land and village to Brāhmaṇas. But among the *parihāras* or immunities granted to the donees of the present grant there occurs the term *paṇṇī-āṭṭai-kkaṟai-gūṇameyatu*, i.e. the non-payment of the tax (*kaṟa*) for (a period of) twelve years.¹ The word *kaṟai* evidently is derived from the Sanskrit *kara* and means the land-revenue as distinct from the other taxes and fees payable for citizenship (*kaṭṭi-ṭṭai*), as will be evident from the Śilappadikāram.² From the above it has to be presumed that a *brahmadīya* village also had to pay some tax, though not from its inception, at least after some years.³ Evidently such villages had ordinarily to pay only the land-revenue due to the state and not the other dues payable to the local authorities or assemblies. They were free to conduct their own affairs without any interference from others; and this will become clear from the prohibition contained in the present grant (lines 120-21) that the district officer *nāḍi-kāppāṇ* (literally protector of the *nāḍu*), and the headman (*viṇṇaṇ*) should not enter the village, and the stipulation that the functions of such officers should be performed by the donees and their descendants. It is also stated therein (lines 123-25) that the *brahmadīya* was formed after proclaiming the villages as belonging to them (i.e. the donees) after removing the wheel (*āḷi*, i.e. the wheel of authority) fixing (the boundary-stones) and planting *kūṇai* or the East Indian Arrow-root (*Canarium angustifolium*). The Paṭṭattāḷmaṅgalam plates⁴ employ in this context the expression *kōṇam paṇṇaiṇ tirandu* meaning 'having removed the authority of the king and his officers'.

The usual formula of circumambulating the gut village with a female elephant in fixing boundaries found in other documents is not found in this record. The marking of the boundaries is usually expressed '*ṭallam kaḷḷuṇṇu aṭṭu*' 'planting stones and milk-bush'. The Kaṭṭukkuṭi plates have *kaṇṇu*, i.e. *Kan-sāṭṭa-kaṇṇu* (*Eclipta prostrata*), a useful medicinal plant known as *Bhṛīṅgarājaka* in Sanskrit. The present plates mention the planting of the East Indian Arrow-root along the boundaries (line 124).

¹ The term *paṇṇī-āṭṭai-kkaṟai*, literally meaning twelve-year-tax, may also be interpreted as a tax payable every twelfth year or the tax consolidated for twelve years. But they are constrained interpretations and do not fit in.

² *Kāḷai* 23, line 127. *Kaṇ-sāṭṭa-kaṇṇu*. See also *Maṇimēkalai*, *Kāḷai* 19, line 161. *Kaṇaiyōr=illu=chchiraiyōrkōḷṭam*.

³ This view is in a way strengthened by the Tirumāṇṇam inscription of the time of Madhurāntaka Uttama-chōla (*S. I. I.*, Vol. III, No. 142). Some land in Sirayūr, in Manayil-nāḷu, a sub-division of Manayil-kōṭṭam was granted in the 21st regnal year (891-92 A. D.) of Tondaimān-Ārūṇ-t-tuṇṇa Uḍaiyār (Āḍitya I) as a *dēva-dāna-brahmadīya* to the *śakha* of Pudiuppikkam, another *brahmadīya* village in the Puzai-nāḷu of the same *kōṭṭam* with the stipulation that the latter should remit annually the produce and gold due from them as tax to the temple of Mahādeva at Tirumāṇṇam. Though a *śikṣa* was drawn up in the next year, no entry was made in the accounts as such, which in 1901 was rectified in the 4th regnal year (910-11 A. D.) of Parakēsarivarman who took Madurai and Ilam (i.e. Paratākāḷ). In the 30th regnal year (942-43 A. D.) of the latter, the dues from Pudiuppikkam were increased as a result of a fresh grant. The village assembly did not remit the new items regularly and so the temple authorities lodged a complaint with Uttamachōla when he was at Kāñchīpuram, who after due enquiry, fined the village assembly and restored the grant to the temple in the 14th year (983-84 A. D.) of his reign. From this inscription which registers the course of one transaction during the period of nearly one century it will be seen that payments were being made even by *brahmadīya* villages.

⁴ Above, Vol. XVIII, p. 122, ll. 36-37.

⁵ *S. I. I.*, Vol. II, p. 352, line 110. The editor has corrected the reading into *kaḷḷu* and translated it as *milk-bush*.

The manner in which the *brahmadāya* is said to have been granted is described as *sāmānya irāṇḍu-paṭṭi-ppaḍiyāl* (lines 110-11 and 125). This term occurs not only in the Kaśākkuḍi plates¹ but also in the Paṭṭattāḷmaṅgalam plates of the king.² That *paṭṭi* is a term of land measurement will be clear from the facts that the Kūraṁ plates³ of Paramēśvaravarman I refers to the sale of five and a quarter *paṭṭi* of land (*ayindikkāl paṭṭi nilamum viṇṇukonda* in l. 62) and that one *paṭṭi* measured one thousand two hundred *kūlis* of land (*āyirattirumūṇṇu-kkūlippaḍiyāl viṇṇu-ḥ koṇḍa nilam* in ll. 59-60). Thus the term *sāmānya irāṇḍu-paṭṭi-ppaḍiyāl* occurring in the present grant has to be translated as "measured (as having) two ordinary *paṭṭis* (per share)". This would mean that each share consisted of two thousand and four hundred *kūlis* of land.⁴

It is also stated in lines 111-12 that the *paradatti* was made by the king who was pleased to order that the *pārchāttu* and the *paradatti* should proceed according to the measure. The compound *pārchāttu*, not found elsewhere, is made up of two words *pāl* and *śāttu*. The word *pāl* is used in Tamil literature in the sense of a share, portion or division and even apportionment while the other *śāttu* in the sense of put on, wear, or bear. Evidently the word *pārchāttu* should be taken to mean the effecting or entry of the division or apportionment of the land and village granted.

As usual the grant of the village as a *brahmadāya* is said to have been made inclusive of all *parihāras* or immunities and a large number of such *parihāras* are also mentioned. Of the seven copper-plate grants of the Pallava kings so far obtained having both Sanskrit and Tamil portions, with the exception of the Bāhūr plates which record the gift of the village as *brahmadāya* for the benefit of an educational institution, all the other six⁵ register gift to the Brāhmanas, and everyone of them contains a list of *parihāras* granted to the donees. But no two lists agree, even though we have quite a number of names common to them. Of the *parihāras* mentioned in the present grant many are found in the Kaśākkuḍi plates of the same monarch. There are also a few new ones.

The first item among the *parihāras* granted is *kōḷil-vastu-chebekku* (line 113). The term oil-mill (*śekku*) is usually found separately or along with the term handloom (*taṇṇu*). But here it forms part of the compound as will be evident from the addition of the consonant *ch*. The word *vastu* in the compound is evidently the other form of *vāstu*, meaning a building site. Thus the entire term would mean the oil-mill put up on the temple site.

The list contains another word similarly ending with *vastu*, occurring in line 115, *ulavai paḷli-vastu*. In the Kaśākkuḍi plates we have the term *ulayray-paḷli-rattu* (line 129). Hultzsch left the term untranslated with a foot note⁶ stating that the term "contains the words *ulaiyay*, a servant, *paḷli*, a temple." Minakshi suggested⁷ that the term "would signify a tax in kind due to the king from the servants of the temple" taking the word *vastu* as meaning "moveable property". But she

¹ Ibid., Vol. II, pp. 351-2, 41, 107-8.

² Above, Vol. XVIII, p. 122. The editor has read line 37 as '*kūḍiṇḍ sāmānya kūrut-paṭṭi-ppaḍiyar*' with a footnote that the reading in brackets is tentative, the text being badly damaged in the original. The correct reading *kūḍiṇḍ sāmānya paṭṭi-ppaḍiyār* as given by Sri T. N. Subrahmanyam (*Q. J. M. S.*, Vol. XIV, p. 129) is also supported by the original which I consulted at the Government Museum, Madras. See also *S. I. I.*, Vol. II, p. 339, n. 12.

³ Ibid., Vol. I, No. 151, pp. 154-55.

⁴ Even to-day in some villages especially in the Tanjore District (e.g. Udayalūr in the Kumbakonam Taluk holdings in the land property of the village are referred, though not officially in the records, but among villagers in terms of *paṇṇus* (shares) each *paṇṇu* comprising 2400 *kūlis* (or 8 acres).

⁵ Kūraṁ plates of Paramēśvaravarman I. Kaśākkuḍi plates. Paṭṭattāḷmaṅgalam plates, Taṇḍantōṭṭam and Pullūr plates of Nandivarman Pallavamalla, Bāhūr plates of Nripatunga and Vēlūrpūḷaiyām plates of Nandivarman III. The Udayēndirām plates are only in Sanskrit, and not in Sanskrit and Tamil.

⁶ *S. I. I.*, Vol. II, p. 361, n. 3.

⁷ C. Minakshi, *Administration and Social Life under the Pallavas*, p. 80.

was more inclined to take the word *ulayray-palli* as the name of "a hamlet of the main village which was granted" thus making the term refer "to all kinds of income from the hamlet". The word *palli* is generally taken to mean the temple of a faith other than Brahmanical. If *ulayray* occurring in the Kaśākkudi plates and *ulavai* occurring in the present record can be taken as a corruption of *ulaivai* which is probably connected with the word *ulai* meaning suffering and pain, the term *ulaivai-palli vastu* may be taken to mean 'the site for the Jaina temple' as suggested by the *Tēvāram* hymns which always deride the Jainas as those who undergo unnecessary suffering and pain.¹ This interpretation is perhaps closely connected with the statement in the Udayēndiram plates,² of the same monarch wherein he is said to have made a gift expropriating the land from those "whose observances were not in accordance with the law (*anyān-adha[r*]mma krityān-vināśya*)."

Two other terms, *urikkāṇam* and *paṛikkāṇam* (line 116), closely following the above also appear to have something to do with the heterodox religious faiths. The word *uri* means a sling made up of ropes or strings to carry utensils, etc.; and the *Tēvāram* hymns contain references to the practice of the Jaina monks carrying their water pots *kuṇḍigai* in such slings.³ The other word *paṛi* means to pluck out as of a leaf. The practice of the Jaina monks performing the ceremony of plucking out the hair from their bodies periodically is well-known; and it is also referred to in the *Tēvāram* hymns in which the word *paṛitu* is used to indicate this practice.⁴ Thus these two terms should refer to the taxes payable by the Jaina monks for carrying their water pots in slings and for performing the ceremony of plucking out their hair respectively.

Two other terms *agappurāt-taṇḍam* and *śeṇiṇ-pōgach-chiṇḍa poṇ* which precede the two terms discussed in the last paragraph are found after the term *ulavai-palli vastu* (lines 115-16). The first term means the fine (payable) by those who transgress the *dharma* or remain outside the pale of the law. The terms *upakaraṇāt-taṇḍam* and *adhikaraṇāt-taṇḍam* are found mentioned separately in the same grant (lines 114-15). These two terms are also mentioned in the Kaśākkudi plates⁵ and they are taken to refer to judicial fines. As such the term *agap-purāt-taṇḍam* may be interpreted either as indicating the fine on those who transgress the social or religious law or as the tax payable by a heretic. It is found at times in the imprecatory portion of the Tamil grants that those who hinder or obstruct the continuance of the grant so made, go outside the pale of the "aram or dharmam (*arattukku-ppaṇṇattai āraṇ*)" in which context it will only mean heretics. Here also probably the term means a penal levy or impost payable by a heretic. The other term *śeṇiṇ-pōga-chiṇḍa poṇ* would mean "the superior gold exclusive of the making". Probably the word *śeṇiṇ*, meaning the making would indicate the process of refining gold and the wastage incurred thereby. Probably gold refining was done at the place in those days. The mention of this item along with the other taxes payable by those professing faiths other than the Brahmanical one may be taken to indicate that those engaged in the profession were also Jains.

It may appear rather strange that such taxes on people of a heretical faith should figure in a grant registering the gift of a *brahmadēya*. Possibly the tenants of the grant-villages included also people professing the heretical faiths. By the *parihāras* bestowed on them, it looks as though the donees were also entitled to collect the taxes, etc. payable to the king by the existing tenants.

Śāḍippon is another term (line 114) mentioned among the *parihāras* granted. The word *śāḍi* was used in those days to denote an earthen vessel, a jar. The tax being payable in gold (*poṇ*)

¹ *urittakku ulavai-palli*.

² *S.I.I.*, Vol. II, p. 368, l. 75.

³ Appar, *Tirumala-paṇṇaṭṭam*, 6th *Tirumurai*, *Eluttiruntāṇḍagam* v. 8; see also, Sambandar, 3rd *Tirumurai*, *Tirumalapādi*, v. 10.

⁴ Op. cit., v. 11; also Sambandar, 1st *Tirumurai*, *Tiruvannāmalai*, v. 10.

⁵ *S.I.I.*, Vol. II, p. 353. ll. 128-29; p. 361, n. 2.

it cannot be taken to mean an ordinary mud-pot, but one with some special significance. Evidently it denotes the *mudu-makkaṭ-chāḍi*, the jar or urn of the old people. It appears from classical Tamil literature that in the early period the entombing and burying the body in an earthen vessel (*tāḷi*) was one of the methods of disposing the dead.¹ Tamil literature of the mediaeval period shows that very old and feeble people were kept in the *mudu-makkaṭ-chāḍi* and cared for.² The commentary of Nachchinārkiṇiyār on the *Tolkāppiyam* attributes to the Ājivikas the practice of 'entering the *tāḷi* for penance until death'.³ Very likely *śāḍi-ppon* of the present grant indicates the tax in gold payable on such jars.

Another of the *parihāras* mentioned in the record is *bīrāmaṇichecha-kkāṇam* (line 117). The same is found as *bīrāmaṇa-rāśa-kkāṇam* in the Kaśākkudi plates.⁴ This was interpreted by Hultzsch as "the share (*kāṇam*) of the Brāhmaṇas and of the king". K. V. Subrahmanya Ayyar explains the term as "the tax of (one) *kāṇam* on the profits of the Brāhmaṇas" taking the word as made up of the words *Brāhmaṇar* and *āśakkāṇam*.⁵ Minakshi explains it as "the tax payable by the Brāhmaṇas (priests) of the king", taking the compound word as indicating both the payer and the payee.⁶ But it is to be noted that no other example can be cited for this practice of using such an expression to indicate both the payer and the payee. On the other hand it is found from the Kaśākkudi plates that the grant of the Koḍukolli village as *brahmaḍēya* was made by the king on the petition of a person who is described as *Brahmaṇavarāśaṇ* in Tamil (line 106), and *Brahmaṇavarājaṇ* in Sanskrit (line 103). This name which appears more as the designation of an officer than as a personal name would suggest the existence of another office with the name *Brahma-rāja*. It may also be noted in this connection that the executor (*āṇattī*) of the grant now under publication was *Brahmādhirāja*. It is also seen that a certain *Brahmādhirāja*, evidently the executor himself, figures among the donees and got four shares, the largest number, in the grant village. But what exactly was the status of the person or the nature of the office is not known. In later days, especially during the period of the Imperial Chōlas of Tañjāvūr and the Pāṇḍyas of Madurai, this title was borne by the Brāhmaṇa ministers of the kings who were holding responsible military offices. Very likely they were also ruling over some fiefs. It is possible that the term under consideration may be taken to indicate a chief among the Brāhmaṇas. Therefore if the terms *Brahmarāja* and *Brahmādhirāja* can be connected with *bīrāmaṇarāja-kkāṇam* as discussed above it may be taken to mean the tax payable to such a person.

The term *pattūr-echchāṇu* occurs both in the present grant (line 115) as well as in the Kaśākkudi plates (line 129). Hultzsch left it untranslated. Minakshi took the term as *śāṇṇavarā* and meaning the tax on toddy yielding trees of Pattūr, which was perhaps a hamlet of the village.⁷ But the occurrence of the term in the present grant makes it difficult to take Pattūr as a hamlet of Koḍukolli. Further if the word intended is *śāṇu* meaning toddy, then the term should really be *Pattūr śāṇu*, without the doubling of the consonant. Hence the latter half of the word should be taken only as *śāṇu* meaning 'proclamation'. The first half of the word would then mean only ten. The whole word would probably mean proclaiming by beat of tom-tom in the (surrounding) ten villages.

Another *parihāra* mentioned in the grant is *kāl-kōṭṭirāmai* (line 119). The same is also found in the Kaśākkudi plates (line 131) where this has been translated as non-payment of the fourth

¹ K. R. Srinivasan "The Megalithic Burials and Urn fields of South India in the light of Tamil literature and Tradition" in *Ancient India*, No. 2.

² *Vikramaśāḍaṇ Uḷa*, lines 14-16.

³ *Ancient India*, op. cit., p. 15.

⁴ *S.I.I.*, Vol. II, p. 360.

Historical Sketches of Ancient Dekkan, p. 344.

Op. cit., v. 74.

Op. cit., p. 80.

part of the trunks.¹ The expression *kālkoṭṭu* should be taken to mean the digging of a channel. Evidently a tax was levied in those days when new channels were dug for irrigating fields. The donees of the present grant were obviously exempted from such payment.

Of the places mentioned in the present grant, Pullūr, one of the four villages granted is the same wherefrom the plates were discovered. The other three villages are all near by. The Chēyāru still flows in the North Arcot District and the Palkuṅgam, the headquarters of the *Kōṭṭam* bearing the same name is also in the same district and figures in many inscriptions.

TEXT²

[Metres : Verses 1, 3, 4 *Anuṣṭubh* ; verse 2 *Sragdharā* ; verses 5, 6, *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*]

First Plate

- 1³ [dva]ś=Śāṅkari(ri) mūrttiś=śaśān⁴ūk-ānūkura-sēkharā [| *] pratipad-dina-paryantō sandhy-ēva sakalānatā [| 1*] Bhāradvājō dvijāti-
- 2 ○○○○○○ — — ṇakṛi[d*]=Drōṇa āsī[d*]=Drōṇā[d*]=Draupī sva-bāṇa-kṣhaṇa-raṇa-samita-[ksha]tra⁵-chakrō babhūva (|) tasmād=uchyai(uchchai)-
- 3 ○ — — ○[th]utara- prithivi(vī)-vallabhaḥ Pallav-ākhyah kalyah kalyāṇa-rāśiś=chalita-kali-mala-prōllasat-kīrttir=āsīt [| 2*]
- 4 Pallavāt=Pāllavō vaṁśah śrēyān śri(śrī)mān=mahān=abhūt [| *] kṛita-sthitir=udagrāṇa(ṇā)m=uparyy=uchchair=muna-
- 5 hi(hī)bhṛitām [| 3*] Yasmin=māna-mahāstambha-ti(ni)śchalasthitaya-sthirāḥ [| *] jātā jāta-sarad-dāna-dha(dhā)nā dha(dhā)hēndra-ku-
- 6 ṇjarā[h*] [| 4*] Tasmin=bhūtibhṛidi(d=ī)śvarō Bali-ripuṭshō(-kshō)bhi-śriyō vallabhas=svām(mi) śaktidharaḥ param=mr̥ḍu-karō rājā
- 7 chcha (cha) bhāsvān jvalan | vālā-pālita-bhūri-sāra-vasudhō ratnākaraḥ Pāllavē vaṁśē sam-prati **Nandivarmma**-nṛi-
- 8 pati[h*] prakhyāta-nām=ābhavat [|] [| 5*] Yō-yam Kōraḷa-Chōḷa-Pāṇḍya-Maḷavaiḥ Kāḷa-bhra-Bāṇ-ādhipais=s-Āndbrai-

Second Plate, First Side

- 9 s=Saindhava-Śāntavanūkravarair-Gaṅgailḥ Kadam̐bai(m̐bō)śvarai[h*] | ugr-ōdagra-samagra-vigraha-bhaya-vyagra-chyuta-pragrahāir=agrād=a-
- 10 rechchita-sāsanah prithu-yaśah(śāḥ) śrēyān=śaśāsa kshitim [|] [6*] Sa tu kadāchid=rāja-rāja-[nitya-p]ād-ōpaḥivi-rāja-
- 11 ka-parivṛita[h*] kṛita-vyavasthā-sthāna-sthitir=tatra sthitēna parañ=chirantar-ānanta-sāmanta-mukhya-vikhyātēna Pallavabha-
- 12 ktinā Villala-purōśvareṇā(ṇa) **Avanichandra-yuvarāja**-nāmnā dharma-kṛit-ārttham vijñā(jñā)ptō datta-tsha(ksha)ṇa-

¹ *S. I. I.*, Vol. II, p. 361.

² From inked impressions.

³ The broken portion may be restored as *Śaśti Śrī* [| *] *Pāṇā*?

⁴ The *anusāra* is superfluous.

⁵ The *ksha* of this word is the only instance in the whole inscription in which it looks like *ksha*. In all other cases it resembles *tsha*. Cf. *S. I. I.*, II, p. 346, n. 14.

i

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|---|--|---|
| 2 | | 2 |
| 4 | | 4 |
| 6 | | 6 |
| 8 | | 8 |

ii, a

| | | |
|----|--|----|
| 10 | | 10 |
| 12 | | 12 |
| 14 | | 14 |
| 16 | | 16 |

ii, b

| | | |
|----|--|----|
| 18 | | 18 |
| 20 | | 20 |
| 22 | | 22 |
| 24 | | 24 |

iii, a

| | | |
|----|--|----|
| 26 | | 26 |
| 28 | | 28 |
| 30 | | 30 |
| 32 | | 32 |
| 34 | | 34 |

36 36
38 38
40 40
42 42

iv, a

44 44
46 46
48 48
50 50
52 52

iv, b

54 54
56 56
58 58
60 60

v, a

62 62
64 64
66 66
68 68
70 70

- 13 tsho(kshō)nīpatiḥ pratyatshaksha,-Bṛihaspatirḥ tsha(ksha)tra-vidyā-[vi]chat-sha(ksha)nam=
atshakshi(ḥ)ssvāmi-rāga¹=Nāgaśarmamāṇa-
14 m=Brahmādhīrāj-āpara-nāmāṇan=dvijavara-mantrivaram=ājñaptiḥ kṛtvā Palkunda-kōṭṭakē
Kīl-Vēṇāṭakē Chēyāru-nadī-
15 dakṣhiṇa-kūlē Nelli-Pullūra-Takkāra-Kuḍiūra²-chatur-grāmi-saṁgrahēn=aikagrāman=Naya-
dhīramamgalam sva-nā-
16 mnā-kṛta-nāmāṇam kṛtvā nija-vamśa-parampar-āgatānām śuddhābhijana-vṛitta-vidyānām
dvijavara-Bappa-bhaṭṭārakānā-

Second Plate, Second Side

- 17 m-ashṭa(ashṭōttara)śatāya ssa(sa)hila-pūrvvan=dattavān (M— Svasti [. *] Kō-Visa(jai)ya Nan-
divarmma[r*] ku yā[n]du mu-
18 ppattu mūṇṇāvadū Avaniḥchandra-ḷavarasaṇ-viṇṇappattāl Brahmādhīrājan āṇatti
19 āga Palkunṇa-kkōṭṭattu=kKīlvēṇāṭṭu Nelliṇum Pullūruṇ=Kuḍiyūru[m*] Maṇalaiku-
20 la-nāṭṭu=tTakkārum in=nālgūruṇ=kōvum poriyun=tirttu muṇ peṇṇārai māṇri ku-
21 ḍi-nikki brahmādēyam=āga=ppeṇṇa nalgūr-naṇ=pāppār Śaṇḍila-gōṭṭratt=Āvattamba-sūttira-
22 ttira³tt-Uḷappūr-vattavaṇ Kūṇaka=chchōmāśi Tiru(Tri)vēdi Kūḷa-sarmanṇ paṇḍira=ṇḍu [*
ikkō-
23 ttiratt=ichchūttiratt=ivvūr-vattavaṇ Śōmāśi=tTiru(Tri)vēdi Śaṇṇa-Kallaśarmmaṇum | Bhā-
radvāja-gōṭṭratt=Āva-
24 ttamba-sūttirattu=kKumāṇḍūr-vattavaṇ Kramavittanṇ Tāḷisarmmaṇum | ik-kōttiratt=
i[ch*]chūttira-
25 tt=ivvūr-vattavaṇ Yajña[k]āḷisarmmanum Gautama-kō(gō)ttirattu Pravachana-sūttirattu=kKā-
vaṇūr-vatta-

Third Plate, First Side

- 26 vaṇ Tiru(Tri)vēdi Uḷudamaṇḍaiśarmmaṇum | ik-kōttiratt=i[ch*]chūttiratt=ivvūr-vattavaṇ
Tiṇḍa-Pūdi(Bhūti)-Vēl-
27 paisarmmaṇum | Tā(Nā)rāyana-k(gō)ttiratt=Āvattamba-sūttirattu=kKāyāṇu-vattavaṇ Kramavi-
ttaṇ Bhavaśarmma-
28 ṇum | Parāśara-gōṭṭrattu Āvattamba-sūttirattu Ārar(rūr?)-vattavaṇ Śaḍaṇḍavi Kūḷaśar-
mmaṇum | Kāśyapa-k(gō)tra-
29 tt=Āvattamba-sūttirattu=kKulaputti[ra-vattavaṇ] Mapiya=tTiru(tri)vēdi Vētpaiyūm | ik-kō-
ttiratt=ich-chū-
30 tiratt=ivvūr-vattavaṇ Śaḍaṇḍavi Dēvaśarmmaṇum | ik-kōttiratt=ichchūttiratt=ivvūr-vatta-
vaṇ Śaḍa-
31 ṇḍavi Śivapūdi(Bhūti)śarmmaṇum | Bhāradvāja-gōṭṭratt=Āvattamba-sūttirattu=chChōlaiyūr-
vattavaṇ

¹ Read *akshāna-ssvāmi-rāga*.

² Read *Kuḍiyūr*.

³ These three letters are superfluous.

⁴ The punctuation mark adopted in the plates at the end of the donees' names looks like a dot followed by a tapering line.

⁵ See lines 60-61 below.

- 32 Kandaviṇṇaśarmaṇum | ik-kōtratt=ich-chūttiratt=ivvūr-vattavaṇ Nārāyaṇa-Dōṇaśarma-
ṇum | ik-kō-
33 tratt=ich-chūttiratt=ivvūr-vattavaṇ Kandamaṇḍaśarmaṇum | Bhāradvāja-gōtrattu
Pravachana-sūtrattu=kKāva[nū]r-vatta-
34 ...ti. vēdi Nārāṣa(ya)ṇaśarmaṇum | Āvirṣṭa-gōtratt=Āvattamba-sūttirattu Śīṣekkūr-vatta-
vaṇ Bhaṭṭaṇ Kandaśarmaṇu-

Third Plate, Second Side

- 35 [M] | [ik]-kōtratt=ich-chūttiratt=[i]vvūr-vattavaṇ Tiṇḍaśarmaṇum | ik-kōtratt=ich-
chūtratt=ivvūr-vattavaṇ Kuṇṇa-Vēṭpai-
36 yuṇ | ik-kōtratt=ich-chūtratt=ivvūr-vattavaṇ Kaṇamaṇḍaśarmaṇum | Ātraya-gōtrattu
Vāṣṇa-sūtrattu Vi-
37 ṇṇūr-vattavaṇ Kumāraśarmaṇum | ik-kōtratt=ich-chūtratt=iv-vūr-vattavaṇ Kaṇḍaśarmaṇum
| Kauśika-go-
38 triratt=Āvattamba=sūttirattu Uviyūr-vatta[va*]ṇ Dōṇama[n]ḍaśarmaṇum | i-[k*]kōttira-
39 tt-i[ch*]-chūttiratt=iv-vūr-vattavaṇ Tiru(Tri)vēdi Vāṣudēvaśarmaṇum | i[k*]-kōtratt=
i[ch*]-chūttiratt-
40 t-i-vvūr-vattavaṇ Kumārakaṇḍaśarmaṇum | i[k*]-kōtratt=i[ch*]-chūttirattu Pipara-vattavaṇ
Dōṇaśa-
41 rmaṇum | i[k*]kōtratt=i[ch]chūttiratt=ivvūr-vatta[va*]ṇ Tiru(Tri)vēdi Kaṇamaṇḍaśar-
maṇum | Vatsa-gōtratt=Āvatta-
42 mba-sūttirattu Va[n]bākka-vattavaṇ Kālī-Dōṇaśarmaṇum | Viṣṇuvīddha-gōtratt=Āvatt-
amba-sūttirattu
43 Nimbe-vattavaṇ Śaḍaṅgavi Nilakaṇṭhaśarmaṇum | i[k*]-kōtratt=i[ch*]-chū[t*]tiratt=
iv-vūr-vatta(v)vaṇ Śaḍaṅgavi Viṣṇu-

Fourth Plate, First Side

- 44 dāśaśarmaṇum | ik-kōtratt=ich-chūttiratt=iv-vūr-vattavaṇ Śaḍaṅgavi Tāl[i]śarmaṇu[m] |
Bhāradvāja-go-
45 tratt=Āvattamba-sūtrattu Kumaṇḍūr-vattavaṇ Śaḍaṅgavi Uḷudamaṇḍaśarmaṇum | ik-kō-
tratt=ich-
46 chūtra[ttu=t*]Taṅgāra-vattavaṇ Śaḍaṅgavi=chchōmāśi Kandaśarmaṇum | Bhāradvāja-
gōtrattu Pravachana-sūtrattu=kKā-
47 vaṇūr-vattavaṇ Śaḍaṅgavi Kandaśarmaṇ paṅg=iraṇḍu | Koṇḍiṇa-gōtrattu Pravachana-
48 sūtrattu=kKāvaṇūr-vattavaṇ Śōmāśi Akkiśarmaṇum | ik-kōtratt=ich chūtratt=iv-vūr-
49 r-vattavaṇ Śūlamaṇḍaśarmaṇum | ik-kōtratt=ich-chūtratt=ivvūr-vattavaṇ Vaḍugaśa-
50 rmaṇum | ik-kōtratt=ich-chūttiratt=iv-vūr-vattavaṇ Māda(dha)vaśarmaṇum | ik-kōtratt=
Āvattamba-sūtrattu Va-
51 ṇḍiparu-vattavaṇ Śaḍaṅgavi Dōṇaśarmaṇum | ik-kōtratt=ich-chūtratt=iv-vūr-vattavaṇ Tiru-
(Tri)vēdi Nāā-
52 yaṇaśarmaṇum | Kōśika-gōtrattu Pravachana-sūtrattu=kKāvaṇūr-vattavaṇ Chaturvēdi
Tiṇḍa-Dōṇa-

Fourth Plate, Second Side

- 53 śarman paṅg=iraṇḍu | ik-kōtratt=ich-chūtratt=iv-vūr-vattavaṇ Chaturvēdi Tiṇḍa-Tāḷiśar-
maṇum | Kōśika-
- 54 gōtratt=Āvattamba-sū[t*]tiratt=Āṅḡrai-vattavaṇ Maṇḍaśarmaṇum | ik-kōttiratt=ich-chū-
ttirattu Mān-
- 55 gaḷūr-vattavaṇ Nāganādaśarmaṇum | ik-kōtratt=i[ch*]-chūttiratt=Ā[r*]kkāḍu-vattavaṇ Kūḷa-
śarmaṇum | ik-kōtratt=i[ch*]-
- 56 chūttirattu Mūṅgaṇūr-vattavaṇ Bālaśarmaṇum | Vatsa-gōtratt=Āvattamba-sūttirattu Ka-
- 57 laṅjūr-vattavaṇ Baddirakāḷiśarmaṇum | ik-kōtratt=i[ch*]-chūttirattu Abhyaṇṭi-vatta[va*]ṇ
- 58 Māda(dha)vaśarmaṇum | ik-kōtratt=i[ch*]-chūttiratt=i[v*]-vūr-vattavaṇ Kūḷaśarmaṇum |
ik-kōtrat-
- 59 t=ich-chūtratt=iv-vūr-vatta[va*]ṇ Nandiśarmaṇum | ik-kōtratt=i[ch*]-chūttiratt=i[v*]-vūr-
vattavaṇ Tiru(Tri)vēdi Suva[r*]ṇaśarma-
- 60 ṇum | ik-kōtratt=i[ch*]-chūttirattu Śeruppalī-vattavaṇ Duggaśarmaṇum | ik-kōtratt=i[ch*]-
chūttirattu Kulaputti-
- 61 ra-vattavaṇ Chatirpedi(Chaturvēdi) Kūḷamaṇḍaiśarmaṇum | Sāvarṇi-gōtrattu Chhandōga-
sūtrattu=pPāḍaga-vattavaṇ Śaḍa-

Fifth Plate, First Side

- 62 ṅgavi Pūdi(Bhūti)śarmaṇum | ik-kōtratt=ich-chūtratt=iv-vūr-vattavaṇ Uḷudra[mā]daśar-
maṇum | Maudgala-gōtratt=Ā-
- 63 vattamba-sūtrattu Ilakkandlugu¹-vattavaṇ Nāgadāmaśarmaṇum | ik-kōtratt=ich-chūtratt=
Uḷumbūr-vattava-
- 64 ṇ Śaṇṇa-Dōṇaśarmaṇum | ik-kōtratt=ich-chūtrattu-kKombaṇu-vattavaṇ Uḷudamaṇḍai-
śarmaṇum []
- 65 Sāmkrityāyaṇa-gōtrattu [Hi*]raṇyakēśi-chchūtrattu Kuṇjaṇūr-vattavaṇ Kaṇḍaśa-
rma[ṇ]
- 66 paṅg=iraṇḍu | Bhāradvāja-gōtrattu Hiranyakēśi-chchūtrattu Teṅgaḷūr-[vat]ṭava-
- 67 ṇ Kāṭaka-chchōmāśi Ta(Da)ṭṭaśarmaṇ paṅg=iraṇḍu | Sāmkrityāyaṇa-gōtrattu Hiranya-
- 68 kēśi-chchūtrattu Kuṇjaṇūr-vattavaṇ Pākkamādaśarmaṇum | Koṇḍiṇa-gōtrattu Hiranyakēśi-
- 69 chchūtrattu-pPāḍaga-vattavaṇ Śaṇṇa-Tiṇḍaśarmaṇum | Ātrava-gōtrattu Hiranyakēśi-chchū-
trattu Paṇṇi-
- 70 kudir-vattavaṇ Pākkamādaśarmaṇum | Koṇḍiṇa-gōtrattu Hiranyakēśi-chchūtrattu
Kōvaraṅgi-vattava-

Fifth Plate, Second Side

- 71 ṇ Pākkamādaśa^{*}rmaṇum [] Māshala-gōtrattu Hiraṇ(ṇ)yakēśi-sūtrattu Vaśukūr-vattavaṇ
Kandaśarmaṇum |

¹ This is sometimes written as Ilakkantiram. See *S.I.I.*, Vol. XIII, No. 249, p. 133.

^{*} Space for one or two letters is left blank here.

- 72 Ātrēya-gōtrattu Āvattamba-sūtrattu Olukkaipākka-vattavaṇ Ṣaṭṭisaṛmaṇum | ik-kōtratt=ich-chū-
 73 trattu Ṣaṭṭipura-vattavaṇ Kēśuvaśarmaṇum | ik-kōtratt=ich-chūtratt=iv-vūr-vattavaṇ Viṣṇu-
 nandiśarmaṇum |
 74 Hārta-gōtratt=Āvattamba-sūtrattu Śā[pū]r-vattavaṇ Kūḷaśarmaṇum | ik-kōtrat=ich-chū-
 75 trattu Koṇḍaṇḍaṇḍeṇu-vattavaṇ Bhaṭṭaṇ Dāmōdiraśarmaṇ paṇḍ=iraṇḍu | Lōhita-
 76 gōtrattu Pravachana-sūtrattu=tTūrppil-vattavaṇ Tiru(Tri)vēdi Tammaśarmaṇum | ik-
 77 kōtratt=ich-chūtratt=iv-vūr-vattavaṇ Kumāraśarmaṇum | Kāśyapa-gōtratt=Āvattamba-
 sūtrattu-kKā-
 78 rambicheḍu-vattavaṇ Śaṇṇaśarmaṇum | Parāśara-gōtrattu Pravachana-sūtrattu-kKāva-
 nūr-vatta-
 79 vaṇ Urdra(Urudra)kumāraśarmaṇum | ik-kōtratt=ich-chūtratt=iv-vūr-vattavaṇ Yōgēśvara-
 śarmaṇum | Sāmkpi-

Sixth Plate, First Side

- 80 tyāvaṇa-gōtrattu Pravachana-sū[tra*]ttu Vaśalūr-vattavaṇ Pūdi(Bhūti)śarmaṇum
 | Āviṣṭa-gōtratt=Āvattamba-
 81 sūtrattu Irekkūr-vattavaṇ Kumāraśarmaṇum | Kāmappullūr-pPerumaṇḍika Yōsaṇ Kāṭṭi-
 kuṇi-pPa-
 82 vanāgaṇ paṇḍ-onṇu | Kāmappullūr-kKōyilāṇ Nilakaṇṭaṇ paṇḍ-onṇu | Bhāradvāja-gōtra-
 83 ttu Chhandōga-sūtrattu=pPattaṇḍi-vattavaṇ Tiru(Tri)vēdi Nāgaśarmaṇum | Kāśyapa-
 gōtra-
 84 tt=Āvattamba-sūttirattu-kKārambicheḍu-vattavaṇ Yajñaśarmaṇum | Bhāradvāja-gō-
 85 trattu Pravachana-sūtrattu-kKāvanūr-vattavaṇ Kandaśarmaṇum | ik-kōtratt=ich-chūtrat-
 86 t=iv-vūr-vattavaṇ Kāḍiyuṇṇi Śaṇṇaśarmaṇum | Ātrēya-gōtratt=Āvattamba-sūtra[ttu*]
 Pāgai-vattavaṇ
 87 Sānaśarmaṇum | Vā-ṣiṣṭa-gōtrattu Pravachana-sūtrattu Vaṇṇaṇūr-vattavaṇ Dōṇa-Viṇṇaś-
 armaṇum |
 88 ik-kōtratt=ich-chūtratt=iv-vūr-vattavaṇ Gaṇḍaśarmaṇum | Lōhita-gōtratt=Āvattamba-sūtra-
 ttu Kāra-

Sixth Plate, Second Side

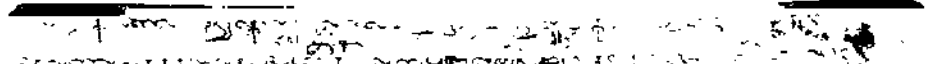
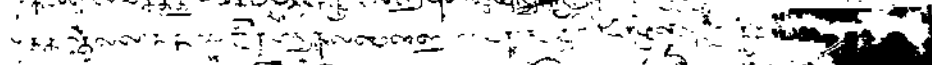

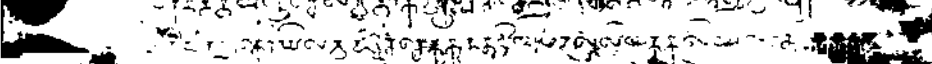
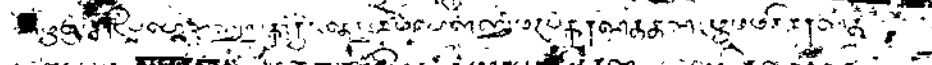
- 89 mbicheḍu-vattavaṇ Mū[r]ttisaṛmaṇum | Kāśyapa-gōtratt=Āvattamba-sūtrattu Kāvaṇūr-
 vattavaṇ Kramavi-
 90 ttan Śrī-Māda(dha)vaśarmaṇum | ik-kōtratt=ich-chūtrattu=kKārambicheḍu-vattavaṇ
 Kramavaiṭṭaṇ Nandiśarmaṇum | t-
 91 k-kōtratt=ich-chūtti[ratt=i]v-vūr-vattavaṇ Tiru(Tri)vēdi Kēśavaśarmaṇum | ik-kōtrat=
 ich-chūtratt=iv-vūr-vattavaṇ
 92 Tiru(Tri)vēdi Tīṇḍaśarmaṇum | Garga gōtrattu Āvattamba-sūtrattu Veṇḍēḍu-vattavaṇ
 [Ṣaḍa]-
 93 ōgavi Vinḍhaśarmaṇum | Ātrēya-gōtratt=Āvattamba-sūtratt=Uśaṇa-vattavaṇ Kumāra[śa]-

vi, a




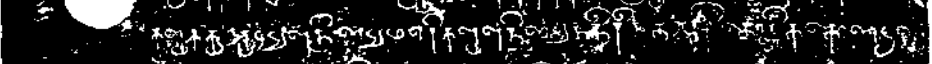
vi, b

vii, a

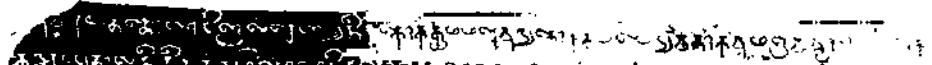
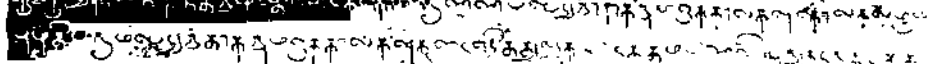
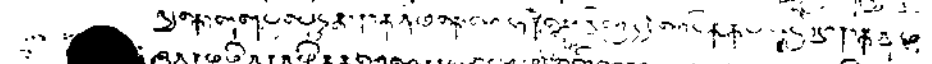
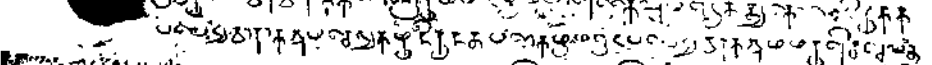
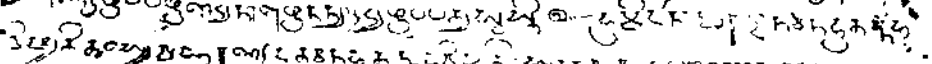
Page 203

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| 108 |  | 108 |
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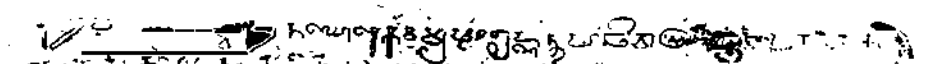
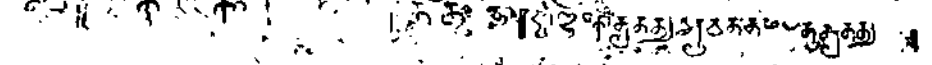
viii, a

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| 118 |  | 118 |
| 120 |  | 120 |
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| 124 |  | 124 |

viii, b

| | | |
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| 126 |  | 126 |
| 128 |  | 128 |
| 130 |  | 130 |
| 132 |  | 132 |
| 134 |  | 134 |

ix, a

| | | |
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| 136 |  | 136 |
| 138 |  | 138 |

- 94 rmaṇum | Kāśyapa-gōtrattu Pravachana-sūtratt=Āṅgūr-vattavaṇ Śeṅgitaṇ-kīḷavar [Dā]-
 95 mōdila(dara)śarmaṇ paṅg=iraṇḍu | Koṇḍiṇa-gōtrattu Chhandōga-sūtrattu Chentoru=vattavaṇ
 Sōmāsi-
 96 Iḷavvētpai paṅg=iraṇḍu | Gautama-gōtrattu Pravachana-sūtrattu Kāṭṭūr-vattavaṇ Tiru-
 (Tri)vēdi- Nara-
 97 siṅgaśarmaṇum | Bharadv[ā]ja-gōtrattu Vāsēni-sūtrattu Vēṅgi-vattavaṇ Śaḍaṅgavi Jōḍi-
 jñāna-Bhaṭṭa-

Seventh Plate, First Side

- 98 [ṇum] | Kāśyapa-gōtrattu Paṇambūr=āḷuṇ=Kāriśarmaṇ paṅg=iraṇḍu | Bra[hma]dhi[i]
 rājaṇ paṅgu nāḷgu | Kaḍa[ṇ]-
 99 kāṭṭu-pperuntinai paṅg=onru | Śāṭṭaṅḍi-kilān paṅg=onru | Nāṭṭiya-pperuntinai paṅg=
 o[ṇru*] |
 100 Kaliviśaiyaṇ paṅg=onru | Perumāṇ-aḍigaḷ paṅgu | Truvaḍigaḷ paṅgu | Bhagavatiyār paṅgu
 | ivait-
 101 tuḷ ashtaśadattiṇ mēl paṇiyāl=ēriṇa paṅgu paḍinaṇḍu
 102 nūrreṇmar nalgūr naṅ-pā[r*]ppā[r*]kku brahmadēyam aruḷichchōḍa tiru-
 103 mugan-talaikku vaittu nāṭṭā[r*] viḍu[ta*]nta araiyōlaippaḍiyāl n'-
 104 tṭu viyavaṇ solliya kīlpārke-llai Pāḍi ērikkum Śālainal-
 105 lūr nattattin mēlai Kaḷāṇkēṇikku mēkkum teupār(r)kke-
 106 [I]lai Neśalappōṇḍi ērikkum Nāgaḍimaṅgalattu [va]riḷichu-kālukkum Śāḍāmaṅgala[tṭu]-
 107 [kku Nāraikuḷalaikku] vaḍakku=mēlpārke-llai Paḷaṅkōlūr ellaiyṇ kilakkum

Seventh Plate, Second Side

- 108 vaḍapārke-llai Paḷaṅkōlūr ellaiyilūṇ=Chōyāṅṇuḷ pāgam peravun=teṭṭum=min-nāṇ
 109 gellai=yagattum=magappaṭṭa nīru=niḷaṇu[m*]=pupseyuṇ=kāḍuṇ=kaḷarum=muḍumbōḍi=
 yōmai tava-
 110 [u]dad=ellān=Nayadhīramaṅgalam=enṇum pērān=sa(l sa)rvva pariḥāraṇ=ullaḍaṅga śāmā-
 nya
 111 iraṇḍu paṭṭi-ppaḍiyāl Brahmādēyam=āyittu[] [] ippaḍiyāle pā²reḷ[ā]ttum-
 112 paradattiyuṇ=śelvaḍ=āgav=aruḷichchōḍu paradatti śeyḷadu [] [] ivvūr perṇa
 113 pariḥāraṇ=kōyil-vastu=chechekkuṇ=tariyum ulliyakkūlivum=ēttakkā-
 114 ṇamuṇ=śāḍippōṇṇuṇ=kāruṇ=teṅgam=poṇṇum upakarāṇa-ttaṇḍamum-(m)ati(adhi)karāṇa-r-
 115 taṇḍamum Paṭṭūr-chchāṅṇ=uḷavai-paḷli-vastuvum [arappuṭā]-ttaṇḍamuṇ=śeyivu pōga=chchīra-
 116 nḷa poṇṇum uṇi-kkāṇamum paṇi-kkāṇamum nūrtūkk-kkāṇamum [pu]ṭṭaka-vilaiyum paṭṭigai-

Eighth Plate, First Side

- 117 kkāṇamum birāmaṇicheha-kkāṇamuṇ=kaṇṇiṭṭu-kkāṇamuṇ=kāḷkōṭṭukk-āṇamuṇ=śeṅk[o]-

¹ This passage is defective.

² The letter *pā* is engraved below the line.

- 118 *ḍiy-ḥkāṇamum āṭṭu-ḥkāṇamum nāvita-ḥkāṇamun=kuvaḷai-ḥkāṇamum vaṇṇā[ra*]-ḥkāṇa**
mum veṇ-
- 119 *ṇilattu=tteṇṇuṇ=kamugum=iṭṭaṇa kālḥōṭṭ=iṭṭameyumu paṇṇīr=āṭṭai=kkarai-viṭṭameyu-*
- 120 *m paṇḍuṇṇu=nīrkk=urittāgavum [| *] nāḍu-kāppāṇum pugāpeyu-¹*
- 121 *m ivargaḷ śeyappālana i[va*]rum=ivar-valikkannārumē śeyivārāgavum [| *] ivar-*
- 122 *gaḷukku āṭṭuḷ nīṇṇum ēriḡaḷuḷ nīṇṇum=nīr-īndavaḷi tōṇḍikkonḍu-*
- 123 *pō[vā*]rāgavum [| *] ikkālgaḷ pōṇda nilam pōṇa māṇṇi² ivargaḷē tu[y*]ppārāgavum
 [| *] ivargaḷu-*
- 124 *kk=araind=āli-pōḡi=kkāṇ-nāṭṭi Kōḡai-pugutti ivaiṇṇum=ivai-yuḷḷiṭṭa parihāraṇḡalum=ul*
- 125 *. . .³ sāmānya irāṇḍu paṭṭi-ppaḍiy-āl brahmadēyam=āyirru [| *] ivv=ūrgaḷil Nelli-ēri ivargaḷ
 kiṭkuma-[ai]*

Eighth Plate, Second Side

- 126 *. [vi]riya=ttōḍḍiṇāl śeṇṇu nīr kōkkum aḷavuṇ=kōkkapperuvadāgavum [| *] ivv=ūr ēriḡaḷuk-*
- 127 *ku āṭṭu[k*]kāl nīr-īnda vaḷi tōṇḍikkonḍ=unṇapperuvārāgavum [| *] ikkālgaḷ kōḷkalamum*
- 128 *puḷudipāḍum peṇuvadāgavum [|] ik-kālgaḷ kūḍai-eṇṇitūṇ=kurṇēttam paṇṇiyuṇ=kuraṇḡ-
 aṇṇu-*
- 129 *n=kōḷḷapperādārāgavum [| *] konḍār Kōṇṇār-raṇḍikka-ppaḍuvārāgavum [|]*
- 130 *ivarum=nivar-valikkannārum māḍamum māḷiḡaiyumu eḍuttu[k*]konḍ=irukka-*
- 131 *ppaḍuvārāgavum [| *] śeṇḡaḷuṇṇu -tamanagamum idapperuvār[ā*]gavum=aruḷicheyda-*
- 132 *ḍuḷ [| *] Yāṇḍu muppa[tu*]mūṇṇu nāl mūṇṇūṇṇu muppadu [| *] Svasti (m. Bhūmi-
 dānāt=paran=dānam na bhūtan=na bha-*
- 133 *vishyati [| *] tasy-ēva haraṇā dūtam na bhūtan=na bhavishyati [| *] Svadatt[ā*]m=para-
 datt[ā*]m vā yō harēta vasundharā[m | *]*
- 134 *shashṭim-varsha(saha)sahasrāpi shu(vi)shṭhāyām jāyatē krimi[h |] Raksh=āpi [ū]cha dharina-
 sya nḍhānam-*

Ninth Plate, First Side

- 135 *. [raṇṇapā] . . . [vāra]py-anayōr=ēkam mṛisṭam=griḥṇantu pā[r*]-thivā[h*] [|]
 ivai Nayadi[ra]*
- 136 *Peṇ[u]ṇḡaṭṭ[u]kārān=eḷuttu [| *] Bhāradvāja-gōṭratt=Āvattamba-sūtrattu-*
- 137 *-ehḥōḷaiyūr-vattavan Dāmōḍila(dara)śarmapum [|] Kāśyaḷu-gōṭratt=Āvattam-*
- 138 *ba-sūtrattu Kuṇḍūr-vattavan Śōmāśi Vināyakaśarmapum [|] Vassa(tsa)-gōtra-*
- 139 *tt=Āvattamba-sūtrattu Pūṇiya-vattavan Śeṭṭaśarmapum [|]*

Ninth Plate, Second Side

[Contains traces of the *prāśasti* of this grant commencing from *yynchchan* in l. 4 to *vaṇśapa* in l. 16.]

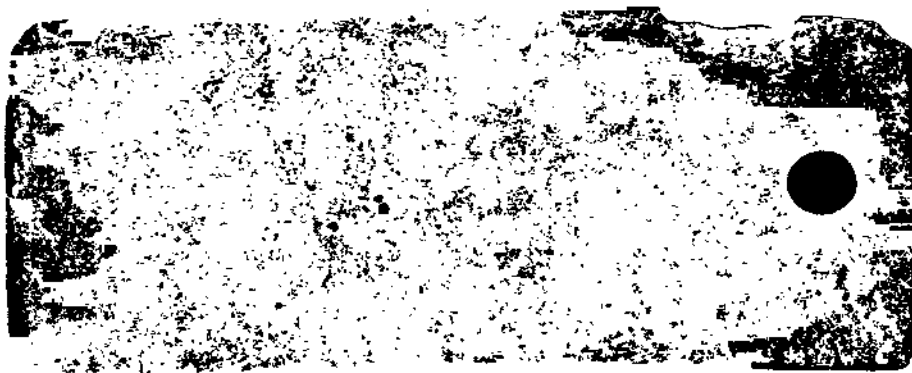
¹ Read *pugāmeyum*.

² [This may be a mistake for *pēr* or *pērkaḷ māṇṇi*.—Ed.]

³ The gap may be restored as *uḷḷadāṇa*.

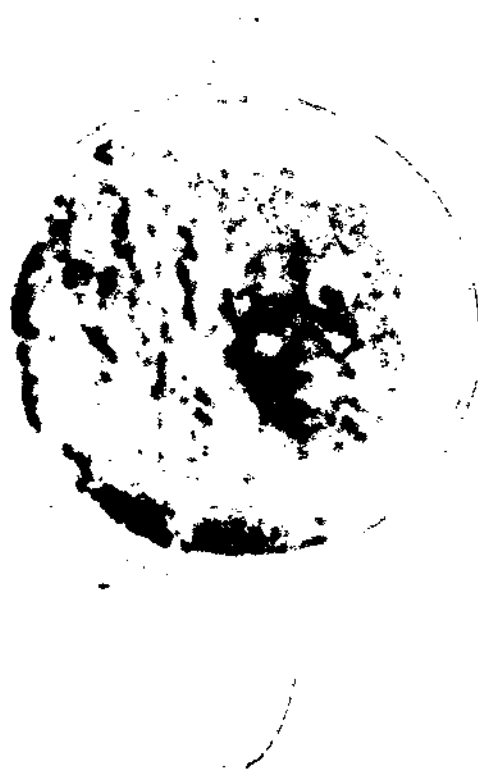
THE PULLUR PLATES OF NANDIVARMAN II PALLAVAMALLA—YEAR 33—Plate III

ix, b



Scale : One-half

SEAL



(from Photograph)

| Serial No. | No. of line | Gotra | Sūtra | Place of residence | Name | No. of shares |
|------------|-------------|------------|------------|--------------------|--------------------------------------|---------------|
| 1 | 21 | Śaṇḍila | Āvattamba | Uḷappūr | Kāṭaka-ch-Chōmāsi Trivēdi Kūḷaśarman | 2 |
| 2 | 23 | Do. | Do. | Do. | Sōmōḍi Trivēdi Sōmna-Kaḷaśarman | 1 |
| 3 | 24 | Bhāradvāja | Do. | Kumāṇḍūr | Kramavittan Tūḷaśarman | 1 |
| 4 | 25 | Do. | Do. | Do. | Vajū-Kāḷaśarman | 1 |
| 5 | 25 | Gautama | Pravachana | Kāvanūr | Trivēdi Uluda-Manḍaśarman | 1 |
| 6 | 26 | Do. | Do. | Do. | Tiṇḍa-Bhūti-Vēḷpaśarman | 1 |
| 7 | 27 | Nārāyaṇa | Āvattamba | Kāyāru | Kramavittan Bhavaśarman | 1 |
| 8 | 28 | Parśāra | Do. | Ārūr | Śaḍaṅgavi Kūḷaśarman | 1 |
| 9 | 29 | Kāśyapa | Do. | Kulapūtūḷṛaḷ | (Maṇiyaz) Trivēdi Vēṭpai | 1 |
| 10 | 30 | Do. | Do. | Do. | Śaḍaṅgavi Dēvaśarman | 1 |
| 11 | 30 | Do. | Do. | Do. | Śaḍaṅgavi Śivabhūtiśarman | 1 |
| 12 | 31 | Bhāradvāja | Do. | Sōḷaiyūr | Kanda Viṇṇaśarman | 1 |
| 13 | 32 | Do. | Do. | Do. | Nārāyaṇa Dēvaśarman | 1 |
| 14 | 33 | Do. | Do. | Do. | Kanda Maṇḍaśarman | 1 |
| 15 | 33 | Do. | Pravachana | Kāvanūr | Trivēdi Nārāyaṇaśarman | 1 |
| 16 | 34 | Āvirahta | Āvattamba | Śirakkūr | Bhūtan Kandaśarman | 1 |
| 17 | 35 | Do. | Do. | Do. | Tūḷaśarman | 1 |
| 18 | 35 | Do. | Do. | Do. | Kuṇṇa-Vēṭpai | 1 |
| 19 | 36 | Do. | Do. | Do. | Kaṇamōḍaśarman | 1 |
| 20 | 36 | Ātraya | Vāsēni | Vijūr | Kuṇṇaśarman | 1 |
| 21 | 37 | Do. | Do. | Do. | Kaṇḍaśarman | 1 |
| 22 | 37 | Kuśika | Āvattamba | Uviyūr | Dōnamandāśarman | 1 |

| Serial No. | No. of line | Sūtra | Sūtra | Place of residence | Name | No. of shares |
|------------|-------------|--------------|------------|-------------------------|-----------------------------|---------------|
| 23 | 38 | Kausika | Āvattamba | Uvayār | Trivēdi Vāṇdevaśarma | 1 |
| 24 | 39 | Do. | Do. | Do. | Kumāra Kandaśarma | 1 |
| 25 | 40 | Do. | Do. | Upara | Dōṇaśarma | 1 |
| 26 | 41 | Do. | Do. | Do. | Trivēdi Kapamaṇḍaśarma | 1 |
| 27 | 41 | Vatva | Do. | Vaṇpākkaṁ | Kāli-Dōṇaśarma | 1 |
| 28 | 42 | Viśaṇuviddha | Do. | Nimhai | Śaḍaṅgaṇi Nūkaṇṭhaśarma | 1 |
| 29 | 43 | Do. | Do. | Do. | Śaḍaṅgaṇi Viśvaviddhaśarma | 1 |
| 30 | 44 | Do. | Do. | Do. | Śaḍaṅgaṇi Tāliśarma | 1 |
| 31 | 44 | Bhāradvāja | Do. | Kumāṇḍūr | Śaḍaṅgaṇi Uḍala-Maṇḍaśarma | 1 |
| 32 | 45 | Do. | Do. | Taṅgār | Śaḍaṅgaṇi Somaśi Kaṇḍaśarma | 1 |
| 33 | 46 | Do. | Pravachana | Kāvaṇūr | Śaḍaṅgaṇi Kandaśarma | 2 |
| 34 | 47 | Koṇḍina | Do. | Do. | Somaśi Akkiśarma | 1 |
| 35 | 48 | Do. | Do. | Do. | Sūlamanḍaśarma | 1 |
| 36 | 49 | Do. | Do. | Do. | Vaḍugaḍaśarma | 1 |
| 37 | 50 | Do. | Do. | Do. | Madhavaśarma | 1 |
| 38 | 50 | Do. | Āvattamba | Vaṅgiparu(Vaṅgippuram?) | Śaḍaṅgaṇi Dōṇaśarma | 1 |
| 39 | 51 | Do. | Do. | Do. | Trivēdi Nārāyaṇaśarma | 1 |
| 40 | 52 | Kōśika | Pravachana | Kāvaṇūr | Chaturvēdi Tiṇḍa-Dōṇaśarma | 2 |
| 41 | 53 | Do. | Do. | Do. | Chaturvēdi Tiṇḍa-Tāliśarma | 1 |
| 42 | 53 | Do. | Āvattamba | Aṅḡrai | Maṇḍaśarma | 1 |
| 43 | 54 | Do. | Do. | Mūṅgaḷūr | Nāgaṇṭhaśarma | 1 |
| 44 | 55 | Do. | Do. | Ā[r?]kkāḍu | Kūlaśarma | 1 |

| | | | | | | | |
|----|----|---------------|---------------|-----|------------------------------|---------------------------------|---|
| 45 | 55 | Do. | Do. | Do. | Mūṅgaṇṇ | Pala(Bala)śarman | 1 |
| 46 | 56 | Vatṣa | Do. | Do. | Kalaṇṇūr | Badrakālīśarman | 1 |
| 47 | 57 | Do. | Do. | Do. | Abhyaṇṇi | Mādhavaśarman | 1 |
| 48 | 58 | Do. | Do. | Do. | Do. | Kūḷaśarman | 1 |
| 49 | 58 | Do. | Do. | Do. | Do. | Nandiśarman | 1 |
| 50 | 59 | Do. | Do. | Do. | Do. | Triśāḍi Nava(r*)jāśarman | 1 |
| 51 | 60 | Do. | Do. | Do. | Seruppaḷi | Dogaśarman | 1 |
| 52 | 60 | Do. | Do. | Do. | Kulaputtina | Chaturvēdy Kūḷamaṇḍaśarman | 1 |
| 53 | 61 | Saṅgrajṇ | Chhandiga | Do. | Pāḷagan | Śaṅgaṇḍi Bhāṇīśarman | 1 |
| 54 | 62 | Do. | Do. | Do. | Do. | Chūḍra-Mādaśarman | 1 |
| 55 | 62 | Mandala | Āvattamba | Do. | Ukkanduru (Ukkandū- ram?) | Nāḍaḍānuśarman | 1 |
| 56 | 63 | Do. | Do. | Do. | Uḷumbūr | Śaṅga-Dogaśarman | 1 |
| 57 | 64 | Do. | Do. | Do. | Kombaru | Uḷuda-Mādaśarman | 1 |
| 58 | 65 | Sāṃkratyāyana | [H]iranyakēśi | Do. | Kuṇḍaṇṇūr | Kandāśarman | 2 |
| 59 | 66 | Bhāradvāja | Do. | Do. | Tengalūr | Kāḷaṅka-eh(ṭhōnēśi) Dattaśarman | 2 |
| 60 | 67 | Sāṃkratyāyana | Do. | Do. | Kuṇḍaṇṇūr | Pākka-Mandāśarman | 1 |
| 61 | 68 | Kouḍma | Do. | Do. | Pāḷagan | Śanna-Tiḷḷaśarman | 1 |
| 62 | 69 | Ārēya | Do. | Do. | Panrikudūr | Pākka-Mandāśarman | 1 |
| 63 | 70 | Kondina | Do. | Do. | Kōvarankūl | Pākka-Mandāśarman | 1 |
| 64 | 71 | Mābhaka | Do. | Do. | Vasukū | Kandāśarman | 1 |
| 65 | 72 | Ārēya | Āvattamba | Do. | Ukkappāḷkkaṃ | Śaṭṭaśarman | 1 |
| 66 | 72 | Do. | Do. | Do. | Śaṭṭippanam | Kēśavaśarman | 1 |
| 67 | 73 | Do. | Do. | Do. | Do. | Viśṇuṇaṇḍaśarman | 1 |
| 68 | 74 | Uḷaṇḍa | Do. | Do. | Śūṇṇ | Kūḷaśarman | 1 |
| 69 | 75 | Do. | Do. | Do. | Kōchelanaijēru | Bhūṭan Tāṇḍaśarman | 2 |

| Serial No. | No. of line | Gāṭhā | Sūtra | Place of residence | Name | No. of shares |
|------------|-------------|--------------|------------|--------------------|--|---------------|
| 70 | 76 | Lohita | Pravachana | Tūrpṇḍ | Trivēdi Tannasārman | 1 |
| 71 | 77 | Do. | Do. | Do. | Kandāśārman | 1 |
| 72 | 78 | Kāśyapa | Āvattambā | Kārambiecheḍu | Śannasārman | 1 |
| 73 | 79 | Pañāṣa | Pravachana | Kāvanūr | Udrakomāraśārman | 1 |
| 74 | 79 | Do. | Do. | Do. | Yogēśvarasārman | 1 |
| 75 | 80 | Sāmkṛtyāyana | Do. | Vasālūr | Pūḍasārman | 1 |
| 76 | 80 | Āvishṭa | Āvattambā | Iṣṭkūr | Kandāśārman | 1 |
| 77 | 81 | .. | .. | Kāmapallūr | Perumāṇḍika Viśan Kāṇṭṭikarī. Bhavanāḍuṅ. | 1 |
| 78 | 82 | .. | .. | Do. | Nalakaṇṭaṅ of Kōyil | 1 |
| 79 | 82 | Bhāradvāja | Chandōga | Pattangi | Trivēdi Nāgaśārman | 1 |
| 80 | 83 | Kāśyapa | Āvattambā | Kārambiecheḍu | Vajraśārman | 1 |
| 81 | 84 | Bhāradvāja | Pravachana | Kāvanūr | Kandāśārman | 1 |
| 82 | 85 | Do. | Do. | Do. | Kāḍiyūṇi Śannasārman | 1 |
| 83 | 86 | Ārēya | Āvattambā | Pāgai | Śannasārman | 1 |
| 84 | 87 | Vāsishta | Pravachana | Vanganūr | Dōḷa-Viṇṇasārman | 1 |
| 85 | 88 | Do. | Do. | Do. | Kaṇḍasārman | 1 |
| 86 | 88 | Lohita | Āvattambā | Kārambiecheḍu | Mūḷr*ṭṭisārman | 1 |
| 87 | 89 | Kāśyapa | Do. | Kāvanūr | Kramavittan Śrī Mādhanasārman | 1 |
| 88 | 90 | Do. | Do. | Kārambiecheḍu | Kramavittan Nandisārman | 1 |
| 89 | 90 | Do. | Do. | Do. | Trivēdi Kēśavaśārman | 1 |
| 90 | 91 | Do. | Do. | Do. | Trivēdi Tiṇḍasārman | 1 |
| 91 | 92 | Garga | Do. | Veḍṇḍu | Śaḷaṅgavi Viṇḍasārman | 1 |

| | | | | | | |
|-----|-----|------------|------------|----------|------------------------------|---|
| 92 | 93 | Atiya | Do. | Uṣaṇa | Kumāraśarma | 1 |
| 93 | 94 | Kūyapa | Pravachana | Ārūr | Dāmodilāśarma, Śaṅgimkilavar | 2 |
| 94 | 95 | Kuṇḍiṇa | Chhandiṇa | Chandora | Śomāśi Ilavvāṭṭai | 2 |
| 95 | 96 | Gautama | Pravachana | Kāṭṭūr | Trivēdi Narasiṅgaśarma | 1 |
| 96 | 97 | Bhāradvāja | Vāṣeṇi | Vēngi | Śaṅkavai Juddiṇṇa Bhattai | 1 |
| 97 | 98 | Kūyapa | .. | .. | Parambūr-āḷam-Kāśarma | 2 |
| 98 | 98 | .. | .. | .. | Brahmadhirājan | 4 |
| 98 | 98 | .. | .. | .. | Peṇṭṭinai of Kaṇakāḍo | 1 |
| 99 | 99 | .. | .. | .. | Śattankuḍi-kilān | 1 |
| 100 | 100 | .. | .. | .. | Nāṭṭiya-pperuntinai | 1 |
| 100 | 100 | .. | .. | .. | Kalviśayan | 1 |
| 100 | 100 | .. | .. | .. | Perunnān-aḍuḷai | 1 |
| 100 | 100 | .. | .. | .. | Tiuvadigaḷ | 1 |
| 100 | 100 | .. | .. | .. | Bhagavatiyār | 1 |

No. 25—TWO INSCRIPTIONS FROM SRIRANGAM

(1 Plate)

K. G. KRISHNAN, OOTACAMUND

(Received on 12. 6. 1962)

The two inscriptions published below are marked *A* and *B* for convenience of reference. Both come from Śrīraṅgam, Tiruchirappalli District, Madras. Inscription *A*¹ which is in Kannaḍa **language** and Kannaḍa **characters** of about the 12th century is engraved on the right side of the entrance into the *Nāṭikēṭṭēraśāl* of the Raṅganāthasvāmin temple at the place. It is damaged and worn out in places. Inscription *B*² engraved on the wall (outside) of the store-room (*koṭṭāram*) facing the Garuḍamaṇḍapa in the same temple is a fragmentary record in Tamil **language** and Tamil and Grantha **characters** of about the 12th century.

Inscription *A* dated in the 29th year (A.D. 1098-99) of the reign of Kulōttuṅga Chōḷa I records a provision made for burning two lamps in the temple of the god Śrī-Raṅga deva by the *Kannaḍa-Sandhicigrahi* and *Daṇḍamāyaka* of Mahārājādhirāja-Paramēśvara-Paramabhāṭṭāraka Satyās-ṛaya-kula-tilaka [Tri]bhuvanamalla. It records the names of seven shepherds (*kōṇs*) of which the following are clearly decipherable : Alagiyaṁaṇavāḷa-kōṇ, Karupākara-kōṇ, Narasiṅga-kōṇ, Tirumāliruṇjōlai-kōṇ, and Aḷasiṅga-kōṇ. These shepherds undertook to supply the required quantity of ghee for burning two lamps in the temple. The inscription also refers to the application of lime-mortar to the shrine of Sēnāpati (Vishvaksēna?) caused to be done probably by the same donor. Due to its damaged condition, the other details in the record are lost. Considering the royal titles prefixed to the name and the date of the epigraph there is no doubt that Tribhuvanamalla is identical with Vikramāditya VI, the Western Chālukya king.

Inscription *B* consists of three unconnected lines. The first line contains the passage which mentions that the 15th year, obviously of some important king or chief, fell in the cyclic year Khara. The second line mentions Viṣṇuvardhana Pratāpachakravartti Pōsala and the third line mentions a *pradhāna* whose name is not clear, and the *vēḷaikkāyar*. It may be noted that the regnal year 15 and the cyclic year Khara do not coincide in the reign of any Hoysaḷa king. That the record belongs to about the end of the 11th century or the beginning of the 12th century is borne out by its palaeography, the Tamil letters *r* in *Vēḷaikkāyar* and *k* in *Mūka-Tāta* in line 2 being typical only of the alphabet as obtained during the above mentioned period.³ If the year 15 equated with Khara is taken to belong to the reign of Viṣṇuvardhana, the first Hoysaḷa king of that name, it will point to the year 1111-12 A.D. which corresponded with Khara. It will follow then that Viṣṇuvardhana should have commenced to reckon his reign sometime from 1096 A.D. This, if true, pushes his date of accession back by four years from A.D. 1100, which was hitherto held⁴ as the initial year of the king's reign.

¹ *A. R. Ep.*, 1941-42, No. 204.

² *Ibid.*, 1954-55, No. 440.

³ It may, however, be mentioned here that the 15th regnal year of Chōḷa Rājārāja III (c. 1210-1246 A.D.) fell in the cyclic year Khara, and one may be tempted to attribute the record to this king's time. But in the light of the definite palaeographic evidence, this attribution is ruled out.

⁴ *The Cōḷas*, second edition, p. 326 and n. 115.

Though both these records may appear to be simple donative ones, if they are examined carefully against the background of the political conditions of the Tamil country of the period they seem to be invested with a special political significance. It will be presently shown how the Chālukya and the Hoysala happened to be interested in the affairs of the Tamil country.

Both the dates of Inscriptions A and B, i.e. A.D. 1098-99 and A.D. 1111-12 point to the reign of Kulōttuṅga I when all was not well on the northern and western fronts of the Chōla dominions. Vikramāditya VI, the Western Chālukya king and his quondam subordinate the Hoysala Vishṇuvardhana had initiated aggressive campaigns on the frontiers of the Chōla territory. The trend of the campaigns has been discussed in this journal in detail.¹ It may be observed here that if the transactions recorded in the present epigraphs were made in the presence of the Chālukya and the Hoysala dignitaries mentioned in them, the campaigns with which their presence at Śrīraṅgam could not be entirely unrelated, will have to be placed in 1099 A.D. as indicated by the earlier of the two inscriptions edited here.²

It may not be out of place to restate here some of the facts pertaining to the conquest of the territories in the western frontiers of the Chōla territory. Several inscriptions of the Hoysala king describe graphically how his general Gaṅgarāja took the territory comprising Talakāḍu, Kōlīla (Kolar) and the whole of Gaṅgavāḍi Ninetysix-thousand as far as Koṅgu.³ The success was so complete that Vishṇuvardhana assumed the title *Talakāḍu-koṇḍa* and also issued coins bearing the legend *Śrī-Talakāḍu-koṇḍa*.⁴ Punisarāja, another Hoysala general is stated to have swept across the country as far south as the Nilgiris and Kīraṇūr in Palani Taluk of the Madurai District. The authenticity of these campaigns is attested to by the evidence of two inscriptions. One of them in Tamil characters of the 14th century from Āḍuturai in the Perambalur Taluk, Tiruchirappalli District, dated in the 4th year of the reign of Parākramapāṇḍya, quotes an old charter issued in the 4th year (1121-22 A.D.) of the reign of Vikrama-chōla to certain *pallī* residents having lease-rights in some villages in Muḍikonḍasōḷavaḷanāḍu and Magadai-maṇḍalam according to an oral order of Perumāḷ Kulōttuṅgaśōḷa. The charter relates to the privileges granted to the *pallīs* in recognition of their services in restoring the images of the deities and in providing for their worship. It is stated that the images were carried away by looters to Dōrasamuddiram (i.e. Dvārasamudra, the capital of the Hoysalas) in the wake of the disturbances caused by the *Periya-Vaḷugan* (*Periya-Vaḷugan-kalaham*) and that the said *pallī* residents rescued the images after paying a ransom, apparently to the looters. It is also stated that the privileges such as the heralding of *Paṇṇāṭṭār Tumbirāṇ* before announcing the deity on the occasions of the procession and the honour of donning of silk-cloth on their head (*paṭṭu-parivaṭṭam*) were granted according to the oral order of Perumāḷ Kulōttuṅgaśōḷa. Since this oral order of Kulōttuṅga is recorded in the 4th year of the reign of Vikramaśōḷa, it is clear that this Kulōttuṅga must be identified with Kulōttuṅga I,⁵ the father and the predecessor of Vikrama-chōla. After quoting the inscription of Vikramaśōḷa, this inscription of Parākramapāṇḍya records the renewal of the charter in respect of the descendants of the *pallīs* of the time of Vikramaśōḷa. Thus, although the reign periods of

¹ Above, Vol. XXXII, pp. 191 ff.

² Ibid. If this date is accepted, the campaigns cannot be directly related to the dispute between Parāntaka and Vikrama for the Chōla throne, for Parāntaka died heir-apparent only in 1111-12 A.D. Should it yet be related to the campaigns, it may be construed that the Chālukya was campaigning in the Chōla country because of the traditional enmity between the Chālukya and the Chōlas and that the Hoysala invaded later, i.e. sometime after 1107 A.D. on behalf of Vikrama-chōla. The relationship between Vikrama-chōla and Hoysala Vishṇuvardhana is discussed on the basis of a passage in the *Kulōttuṅgaśōḷan-ulā*. See above, Vol. XXXI, pp. 225-26.

³ *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. IV, Ch. 83; VI, Cm. 160.

⁴ *Coins of Southern India*, p. 152 D, plate No. 90.

⁵ *A. R. Ep.*, 1913, No. 35; Part II, paragraphs 46-47.

⁶ *Contra*, *ibid.*, where Kulōttuṅga has been wrongly identified with Kulōttuṅga II.

Vikramaśōḷa and Parākramapāṇḍya are separated by an interval of about two centuries,¹ the record affords a clear proof of the troublous conditions that prevailed in the area during the period. The other inscription² from Karūr in Tiruchirapalli District, dated in the 3rd year of the reign of Vikrama-chōḷa, refers to the restoration of an image of Naṭarāja (Kūṭṭaṇār) lost in the midst of a riot by paying a ransom. Though this inscription does not indicate the cause of the riot, it is obvious that it refers to a raid connected with the one recorded in the Āḍuturai epigraph, due to the fact that the events which are recorded in both the inscriptions, and which formed part of the incursions by the Hoysaḷas might have happened in or before the 3rd year of the reign of Vikrama-chōḷa. The names *Periya-Vaḍugaṇ* and *Dōrasamudram* prove beyond doubt that both the Western Chālukya and his quondam subordinate the Hoysaḷa Viṣṇuvardhana were involved in these raids. They must have happened before the close of the reign of Kulōttuṅga I, as is evident from the Āḍuturai inscription.³ Therefore *Periya-Vaḍugaṇ*, the Great Northerner may be safely identified with Vikramāditya VI with whose connivance the Hoysaḷa should have started his military adventures in the western frontiers of the Chōḷa territories.

The fact of the Hoysaḷa's incursions into the Tamil country having now been conclusively proved to have occurred before the close of the reign of Kulōttuṅga I, an attempt may be made to find out the date of his invasion. The claim made in some inscriptions⁴ of Viṣṇuvardhana about the conquest of Koṅgu, as far south as the Ānamalai Hills, indicates the date of these incursions to be circa 1117 A.D. The present inscriptions from Śrīraṅgam would point to a still earlier date (1100-1111 A.D.) when the Western Chālukya and the Hoysaḷa forces might have begun to penetrate towards the south as far as Śrīraṅgam. The Hoysaḷa's victorious march upto Rāmēśvaram⁵ in the east rings now with a high degree of probability, though it remains to be confirmed by future discoveries of epigraphs in the area between Śrīraṅgam and Rāmēśvaram on the east coast of the Tamil country. The probability that these campaigns had started only during the years after 1107 A.D., is strengthened by a Kannada inscription⁶ from Hirehadagalli in Bellary District. This record lists the endowments made for a temple in Śaka 978 (A.D. 1057) followed by several such endowments created in the Chālukya-Vikrama year 31 (A.D. 1107) and after, by many feudatories, prominent among whom was Vīra-Viṣṇu Tribhuvana-Poysaḷadēva, who is no doubt identical with Hoysaḷa Viṣṇuvardhana. The record at this stage lists all the known conquests of this king upto Koṅgu in the south. Hence, it may be surmised that the presence of the [*mahā*]pradhāna of the Hoysaḷa in Śrīraṅgam in 1111-12 A.D. cannot be entirely unrelated to the campaigns of his master and that the Hoysaḷa invasion occurred sometime between 1107 and 1112 A.D.

Another piece of information which is likely to be of some interest in this connection may be recorded here. A Tamil inscription⁷ from Brahmādēśam in Villuppuram Taluk of South Arcot District records the gift of 100 *kāṣu* for a *sandhi* lamp to be burnt in the temple of Brahmēśvaram by Vāchhaladēvi, the daughter of Chālukki Tribhuvanamalladēva of Raṭṭa-rājya. The inscription

¹ Dr. Derret in his book *The Hoysaḷas* (p. 53, note) assigns the events narrated in this record to the period from 1218 to 1236 A.D. on the basis of this long interval. The full details of this record given here by us prove conclusively that this inscription does refer to the Hoysaḷa incursions into the Tamil country during the reign of Viṣṇuvardhana. Derret's identification of the *Periya-Vaḍugaṇ* with Kākaṭiya Gaṇapatiḍēva is untenable. Further the relationship between the Hoysaḷa and the Kākaṭiya was never so close during the thirteenth century as suggested by him.

² *S.I.I.*, Vol. IV, No. 387.

³ It may be noted here that the two institutions which suffered from the raids were Śiva temples.

⁴ *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. IV, Ch. 83; VI, Cm. 160.

⁵ *A. R. Ep.*, 1913, part II, para. 47.

⁶ *S.I.I.*, Vol. IX, Part I, No. 118.

⁷ *A. R. Ep.*, 1918, No. 177.

is dated in the 14th year of the reign of Tribhuvanachakravartiga Kulōttuṅgachōla. The Chālukki Tribhuvanamalla is no doubt identical with Vikramāditya VI, the Western Chālukya king and therefore, Kulōttuṅga in whose reign the record is dated may be identified with Kulōttuṅga I. The date of the record would then be 1083-84 A.D. Palaeography also supports this date for the record. It may be noted here that the date of this inscription is earlier by more than a decade to that of the Chōla inscription from Śrīraṅgam. Thus the totality of the evidence relating to the movements of the Chālukyas and the Hoysalas in this region and during this period seems to make the presence of Vāchchalādēvi,¹ pregnant with some political significance.

Inscription B of Viṣṇuvardhana at Śrīraṅgam brings to our mind the traditional story of the conversion of the Hoysala king Viṣṇuvardhana by the great Vaiṣṇava teacher Rāmānujāchārya and of the latter's exile in Mēlkōṭe. It may be observed, however, that this inscription, fragmentary as it is, does not throw any light on this traditional account.²

TEXT³

A

- 1bha⁴ mahārājā[dhi]rāja-paramēśvara-parama-bhaṭṭārakam Satyāśraya-kuḷa-
tilakam
- 2 bhuvanamalla[bhaṭṭāraka] Ka[mma]da-sandhivigra[hi] daṇḍanāyakaṁ
- 3 [Kulōttuṅga][mahā]dēvargge yāṇḍu ippa[tto]mbhatt-āgalu
- 4 kshētrada Śrī[raṅga]dēvara veḷak-erakkaṁ koṭṭa
- 5 [ya]-kōn [] * [Aḷa]giyamanavāla-kōn | Tiru-
- 6 n| Karuṇāgara-kōn | Śrī [Aḷa]ṣiṅga-kōn | * Tirumāri[ḷi]lu⁶
- 7 aint=em̐tu mānasada [va]sada=oppisida[r] Avaru dīva[sam]
- 8 ppavam dēvara veḷakiṅge taṇḍ=erevar ā-cham̐dr-ārka-sthāyi=āgi
- 9 idharmmaṁ Śrīraṅgadēvara Śrīvaiṣṇavara rakshe |
- 10 vasēnāpatiya kōḷileyam suṇṇada sōte
- 11 da[r] ||

B⁵

- 1 'dinaiṇjāvad=āṇa Khara-samvatsarat[tu]....
- 2 shṇuvardhana-pratāpach-chakravatti Pōsala....
- 3[hā]pradhāna-[Sā]lamanye vēlakārar⁶ Mūka-Tāta⁷

¹ This Vā(Bā)chchalādēvi is not known to us from any other source.

² The indirect bearing that some inscriptions copied in former Mysore State have on this question, is discussed in the Mysore Archaeological Reports. See *Mys. Arch. Rep.*, 1911-12, pp. 40-41.

³ From impressions.

⁴ The beginnings of all the lines are lost. Since there is unengraved space after the ends of each line it appears that the original stone was broken and the fragments were built into the wall.

⁵ This is apparently the same as Alagiyaśinga-kōp in Tamil.

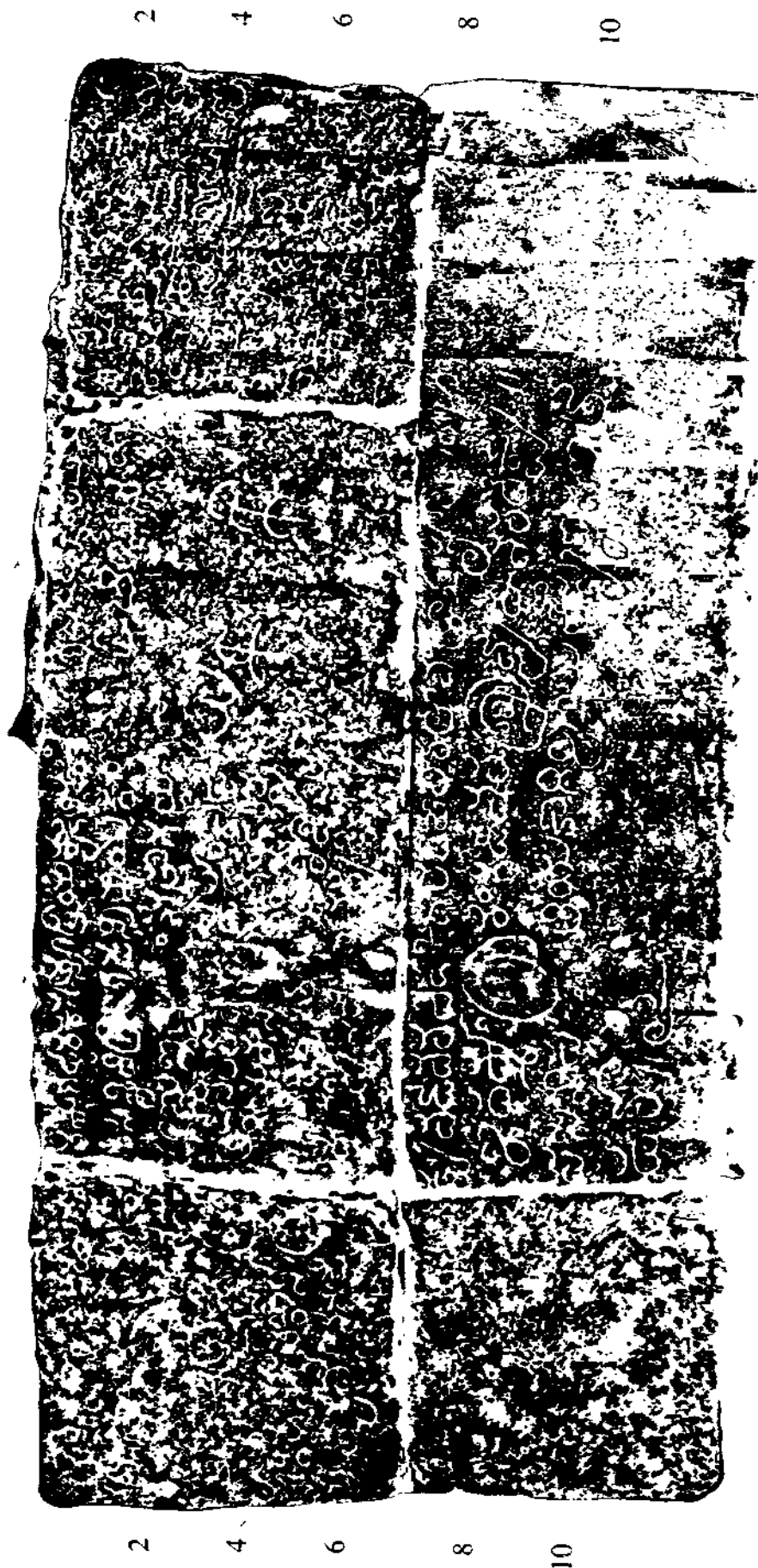
⁶ This should be Tirumāliuṇjōlai which is the name of Alagarkōyil near Madurai.

⁷ The beginning or end of each of these three lines is lost.

⁸ The letter *ra* is introduced in the narrow space between *kā* and *r*.

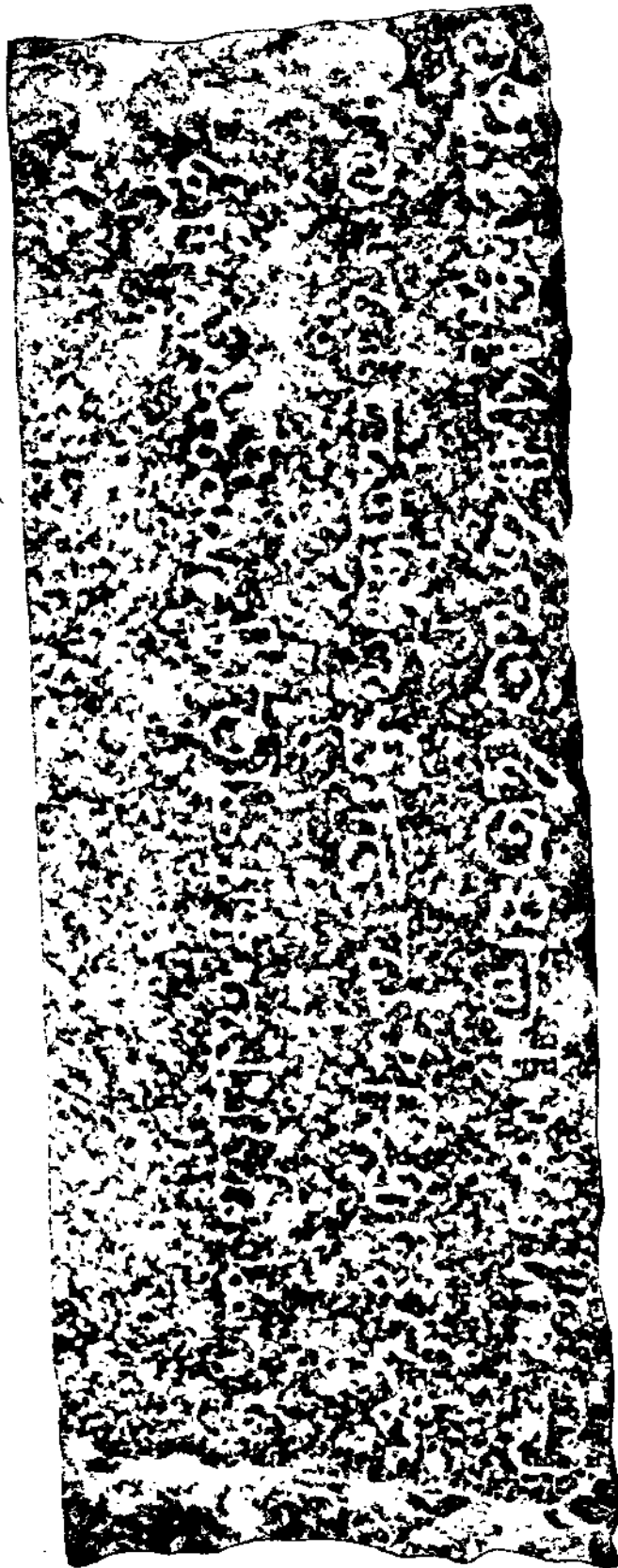
⁹ There is a sign for the medial *e* after this letter.

TWO INSCRIPTIONS FROM SRIRANGAM



Scale : One-sixth

B



Scale : One-fourth

2

2

(Line 65.) (*Obeisance to*) the blessed Tripurāntaka (Śiva)! The signature (*vṛṇu*) of Ana-Vēmu.

different form which is employed in the larger Kottayam grant,¹ occurs. Just as in the two Kottayam grants, the Tirunelli grant, and the grant of Jaṭilavarman,²— Grantha letters are used in a number of Sanskrit words,— *svasti* (line 1), *śrī* (l. 1 (twice) and l. 20),³ *śā* of *pirasāddichchu* (l. 5) and *pirasādam* (l. 6), *sa* of *santati* (ll. 16, 18, 19). In the foreign word *Issuppu*, the syllable *ssu* is expressed by a Grantha group (ll. 6 and 16). The inscription ends with a symbol which may be taken either for an ornamental mark of punctuation, or for an archaic Nāgarī *śā*, which might be meant for *śrī*. If the second eventuality holds good, the approximate period of the inscription could perhaps be settled by a comparison with dated records in which similar forms of *śā* occur.

The language of the inscription is Tamil,— not the artificial language of literary works, but the Tamil of every-day life, which, as the language of the Tanjore inscriptions of the Chōlas, does not avoid vulgar forms, like *pirasāddichchu* (l. 5) for *pirasāditu*, and *añju* (in *Añjuvaṇṇam*) for *aindu*. The word *peḍi* (l. 7) is probably a vulgar form of *piḍi*, 'a female elephant,' and *vāyaṇam* (l. c.) is derived from the Sanskrit *vāhana*.⁴ The form *ippari*, which occurs before each of the attestations on the second plate, appears to be a corruption of the Tamil *ippaḍi*, 'thus.' A single word shows that, at the time of the inscription, the Tamil language was beginning to develop into Malayālam.⁵ This is the adjective participle *seyyiṇṇa* (l. 26), in which the *y* of the root *sey* is assimilated to the following *g*, and which thus supplies the missing link between the Tamil *seyyiṇṇa* and the Malayālam *cheyyunna*.⁶

The inscription is dated in the reign of king Bhāskara Ravivarman, who is probably identical with a king of the same name, during whose reign the Tirunelli grant was issued. The differences between the alphabets of the two records are not more considerable than might be expected in the case of productions of two different writers, who resided in localities at a distance from each other. The king bore the title *Kōgōṇmai-koṇḍāṇ*, which may be compared with the similar title *Kōṇēriṇmai-koṇḍāṇ*,⁷ and which is synonymous with the Sanskrit *Rājārāja*. The date of the inscription was "the thirty-sixth year opposite to the second year." As I have shown on a previous occasion,⁸ the meaning of this mysterious phrase is probably "the thirty-sixth year (of the king's coronation, which took place) after the second year (of the king's *yauvarājya*)."⁹ The inscription records a grant which the king made to *Issuppu Irappāṇ* (ll. 6 and 16), i.e. Joseph Rabbān. The occurrence of this Semitic name, combined with the two facts that the plates are still with the Cochin Jews, and that the latter possess a Hebrew translation of the document,⁹ proves that the donee was a member of the ancient Jewish colony on the western coast. The grant was made at *Muyirikkōḍu* (l. 4 f.). The Hebrew translation identifies this place with *Koḍuñhallūr* (Cranganore), where the Jewish colonists resided, until the bad treatment which they received there at the hands of the Portuguese, induced them to settle near Cochin.¹⁰ The object of the grant was *Añjuvaṇṇam* (ll. 7, 8, 15, 19). This word means 'the five castes' and may have been the designation of that quarter of

¹ See Sir Walter Elliot's tracing of this inscription in the *Madras Journal*, Vol. XIII. Part i.

² *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXII. p. 57.

³ In each of these three instances, two flourishes are attached to the left and right top of the monosyllable *śrī*. The first of these flourishes appears to be an inverted form, and the second the usual form, of the *Piḷaiyār-sūli*, on which see *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XX. p. 290, note 32.

⁴ The same form *peḍi* and the slightly different form *vāyiṇam* occur in the larger Kottayam grant; *Madras Journal*, Vol. XIII. Part i. p. 128, text line 42 f.

⁵ Compare the remarks on the language of the Tirunelli grant; *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XX. p. 286.

⁶ Compare Dr. Caldwell's *Comparative Grammar*, second edition, p. 383 f.

⁷ *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. II. p. 110.

⁸ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XX. p. 289.

⁹ This translation was published by Dr. Gundert in the *Madras Journal*, Vol. XIII. Part ii. pp. 11 ff.

¹⁰ See Dr. Burnell's interesting extracts in the *Ind. Ant.* Vol. III. p. 383.

Cranganore, in which the five classes of artisans,—Ain-Kammālar, as they are called in the smaller Kōṭṭayam grant,¹—resided.²

The last plate contains the names of a number of witnesses of the transaction. Five of these were the chiefs of five districts (*nāḍu*) which must have been included in the dominions of Bhāskara Ravivarman. These were Vēnāḍu, Vēnāpalināḍu, Ērālanāḍu, Valluvanāḍu, and Neḍumpuraiyūr-nāḍu. Vēnāḍu is the Tamil name of the Travancore country. Vēnāpali is identified by Mr. Ellis with "Verapoli." Ērālanāḍu or, as it is called in the smaller Kōṭṭayam grant,³ Ērānāḍu,⁴ is the territory of the Tāmūdiri (Zamorin)⁵ of Kaḷikkōṭṭai (Calicut). Valluvanāḍu is still the name of a tālukā of the Malabar district. Neḍumpuraiyūr-nāḍu is the district of Pālakkāḍu (Pālgāṭ), and is probably identical with Puraigilānāḍu in the Tirunelli grant.⁶ The last two names on the plate are those of the "sub-commander of the forces," and of the under-secretary who drafted the document.

TEXT.⁷*First Plate; First Side.*

| | | | | | |
|---|--------------|----------------------|-------------------|---------|------------------|
| 1 | Svasti śrī | [I*] | Kōgōṇmai-konḍāṇ | kō | śrī-Pārkarāṇ |
| 2 | Iravivanmar | | tiruv-aḍi | | pala-nūṭ-āyira- |
| 3 | tt-āṇḍum | śeṅgōl | naḍattiy-āḷāniṇṇa | | yāṇ- |
| 4 | ḍa | iraṇḍām-āṇḍaikk-edir | muppatt-ārām-āṇḍu | | Mu- |
| 5 | yīrikkōṭṭu | irund=aruḷiya | nāl | | pirasādicch=aru- |
| 6 | ḷiya | pirasādam-āvaḍu | [I*] | īssuppu | Irappāṇukku |
| 7 | Añjuvaṇṇamum | | peḍiyālum | | vāyaṇattālu- |
| 8 | m | pāguḍamum | Añjuvaṇṇa-ppēṇum | | pagal-vi- |
| 9 | ḷakkum | pāv-āḍaiyum | andōḷagamum | | kuḍaiyum |

First Plate; Second Side.

| | | | | | |
|----|---------------------|----------------------|-------------|---------------------|----------------|
| 10 | Vaḍuga-pparaiyu= | magā-kālamum | idū-paḍiyum | tōraṇamum | tō- |
| 11 | raṇa-vitāṇamum | śaravum ⁸ | mikkum | eḷubatt-iraṇḍu | vīḍu- |
| 12 | peṇum | kūḍa=kkōḍuttōm | [I*] | ulgun=tulā-kkūliyu- | |
| 13 | m | viṭṭōm | [I*] | maṇṇum | nagarattil |
| 14 | igukkumadu | ivaṇ | irāmaiyum | peṇumadu | peṇavum |
| 15 | āga=chchepp-ēṭṭōḍum | śeyḍu | koḍuttōm | [I*] | Añjuvaṇṇa- |
| 16 | m | uḍaiyu ⁹ | īssuppu | Irappāṇukkum | ivaṇ |
| 17 | makkaḷkkum | peṇ-makkaḷkkum | ivaṇ | santati | āṇ- |
| 18 | m | peṇ-makkaḷai | koṇḍa | marumakkaḷkkum | santati-ppira- |
| 19 | kiriti | ulagum | śandiraṇum | uḷ-alaḷavum | Añjuvaṇṇam |
| | | | | | sa- |

Second Plate.

| | | | | | | | |
|----|-------------------|----------------------|------|--------|--------|---------|----------|
| 20 | ntati-ppirakiriti | [I*] | śrī | [I*] | Ippari | aṇivēṇ | Vēnāḍ-u- |
| 21 | ḍaiya | Kōvarttaṇa-Māttāṇḍaṇ | [I*] | ippari | aṇivēṇ | Vēn[ā]- | |

¹ *Madras Journal*, Vol. XIII. Part i. p. 117, plate B, line 1.

² Compare the Tanjore inscriptions, in which *Kammāṇṇāṣēri* or *Kaṇmāṇṇāṣēri*, 'the quarter of the Kammālar,' is repeatedly referred to; *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. II. No. 4, paragraphs 1, 2, 9, and No. 5, paragraphs 1, 10, 12, 14, 15, 18, 25.

³ *Madras Journal*, Vol. XIII. Part i. p. 118, plate B, line 10.

⁴ The slightly different form Ērānāḍu still survives as the name of a tālukā of the Malabar district.

⁵ In *Hobson-Jobson*, p. 745, s. v. Zamorin, read *Tāmūdiri* for *Tāmdīri*.

⁶ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XX. p. 291, note 39.

⁷ From an ink-impression received from His Highness the Second Prince of Travancore.

⁸ Read *śaravum*.

⁹ Read *uḍaiya*.

- 22 palinād-udaiya Kōdai Śirikandan [*] ippari arivē-
 23 ṇ Ērālanād-udaiya Mānavēpala-Mānaviyan [*] ippari
 24 arivēṇ Valluvanād-udaiya ¹Irāyaraṭ-Śāttan [*] ippa-
 25 ri arivēṇ Neḍumpuraiyūrnād-udaiya ²Kiḷ-ppadai-nāyagan śeyyina ³Skanda-
 26 ppari arivēṇ ⁴kiḷ-ppadai-nāyagan śeyyina ⁵Skanda-
 27 ṇ-Śāttan [*] Van-Talaisēri-Kkandan Kunreppāṇ-
 28 vāy-kkēlppāṇ-eḷuttu [||]

TRANSLATION.

(Line 1.) Hail! Prosperity! (*The following*) gift (*prasāda*) was graciously made by him who had assumed the title "King of Kings" (*Kōgōṇ*), His Majesty (*śrī-śa*) the king (*kōḍi*), the glorious Bhāskara Ravivarman, in the time during which (*he*) was wielding the sceptre and ruling over many hundred-thousands of places, in the thirty-sixth year after the second year,³ on the day on which (*he*) was pleased to stay at Muyirikkōḍu:—

(L. 6.) "We have given to Īssuppu Irappāṇ (*the village of*) Añjuvaṇṇam together with the seventy-two proprietary rights, (*viz.*) the tolls on female elephants and (*other*) riding-animals, the revenue of Añjuvaṇṇam, a lamp in day-time, a cloth spread (*in front to walk on*) a palanquin, a parasol, a Vaḍuga (*i.e.* Telugu?) drum, a large trumpet, a gateway, an arch, a canopy (*in the shape*) of an arch, a garland, and so forth.

(L. 12.) "We have remitted tolls⁴ and the tax on balances.

(L. 13.) "Moreover, we have granted, with (*these*) copper-leaves, that he need not pay (*the dues*) which the (*other*) inhabitants of the city⁵ pay to the royal palace (*kōyil*), and that (*he*) may enjoy (*the benefits*) which (*they*) enjoy.

(L. 15.) "To Īssuppu Irappāṇ of Añjuvaṇṇam, to the male children and to the female children born of him, to his nephews, and to the sons-in-law who have married (*his*) daughters (*we have given*) Añjuvaṇṇam (*as*) an hereditary estate⁶ for as long as the world and the moon shall exist. Hail!"

(L. 20.) Thus do I know, Gōvardhana-Mārtandan of Vēnāḍu. Thus do I know, Kōdai Śrikandan of Vēnāpalināḍu. Thus do I know, Mānavēpala-Mānaviyan of Ērālanāḍu. Thus do I know, Irāyiram Śāttan of Valluvanāḍu. Thus do I know, Kōdai Ravi of Neḍumpuraiyūrnāḍu. Thus do I know, Mūrkhama Śāttan, who holds the office of sub-commander of the forces.

(L. 27.) The writing of the under-secretary⁷ Van-Talaisēri-Gandan⁸ Kunreppāṇ-
 eḷuttu

¹ Read *Irāyiraṇ*.

² Read *kiḷ*.

³ See *ante*, p. 67, note 8.

⁴ As remarked by Mr. Ellis (*l.c.* p. 7 f.), the Tamil *ulgu* appears to be a *tadōhara* of the Sanskrit *saṅka*.

⁵ This refers evidently to Muyirikkōḍu (l. 4 f.).

⁶ These two words are repeated in the original (ll. 18 f. and 19 f.).

⁷ The literal meaning of *vāy-kkēlppāṇ* or, as it is spelled in line 132 of the unpublished Kaṣkōḍi plate, is "the Pallava king Nandivarman, *vāy-kkēlppāṇ*, is 'one who hears (the words of) the mouth (of the king)' or 'a secretary.'"

⁸ *i.e.* "the hero of great Tellicherry."

⁹ *i.e.* "the mountain-splitter," an epithet of the god Skanda.

No. 12.—THREE INSCRIPTIONS OF CHOLA CHIEFS.

By T. P. KRISHNASWAMI, B.A.

A.—BILVANATHESVARA INSCRIPTION OF VIRA-CHAMPA.

Saka-Samvat 1236.

This inscription¹ is engraved on the south wall of a *maṇḍapa* in front of the Bilva-nāthēśvara shrine at Tiruvallam in the North Arcot district. It consists of three Sanskrit verses in the Grantha alphabet and records the erection, by an ascetic named Jñānātman (verse 1) or Jñānamūrti (verses 2 and 3), of the *maṇḍapa* on which it is engraved. The funds for the building were provided by a chief, called Vira-Champa, who was the son of a Chôla king (verse 1); and the erection took place in Śaka-Samvat 1236 (verse 2). The building received the name "Bhadra-maṇḍapa," i.e. the auspicious *maṇḍapa* (verses 1, 2 and 3), and the second name Nidrāvasānavijayi-maṇḍapa (verse 3), which was derived from a *śrūda* of Vira-Champa (verse 1). Jñānamūrti also built a shrine of Śiva, called Nāyaka-Śivālaya, on the side of the *maṇḍapa* (verse 3). The name of this shrine may also refer to Vira-Champa, and suggests that he was a Nāyaka or lieutenant of an unnamed king. Tiruvallam is referred to under the form Valla (verse 3), and its Śiva temple is called "the lord of Śri-Valla" (verses 1 and 2).

TEXT.²

- 1 निद्रा[य]र्ध्वसानकालविजयी श्रीचोळभूपात्मजस्त्वानाशु विजित्य श[चु]नृपती-
- 2 नाजौ तदीयैर्द्वैः [१*] श्रीवल्गाधिपतेश्चिवस्य सुखदं भद्राङ्गय-
- 3 मण्डपं ज्ञानात्माख्यतपस्विना ध्वरचय[च्छ्री]वीरचम्पो नृपः — [१*]
- 4 ॥ तुंगश्रीकशकाब्दभा[जि] समये श्रीज्ञानमूर्तिरिन्द्रावलीसमुल्लासिनः
- 5 त्युदारमकरोत्³ भद्राङ्गयम् मण्डपम् [१*] श्रीवल्गाधिपतेः फ[णी]न्द्रपरिपत्स-
- 6 श्रीचोळोदितो नालीयामुदरापरिभृजटावलीसमुल्लासिनः [॥ २*]
- 7 भद्राख्यमण्डपम्[मुं] विरचय्य शम्भोर्निद्रावसानविजयीति च नाम क्त्वा
[१*] चक्रे च
- 8 नायकशिवालयस्य पार्श्वे श्रीज्ञानमूर्तिरदितुमर्हति वल्लपुर्याम् ॥ [२*]

TRANSLATION.

(Verse 1.)⁴ The glorious king Vira-Champa, who used to win victories at the time of the completion of sleep,⁵ (and) who was the son of the glorious Chôla king,— having speedily conquered all the hostile kings in battle,— caused to be built with their treasures, by an ascetic, called Jñānātman, a *maṇḍapa*, named Bhadra (i.e. auspicious), which affords delight to Śiva, the lord of Śri-Valla.

¹ No. 3 of 1890 in Dr. Hultzsch's *Progress Report* for October 1889 to January 1890.

² From an inked estampage received from Dr. Hultzsch.

³ Read व्यरचय^०.

⁴ Read श्रीचोळभूपात्मजं.

⁵ This curious epithet appears to mean that Vira-Champa was so certain of his victory that he used to enjoy sound sleep before his battles.

(V. 2.) During a space of time which fell in the Śaka year (expressed by the *chronogram*) *tuṅgaśrika* (i.e. 1236), the holy lord Jñānamūrti erected the everlasting (and) very lofty *maṇḍapa*, named Bhadra, for Śambhu (Śiva), the lord of Śrī-Valla, who is resplendent with a creeper-like coil of hair, that is adorned with a multitude of excellent serpents, the celestial river (Gaṅgā), and the crescent of the moon.

(V. 3.) Having built this *maṇḍapa*, named Bhadra, for Śambhu, and having bestowed (on it) the (other) name *Nidrāvasānavijayi*¹ (-*maṇḍapa*), the holy Jñānamūrti also erected on its side a shrine (*ālaya*), (called) *Nāyaka-Śiva*, in the very prosperous city of Valla.

B.—ARULALA-PERUMAL INSCRIPTION OF CHAMPA.

Saka-Samvat 1236.

This short inscription² is engraved on the outermost *gōpura* of the Arulāla-Perumāḷ temple at Tiruvattiyūr (Little Conjeeveram). It is written in the Grantha alphabet and consists of one Sanskrit verse, and a few words in Sanskrit prose at the end. It belongs to the same Śaka year (1236) and to the same chief as the preceding inscription. This chief is, however, here called Champa, the son of Vira-Chōḷa, while the other inscription calls him Vira-Champa, the son of the Chōḷa king. The inscription was composed by Champa's minister Vanabhid, in order to record that the chief presented a new car to the temple. As in other inscriptions, the deity of the temple is here called "the god of the Elephant-mountain."³

TEXT.⁴

| | | | |
|---|-------------------------|-------------------------------|-----------|
| 1 | तुंगशीकशरन्विते | शकनृपे | श्रीमान- |
| 2 | सौ | मातलदिद्वद्वर्णरुद्रावन्दविज- | |
| 3 | यी श्रीवीरचोळात्मजः | ॥ पुंसे | पुथर- |
| 4 | यन्नवं करि[गि]रिस्थानाय | दत्त्वा | चिरञ्चम्- |
| 5 | पः पूर्णमनोरथी | विजयते | विख्यात- |
| 6 | दोर्विक्रमः [॥*] | तन्मन्त्रिणा वनभिदा | प्रीतः ॥ |

TRANSLATION.

In (the time after) the Śaka king, which was measured by the years (expressed by the *chronogram*) *tuṅgaśrika* (i.e. 1236), the glorious Champa, who used to be victorious in battle at the completion of sleep,⁵ who was the son of the glorious, Vira-Chōḷa, whose desires were fulfilled, (and) the strength of whose arms was well-known, gave a new (and) everlasting car (*pushyaratha*) to the god who resides on the Elephant-mountain. Let (him) be victorious for a long time!

(This verse) was composed by his minister Vanabhid.

¹ This name means "victorious at the completion of sleep," and is derived from the surname of Vira-Champa which is noticed in the preceding note.

² No. 51 of 1893 in Dr. Hultzsch's *Annual Report* for 1892-93.

³ See page 5 of the same *Report*.

⁴ From an inked estampage received from Dr. Hultzsch.

⁵ This is a slightly different form of the same *viruda* which occurs in verses 1 and 3 of the inscription A.

C.—JAMBUKESVARA INSCRIPTION OF VALAKA-KAMAYA.

Saka-Samvat 1403.

This inscription¹ is engraved on the north wall of the second *prākāra* of the Śaiva temple of Jambukēśvara on the island of Śrirāṅgam near Trichinopoly. It is referred to in Mr. Moore's *Trichinopoly Manual* (p. 341) and in Mr. R. Sewell's *Lists of Antiquities* (Vol. I. p. 267) as the only inscription in the Jambukēśvara temple, which contains a date in the Saka era. It consists of eight lines in modern Tamiḷ characters, intermixed with a few words and syllables in the Grantha alphabet. The language is very faulty Tamiḷ.

The inscription records the grant of one *vēli* of land in the village of Vaḍakarai-Veṅkōṅkuḍi² to the god of Tiruvāṇaikā,³ The date of the grant was the day of Mahāmāgha, which fell on Sunday, the full-moon *tithi* of the month of Kumbha of Śaka-Samvat 1403 expired, the *Plava samvatsara*. Mr. Dikshit kindly informed the Editor that the European equivalent of this date is Sunday, the 3rd February, A.D. 1482. The donor was the great provincial chief (*mahāmaṇḍalēśvara*) Vālaka-Kāmaya, alias Akkalarāja, who bore the titles of "a Bhīma among the Chōlas," "a Viṣṇu among the Chōlas" (*Śōḷa-Nārāyaṇa*), and "the lord of Uṛaiyūr⁴ the best of cities" (*Uṛaiyūr-puravar-ādhiśvara*). Though it is very doubtful if he had any real connection with the ancient indigenous dynasty of the Chōlas, he claimed at any rate to be their rightful successor; and his name has been accordingly included in Dr. Hultzsch's preliminary list of Chōla kings.⁵ His title *mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* suggests that he was a dependant, probably of one of the last kings of the first Vijayanagara dynasty.⁶

TEXT.⁷

- 1 Śubham-astu śvasti⁸ śrī [||*] Śak-āptum⁹ 1403 idaṇ mēl sellān[i]ṇṛa Pilava-samvaṣsarattu Kumba-nāyaṇṇu pūṇuva-pakshattu pūṇunaiyum Āditta-vāramum perṛa Magattu nāḷ Sim-
- 2 ha-Brahaspati-¹⁰ Mahāmaga-puṇya-kālatilē śrīman-mahāmaṇḍalēśvaran Śōḷar-Bīman Śōḷa-Nārāyaṇaṇ Uṛaiyūr-pūrvvar-āthiśvaran¹¹ Vālaka-Kāmayaṇ āṇa Akkalarāśar
- 3 nāyaṇār alaḡiya Tiruvāṇaikāḡv=udaiya nāyaṇār kōyil¹² Ādi-Śaṇḍēśvara-dēvar-kaṇmigalukku kuḍutta taṇma-sādaṇa-ppaṭṭaiyam [||*] Nāyaṇār alaḡiya Tiruvāṇaik-
- 4 kāv=udaiya nāyaṇār Vaḍakarai-Veṅkōṅkuḍiyil tiru-vēṭṭai āḡa eḷund=aruḷuḡiṛa tiru-nāḷ maṇḍapa-chchirappuk[ku]m nāchchiyār Agilāṇḍanāya-

¹ No. 30 of 1891 in Dr. Hultzsch's *Annual Report* for 1891-92.

² The village of Veṅkōṅkuḍi is mentioned in the Tañjāvūr inscriptions; see *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. II. p. 63. Vaḍakarai means "on the northern bank (of the Kāvēri);" see *ibid.* p. 53, note 1.

³ Tiruvāṇaikā, "the sacred elephant-grove," is the ancient Tamiḷ designation of the site of the Jambukēśvara temple; see *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. II. p. 253.

⁴ According to the Tamiḷ dictionaries, this town, which is now a suburb of Trichinopoly and the centre of the native trade in cigars, was the former capital of the Chōla kings. Ptolemy calls it already "Ὀρθούρα βασιλείου Σίλινγος." The Śaiva temple at Uṛaiyūr contains some ancient Chōla inscriptions.

⁵ See his *Annual Report* for 1891-92, p. 7.

⁶ An inscription of the Vijayanagara king Virūpāksha II., the son of Mallikārjuna, dated in Śaka-Samvat 1405 expired, is found at Gaṅgaikōṇḍasōḷapuram in the Trichinopoly district; see *ibid.* p. 9.

⁷ From an inked estampage received from Dr. Hultzsch.—Words which are written wholly or partially in Grantha letters, are distinguished in the transcript by thick type.

⁸ Read *śvasti*.

⁹ Read *śak-ābdam*.

¹⁰ Read *śak-ābdam*.

¹¹ Read *śak-ābdam*.

¹² Read *Brihaspati*.

Handwritten text in Tamil script, likely a manuscript or document.

| | | |
|---|------------------------|-------------------------|
| <p> வெண்குழம் உண்டானகர உருத்தனமகதி கருத்த </p> | <p> மபெரன மப </p> | <p> முதல் ண்ண </p> |
|---|------------------------|-------------------------|

- 5 giyārku=kkālasandiy=āga ammudu¹ śeyd=aruḷi taṇmareccham=āga naḍikkai² oru
taligai ammudu-paḍikkum tiru-Mārgaḷi-chchippa ammudu śeyyarum aṇḍa-
naṇḍavaṇam payiṟ=
6 cheygīra tōppu-āḷ ilakkaikkum āga nammūḍaiya nāya[k]kat[ta]ṇam āga Valakarai-
Venkōṅkuḍiyil [ś]ētta³ Irājavibāḍaṇ nilam vēli [||*] Inda nilam
7 vēlikkum upḍāṇa karam poṇ-mudal nel-mudal upḍāṇa[du] muṇ eḷudina vaṇi-
ppaḍiyi[lē] śa[ndi]r-āḍitta-varaiyum aṇubavittu=kko[||a]=kkaḍavargal=āgavum ||
8 Inda taṇmattukku agudam³ paṇṇiṇavaṇ upḍāṇāl Gaṅgai-kkari⁴ gō-vadaḷ[ri]
koṇṇa⁴ pāvattilē pōga=kkaḍavargal=āgavum ||

TRANSLATION.

(Line 1.) Let there be prosperity! Hail! Fortune! At the auspicious time of Mahāmagam (Mahāmāgha),⁵ (when) Jupiter (was standing in) Leo, (i.e.) on the day of (the nakṣatra) Magam (Maghā), which corresponded to a Sunday and to the full-moon tithi of the first fortnight of the month of Kumbha of the Plava saṁvatsara, which was current after the Śaka year 1403,— the glorious mahāmaṇḍalēśvara, a Bhīma among the Chōḷas, a Nāripattā among the Chōḷas, the lord of Uṇṇaiyūr the best of cities, Vālaka-Kāmaya, alias Akkalarāja, gave (the following) religious edict (dharmaśāśana-paṭṭaiyam) to the pūjārīs (of the shrine) of Ādi-Chaṇḍēśvara⁶ (in) the temple of the beautiful lord of Tiruvāṇaikkā:—

(L. 3.) “(One) vēli of land (which was called after) Rājavibhāṭa⁷ (and) which formed part of Vaḍakarai-Venkōṅkuḍi in our dominions, (was given to the temple) for (defraying the expenses of) decorating a maṇḍapa on the festive day, on which the beautiful lord of Tiruvāṇaikkā is carried in procession to Vaḍakarai-Venkōṅkuḍi for the sacred hunt (tiru-vēttai);⁸ for the plate of rice which is offered at the daily worship to the goddess Akkilaṇḍa-nāyaki and afterwards treated as sacrificial remnants (i.e. distributed);⁹ for the rice to be offered at the festival in (the month of) Mārgaḷi;¹⁰ and for the maintenance¹¹ of a gardener¹² who cultivates the temple garden.

(L. 6.) “(The donee) shall enjoy, for the above-mentioned purposes, as long as the sun and the moon last, the taxes on this vēli of land, the income in gold (and) the income in paddy.

(L. 8.) “If there be any person who injures this charity, he shall incur the sin of killing a cow on the bank of the Gaṅgā.”

¹ Read amudu throughout the inscription.

² This is a corruption of the Sanskrit *ahitam*.

³ *Koṇṇa* is pleonastic; the correct expression would be *gō-vadaiyai śeyda*.

⁴ According to the *Dictionnaire Tamoul-Français*, the *Mahāmagam*, *Māmagaṇam*, *Māmāgam* or *Māmagaṇam* [*Mahāmāgha* in Sanskrit] is “a festival which is celebrated every twelve years at Kumbhāṇam on the full-moon of Māsi, i.e. February, when Jupiter and the Moon are in conjunction in the 10th lunar constellation, called *Magam* [*Maghā* in Sanskrit], which forms part of the sign of Leo. Then crowds of people go to bathe in the sacred tank, called *Māmaga-kkuḷam* or *Māmaga-tūrttam*, where the waters of the Ganges are supposed to arrive by invisible channels. This festival serves as an epoch in the country; thus they say: ‘It is three *Māmaga* (i.e. 36 years) that he died.’ In Malabar this was also the period of the government of a viceroy under the kings of Vijayanagara.” See also Dr. Fleet’s *Gupta Inscriptions*, Introduction, pp. 119 and 167.

⁵ On Ādi-Chaṇḍēśvara see *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. I. p. 92, note 8, and on *śeyda* see *ibid.* Vol. II. p. 112.

⁶ This word occurs as a *biruda* of Vijayanagara kings in Kanarese inscriptions.

⁷ This evidently refers to the procession on the day of *Vijayadashami*, which is even now celebrated in the temples.

⁸ *Taṇmar-eccham* appears to be used in the sense of *prasāda*.

⁹ This refers to the worship at about 4 A.M. during the month of Mārgaḷi.

¹⁰ *Ilakkai* appears to be a vulgar form of *irakshai* (Sanskrit *rakṣā*).

¹¹ *Tōppu-āḷ* or *tōpp-āḷ* and *tōpp-āṇḍi* mean ‘a devotee who attends to groves.’ (*Winslow*).

No. 13.—UDAYENDIRAM PLATES OF THE BANA KING VIKRAMADITYA II.

By F. KIELHORN, PH.D., C.I.E.; GÖTTINGEN.

An edition of this inscription, or rather, of these fragments of two different inscriptions, of the Bāṇa king Vikramāditya II. has already been published by the Rev. T. Foulkes in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XIII. pp. 6 ff. and in the *Manual of the Salem District*, Vol. II. pp. 388 ff. For my revised text I have used excellent impressions received from Dr. Hultzsch, to whom the original plates, which are at Udayēndiram, in the Guḍiyātām tālukā of the North Arcot district, were lent by the Acting Collector of the district, Mr. F. A. Nicholson, I.C.S.

The copper-plates are four in number. Three of them, the first of which is inscribed on one side only, are the first, second, and third plates of a grant of which the concluding part is missing. And the fourth plate, which, like the second and third plates, is inscribed on both sides, is an odd, probably the third, plate of another grant, of which both the beginning and the end are missing. Each plate measures about $8\frac{1}{2}$ " broad by $3\frac{1}{8}$ " high, and all have raised rims to protect the writing. The odd plate closely resembles the others, the only difference being that the ring-hole is about $\frac{1}{4}$ " nearer to the right margin than in the other plates. The plates are held together by a ring, about $4\frac{1}{2}$ " in diameter. This ring, which is cut, holds a circular seal, about 2" in diameter. The seal bears in relief a recumbent bull, which faces the proper right, reclining on an ornamental pedestal, and having a lamp on each side. At the top is a parasol between two *chauris*. The engraving is good, and the writing is almost throughout in a perfect state of preservation.—The size of the letters is between $\frac{1}{8}$ " and $\frac{1}{4}$ ".—The characters are Grantha, with the exception of the Tamil word *pugalvippavar* (Plate iii. a, line 39), which is written in Tamil characters.¹ As a photo-lithograph of the inscription is published herewith, I need not attempt a detailed description of the Grantha characters; but I may state that I have found it difficult to distinguish between the superscript *i* and *ī*, which in the original are very similar to each other; and that also more than once I have failed to recognise in the impressions the superscript *r* of conjunct consonants.—The language is Sanskrit. Of the inscription on plates i-iii. lines 1-44, excepting the introductory *svasti śrī*[Ā], are in verse, and lines 45-51 in prose. Line 1 to nearly the middle of line 13 of the odd plate give the verses in lines 32-44 of the other plates, while the remaining lines contain a prose passage which differs from the corresponding passage at the end of plate iii. As regards orthography, attention may be drawn to the promiscuous use of the letters *t* and *d*, *t* being employed eighteen times instead of *d*, and *d* six times instead of *t*; to the employment of the conjunct *tsh* instead of *ksh*, which occurs five times; to the incorrect use of the Grantha final *m* instead of the *anuvāda* at the end of words; and to the frequent omission of the sign of visarga. In respect of grammar, it may be pointed out that line 5 of plate i. contains the wrong word *mathitum-manas* (for *mathitu-manas*, which would not have suited the metre).

Plates i-iii. contain the commencement of an inscription which recorded a grant made by the Bāṇa king Vijayabāhu Vikramāditya in favour of some Brāhmanas residing at Udayēndumangala. The inscription, after two verses invoking the blessings of the god Śiva and Nārāyaṇa (Vishnu), gives the following genealogy of the donor:—

First there was the regent of the Asuras, Bali (line 11); his son was the foe of the god Bāṇa (line 15); and in his lineage was born Bāṇādhirāja (line 17). When Bāṇa

¹ The same word occurs on the odd plate (l. 8), where it is written in Grantha characters, except the letter which is peculiar to the Tamil alphabet and language.

dhirāja and many other Bāpa princes had passed away, then there was born in this family—

1. Jayanandivarman (l. 20), who ruled the land west of the Andhra country. His son was—
2. Vijayāditya I. (l. 23); his son—
3. Malladēva, surnamed Jagadēkamalla (l. 28); his son—
4. Bānavidyādhara (l. 31); his son—
5. Prabhumērudēva (l. 34); his son—
6. Vikramāditya I. (l. 37); his son—
7. Vijayāditya II., also named Pugalvippavar-Gaṇḍa¹ (l. 39); and his son was the donor—
8. Vijayabāhu Vikramāditya II., who is stated to have been a friend of a certain Kṛishṇarāja (l. 43).

The odd plate contains part of an inscription which recorded a grant made by the same king in favour of some Brāhmanas; and this existing portion of it gives the genealogy of the king commencing with Prabhumērudēva.

These inscriptions are not dated, but they may be assigned with some confidence to about the middle of the 12th century A.D.; for Dr. Hultzsch has shown that the king Bānavidyādhara of the above list probably lived during the first half of the 11th century of our era, because he married a grand-daughter of the Gaṅga king Śivamahārāja, whom Dr. Hultzsch has shown to have reigned between A.D. 1000 and 1016.²

The place Udayēndumaṅgala, mentioned in the above, has already been identified by Mr. Le Fanu³ with Udayēndiram, where the plates are now preserved.

TEXT.⁴

First Plate.

- 1 Svasti śrī[h*] || ⁵Yat-tat[t*]va-prakaṭikṛitāv=atitarām vēdō=pi n=ālam yata[h]
- 2 sti(sthi)ty-utpatti-layās=samasta-jagatām yan(m)=manvatē yō-
- 3 ginaḥ [l*] ⁶sātsha-namra-surēndra-brinda-makūṭa-vyālina-rannā(tnā)va-
- 4 li-sōṇ-ā[m*]śu-vraja-rañjit-āṅghri-yugaḷō bhūtyai Śi-
- 5 vas-sō=stu vaḥ l(II)[l*] Kshi(kshī)rōdam mathitum-manōbbhir=atulam⁷
- 6 dēv-āsuraīr=Mmandaram hitv=ākshipta iv=Āñjanādrir=iva ya-
- 7 s=tatr=ādrikam⁸ rājatē [l*] yō bhōgi(gī)ndra-nivishṭa-mū[r*]ttir=ani-
- 8 sam bhūyō=mṛitasy=āptayē rakshē[d*]=vaḥ sura-brinda-vandita-pata(da)-dva-
- 9 dvvaḥ⁹ ssa Nārāyaṇaḥ l(II)[2*] Yaḥ prādād=asur-ādhipō makha-varē dadv(ttv)=ā-
- 10 [r]gghamm=ādyāya¹⁰ gām sa-dvīpām sa-charācharāmm=adhimudā¹¹ dē-

¹ [According to an unpublished Tamil rock-inscription on the hill of Pañcha-Pāṇḍava-Malai near Arcot, Pugalvippavar-Gaṇḍa, i.e. 'the disgracer of famous (kings),' was also the name of the father of a local chief, called Vira-Chōla, who made a grant to Tiruppāṇ-Malaidēva (i.e. to the Jaina temple on the top of the Pañcha-Pāṇḍava-Malai hill) in the 8th year of the reign of Kō-Bājarāja-Kēsarivarman (i.e. in A.D. 992).— E. H.]

² See Dr. Hultzsch's *Progress Report* for October 1889 to January 1890, pp. 3 and 4, and his *Annual Report* for 1891-92, p. 4 f., where the date of the Chōla king Rājarāja, and, consequently, of the Gaṅga king Śivamahārāja, is corrected.

³ See his Preface to the *Salem Manual*, Vol. I, p. iv. f.

⁴ From an impression supplied by Dr. Hultzsch.

⁵ Metre: Sārdūlavikṛīṭa; and of the two next verses.

⁶ Read *sāksṣān-namra-*.

⁷ *Mathitum-manōbbhiḥ* is evidently intended to be a compound; but the proper form would be *mathitu-manōbbhiḥ*.— Read *atulam*.

⁸ Read *ādrikam*.

⁹ Read *-dvandvas=sa*.

¹⁰ Read *rgghamm=ādyāya gām sa-dvīpām*.

¹¹ Read *charām*.

Second Plate; First Side.

- 11 vāya Daitya-dvishē [1*] sō=bhūt(d)=Vāmana-rūpiṇē Balir=iti khy[4]
 12 taḥ sur-ōpadrava-vyāp[ā*]r-aika-rataḥ Śiv-āṅghrikamala-dva[n*]dv-ārocha-
 13 n-aika-vrataḥ [11 3*] ¹Tasmād=abhūt(d=) guṇa-nidhi[r]=balavāms=ta[nū*]jō yata-
 ādhy=a-
 14 varddhata mahān=amalaḥ prasādaḥ [1*] Śambhōs=śaśāṅka-saka[la*]
 15 dyuti-rāji-maulēr=Bāṇaḥ kripāṇa-nihat-āri-
 16 la[h*] sur-āriḥ [11 4*] ²Tasy=ānvavāyē mahati prasūtaḥ kshi(kshī)rā[r]ma-
 17 vē śtamarichivad=yaḥ | Bāṇādhirājō yuti(dhi) śā-
 18 khaḍga-khaṇḍikrit-ārātir=akhaṇḍa-tējāḥ [11] [5*] ³Bāṇādhirāja-pramukhā
 19 shv=atītēshv=anēkaśō Bāṇa-nripēshv=andyaḥ ⁴ | aj[ā*]yat=āsmi[ā*]
 20 Jayanandivarmā sākshā[j*]=jaya-śri(śrīr)=vasati[h*] śriyaś=chaḥ ⁵ [11] [6*] śa-
 ratsa(ksha)-

Second Plate; Second Side.

- 21 ti sma kshitim=ēkavīra Āndhrāt=pathaḥ paśchimatō bali[11]yā-
 22 n [1*] vadhūm=iv=ānanya-samām ⁶ kul-ōttā[m*] rājanya-chōdāmaṇi-
 23 rājīt-āṅghriḥ [11] [7*] ⁷Tasmād=ajanishṭa sūtō Vijayāti(di)tyō=ntarasta-ripu-
 24 varggaḥ [1*] rāṇa-bhuvi yasya ni(na) tishṭhandy(nty)=araya ⁸ pay=āgrat
 25 bhīy=ākṛāntāḥ [11] [8*] ¹⁰Tasmā[t*]=samasta-ripu-tatsha(ksha)ṇa-datsha(ksha)
 26 bāhur=akshi(kshī)ṇa-puṇya-yaśasām prabhavas=at
 27 jaḥ [1*] āsīd=Ananṅa iva yō vanitā-janānām śrī-
 28 lladēva iti yō Jagad-ēka-mallaḥ [11] [9*] ¹¹Tēn=āsēsha-nirasta-vair-
 29 kṛō dēvyām Harēṇ=ātula[h*] Pārsvatyāmm=udapāti(di) ¹² Shapmukha iva
 30 mān sūtō yaḥ sudhī[h*] yat-ki(kī)[r*]tīr=viśadām ¹³ viganda-karipām ka[r]

Third Plate; First Side.

- 31 shu saśchā(chchā)marī-bhūtā bhūpati-vandya-pāda-yuga[ā*] śrī-Bāṇavidyā
 32 dharah [11] [10*] ¹⁴Tasy=ānma(tma)jō=bhavad=apāsta-samasta-śatru[r]=vīdyā
 cha[tushṭa]ya-
 33 nivishṭa-matir=vvintāḥ [1] durvvāra-viryā-yaśasām prabhavas=taras[v*]
 34 pāpa-du[h*]kha-rahita[h*] Prabhumérudēvaḥ [11 11*] ¹⁵Abhavad=ann[pa]
 35 ma-śrī(śrī)r=ānat-ārāti-vargga[h*] prathita-prithula-kīrtti[h*]
 36 r=asmāt(d=) vintāḥ [1*] kshitipati-kula-mukhya[h] Pārsvatī-
 37 ghripatma(dma)-dvaya-nihita-matir=yyō Vikramāti(di)tya-
 38 mā [11] [12*] ¹⁶Tasy=āpi Vijayāditya-nāmadhēyō=bhavat sutah [1*] ya[t(d-)]vika-
 39 mēna vitrastāḥ palāyantē=rayō yudhiḥ ¹⁷ [11] [13*] ¹⁸Pugaḥvippar-
 40 Gaṇḍa iti prathitam ¹⁹ ripu-dussaha ²⁰ asya cha nāma param [1]

¹ Metre: Vasantatilakā.² Metre: Indravajrā.³ Metre: Upajāti; and of the next verse.⁴ Read *enanti aḥ*.⁵ Read *cha*.⁶ Read *śamān*.⁷ Metre: Giti.⁸ I believe this to be a mistake for *nirasta-ripu*.⁹ Read *arayaḥ paray*.¹⁰ Metre: Vasantatilakā.¹¹ Metre: Sārdulavikrīḍita.¹² Read *tydm*.¹³ Read *viśadā diganta*.¹⁴ Metre: Vasantatilakā.¹⁵ Metre: Mālinī.¹⁶ Metre: Ślōka (Anuṣṭubh).¹⁷ Read *yudhi*.¹⁸ Metre: Tōṭaka; but the first Pāda of the verse incorrect.¹⁹ Read *prathitam*.²⁰ Read *ham=asya*.

iii a.

32
34
36
38
40

iii b.

42
44
46
48
50

Odd Plate; Second Side.

10
12
14
16
18

Third Plate ; Second Side.

- 41 abhavat¹ dyudhi yat-karavâla-talam² dvipa-vârimuchô=sra-jalam³
 42 vavrihu[h*] || [14*] ⁴Anugada(ta)-naya-mârggô Bâna-vamśa-aika-dîpah prapa[ta]-
 43 ripu-samâjah Krishnarâja-priyô yah [1*] ajani Vijaibâhu[h*]⁵ sū-
 44 nur=asy=âdhika-śrîr=apagata-durit-êtir=Vv[i*]kramâti(di)tya-nâmâ || [15*]
 45 Sa hy=asêsha-nripati-makuṭa-kôṭi-ranna(tna)-dyuti-rañjita-p[â]-
 46 da-rênuh⁶ nânâvidha-bhûri-para-nripa-patsha(ksha)-dôḥkhaṇḍa-
 47 vijaya-labdha⁷-vipula-yaśô-bhipûrṇa-bâhu-maṇḍa-
 48 laḥ⁸ vividha-vichitra-ranna(tna)-vilîna-valaya-sva-karatâla-grihita-⁹châru-[hê]-
 49 makumbha-nisravat¹⁰ vâri-dhârâ-pûrvvakam¹¹ aki(khi)la-vêda-vêdânga-ta[rkka]-
 50 tat[t*]va-samvit-svaka[r]mma-niratêbhyaḥ sva-maṇô-nihitâthaḥ-¹²samvit-pradâna-
 51 śilêbhyaḥ¹³ dvija-varêbhyaḥ¹⁴ Udayêndumamka(ga)la-nivâsibhyaḥ¹⁴ êvambbhû-

Odd Plate ; First Side.

- 1 ¹⁵dyâ-chatushtaya-nivishṭa-matir=vvini(ni)taḥ [1*] durvvâra-vîryya-yaśa-
 2 sām prabhavas=taras[v*]i yah pâpa-du[h*]kha-rahita[h*] Prabhumerudêvaḥ [11*]
 3 Abhavat=anupama-śrî(śrî)r=ânât-ârâti-vargga[h*] prathita-prithula-kîrttiḥ
 4 sūnur=asmât(d=) vini(ni)taḥ [1*] kshitipati-kula-mukhya[h*] Pârvva-
 5 tiś-ârnghipatma(dma)-dvaya-nihita-matir=yyô Vikramâti(di)-
 6 tyā-nâmâḥ¹⁶ I(II) Tasy=âpi Vijayâditya-nâmadhêyô
 7 =bhavat sutah [1*] yat(d)-vikramêna vitrastâḥ palâyantê=rayô
 8 yudhi || ¹⁷Pukal[vi*]ppavar-Gaṇḍa iti prathitam¹⁸ ripu-dussaham¹⁹ asya
 9 cha nâma param [1*] abhavat²⁰ dya yudhi yat-karavâla-dala[d*]-dvipa-vâri-

Odd Plate ; Second Side.

- 10 muchô=sra-jalam²¹ vavrihuḥ I(II) Anugada(ta)-naya-mârggô Bâna-vamś-
 11 ś-aika-dîpah prapata-ripu-samâjah Krishnarâja-priyô yah [1*] ajani
 12 Vijaibâhu[h*]²² sūnur=asy=âdhika-śrî(śrî)r=apagata-durit-êtir=Vvikramâ-
 13 ti(di)tya-nâmâ || Sa hya²³ anêka-samara-vijaya-sam-
 14 labdha-vijayalakmy(kshmy)-adhishtita-viśâla-bhujântarô
 15 Bâna-kul-âmalâmalâ-byâ(vyô)m-âvabhâsaṇa-bhâskara²⁴ a-
 16 vanat-ânêka-para-nripati-makuṭa-taṭa-ghaṭita-mâṇik[y]a-mâṇi-
 17 mayûkha-rañjit-â[m*]ghrikamala[h*] sva-karatâla-grihita-²⁵châru-châmi-
 18 kar-ôru-kara-²⁶[gaḷa]d-vâri-dhârâ-pûrvvaka[m*] viprêbhyaḥ vêda-

¹ Read °vad=yudhi.² Read °vâla-dalad-dvipa.³ Read -jalām.⁴ Metre : Mālinī.⁵ Read Vijayabâhuḥ.⁶ Read -rênuḥ.⁷ This akṣhara looks in the original rather like ndhâḥa.⁸ Read °lô.⁹ Read -grihita.¹⁰ Read -niṣravat.¹¹ Read °kam=.¹² Read °t-ârîtha- (?).¹³ Read °bhyaḥ.¹⁴ Read °bhya.¹⁵ For lines 1-13 see lines 32-44 of the preceding.¹⁶ Read -nâmâ.¹⁷ Read Pugaḷ.¹⁸ Read prathitam.¹⁹ Read °ham=asya.²⁰ Read °vad=yudhi.²¹ Read -jalām.²² Read Vijayabâhuḥ.²³ Read hy=anêka.²⁴ Read °skarô=vanat.²⁵ Read -grihita.²⁶ Read -karaka.

TRANSLATION.

A.—The Three First Plates.

Hail! Prosperity!

(Verse 1.) May that Śiva promote your well-being, whose true nature even the *Vêda* cannot fully reveal, from whom the creation, the preservation, and the destruction of all the worlds proceed, on whom the devotees meditate, (*and*) whose two feet are tinged with the collections of red rays of the rows of jewels in the diadems of the crowds of the chiefs of the gods who in person bow down before him!

(V. 2.) May that Nârâyana, whose body ever rests on the lord of serpents, (*and*) whose two feet are worshipped by crowds of gods, guard you! He, whom the gods and Asuras, desirous of churning the matchless sea of milk, discarding the Mandara laid hold of, as it were, to obtain a second time the nectar of immortality, (*and*) who then shone, even more than ordinarily, as if he were the Añjana mountain!¹

(V. 3.) There was the regent of the Asuras, named Bali, whose sole delight it was to engage in acts of violence towards the gods, while his one vow was, to worship the two lotus-feet of Śiva. He, after having presented as an excellent sacrifice a respectful offering to the primeval god, the enemy² of the Daityas, with great joy (*also*) gave to him who bore the form of a dwarf the earth with its islands and with all things movable and immovable.

(V. 4.) From him sprang a mighty son, a treasure-house of good qualities, towards whom was ever increasing the great pure favour of Śaṁbhu on whose head are the lines of the lustre of a portion of the moon,—Bâṇa, the foe of the gods, who with his sword struck down the forces of his enemies.

(V. 5.) As the cool-rayed moon rose from the sea of milk, so was born in his great lineage Bâṇādhirāja, who, possessed of never-failing might, with his sharp sword cut up his enemies in battle.

(V. 6.) When Bâṇādhirāja and many other Bâṇa princes had passed away, there was born in this (*lineage*), not the least (*of its members*), Jayanandivarman, the fortune of victory incarnate, and an abode of fortune.

(V. 7.) This unique hero of great might ruled the land to the west of the Andhra country, like a bride sprung from a noble family unshared by others, having his feet tinged by the crest-jewels of princes.

(V. 8.) From him was born his son Vijayāditya, who scattered hosts of opponents, (*and*) before whom the enemies, seized with great fear, did not stand on the field of battle.

(V. 9.) From him sprang a son whose arm was skilled in cutting up all opponents, a source of never-waning merit and fame, who to womankind was like the god of love,—the illustrious Malladêva, who was the unique wrestler of the world (Jagadêkamalla).

(V. 10.) As Hara begat the six-faced (Kârttikêya) on Pârvatî, so he begat on his queen an incomparable, prosperous, and prudent son who completely scattered multitudes of enemies,—the illustrious Bâṇavidyâdhara, whose pure fame became an excellent *chaurî* for the ears of the elephants of the quarters, (*and*) whose two feet were an object of adoration for princes.

¹ The meaning apparently is, that Nârâyana (Vishṇu), when worshipped by the gods and Asuras, grants the nectar of immortality even more readily and abundantly than was the case at the churning of the ocean by means of the mountain Mandara. The words *dhâryô=mrîtasy=âptayê* in the second half of the verse must in my opinion be connected with the words of the first half; compare the similar position of *Vâmana-rûpiṇê* in the next verse.

² i.e. Vishṇu.

(V. 11.) His son was Prabhūmērudēva, who drove away all enemies, whose mind was intent on the four branches of knowledge,¹ who was refined, a source of the fame of irresistible valour, full of energy, and free from fault and sorrow.

(V. 12.) From him sprang a son of matchless fortune, named Vikramāditya, before whom the hosts of adversaries bowed down, (and) whose great renown was widely spread; a man of refinement, who was the chief of the families of princes, (and) whose mind was fixed on the two lotus-feet of the lord of Pārvatī.

(V. 13.) He, again, had a son named Vijayāditya, frightened by whose valour the enemies ran away in battle.

(V. 14.) He also bore another name, Puṅḍavippavar-Gaṇḍa, widely known and unbearable to opponents. Cleft by his sword in battle, the elephants shed their blood as clouds do the rain-water.

(V. 15.) To him was born a son Vijayabāhu, named Vikramāditya, a unique light of the Bāṇa family, who has followed the path of prudent conduct, before whom the assemblage of opponents has bowed down, (and) who has Kṛishṇarāja for his friend. Eminently prosperous (he is, and) free from evil and distress.

(Line 45.) This (*prince*), the dust of whose feet is tinged with the lustre of the jewels on the edges of the diadems of all princes without exception, and whose two arms are filled with ample fame, gained in victories over the multitude of arms of the adherents of many different hostile princes,—after pouring out a stream of water from the beautiful golden jar, held by the palms of his hands the bracelets on which are thickly covered with² various bright jewels,—(*has given*) to the excellent twice-born, dwelling at Udayēndumāṅgala, who delight in, what is their proper duty, the knowledge of the truth of all the Vēdas and Vēdāṅgas and philosophy, (and) are eager to impart the knowledge of things which is stored up in their minds,

B.—The Odd Plate.

(Lines 13-18.)³ This (*prince*), whose broad chest is rested on by the Fortune of Victory whom he has gained by his victories in many battles, a sun to illuminate the very bright heaven of the Bāṇa family, whose lotus-feet are tinged with the rays of the ruby gems, fastened on to the sides of the diadems of numerous hostile princes bowing down before him,—after pouring out a stream of water from the beautiful large golden water-pot, held by the palms of his hands,— . . . to the Brāhman, . . . of the Vēdas

No. 14.—UDAYENDIRAM PLATES OF VIRACHOLA.

By F. KIELHORN, PH.D., C.I.E.; GÖTTINGEN.

This inscription, or rather, fragment of an inscription, has been previously published, with a photo-lithograph, by the Rev. T. Foulkes, in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. IX. pp. 47 ff. and in the *Manual of the Salem District*, Vol. II. pp. 365 ff. I re-edit it from an excellent impression received from Dr. Hultzsch, to whom the original plates, which are at Udayēndiram, in the Guḍiyātam tālukā of the North Arcot district, were lent by the Acting Collector of the district, Mr. F. A. Nicholson, I.C.S.

¹ See Sir M. Monier-Williams's *Dictionary*, s. v. *vidyā*:—*trayā*, the triple Vēda; 'śāntīśikṣā', 'logic and metaphysics; 'dāṇḍa-ntī', 'the science of government; 'and *varttā*, 'practical arts, such as agriculture, commerce, medicine, etc.'

² Literally, *vilīna* would rather be 'hidden by.'

³ Lines 1-12 of the odd plate are identical with lines 33-44 of the preceding inscription.

These are two odd copper-plates, marked on their first sides with the Tamil numerals 2 and 5, and inscribed on both sides. Each plate measures about $9\frac{7}{8}$ " broad by $2\frac{1}{2}$ " high, and has on the proper right a ring-hole, about $\frac{1}{8}$ " in diameter. There is neither a ring nor a seal, and the plates are now tied together with a string. The engraving, though not very regular, is done fairly well, and the writing, with one or two insignificant exceptions, is well preserved.—The size of the letters is between $\frac{3}{8}$ " and $\frac{1}{5}$ ". The characters are Grantha. The language is Sanskrit; and the text on both plates is in verse. In respect of orthography I need only notice the doubling of a consonant before *y* and *v* in *vibhūttiyai*, plate ii. line 1, *Garuḍaddhvajē*, plate ii. line 2, and *maddhyamē*, plate v. line 11. As regards the language, the most noteworthy point is that the author in line 1 of plate ii. undoubtedly wrote *trai*, instead of *trayē* which does not suit the metre.

The inscription, as we have it, is part of a grant of "the lord of princes" **Vira-Chōla**. Plate ii. treats of the mythical genealogy of the Chōla family, the beings actually mentioned being the god Brahman, his son Marīchi, his son Kāśyapa, his son the Sun, his son Manu, his son Ikshvāku,¹ his descendant (separated from Ikshvāku by many generations) Sagara, his descendant Bhagīratha, and Raghu. Plate v. records that, when the lord of princes (or king) **Vira-Chōla** was ruling the earth, his spiritual guide Nila advised him to make a grant in favour of some Brāhman; that Vira-Chōla then went to the Chōla ruler Parakēsarivarman and asked leave to bestow on the Brāhman a village in his own territory which he promised to name after Parakēsarivarman; and that, having got the necessary permission, he gave the village of Parakēsarichaturvêdimāṅgala, situated between the river Kāvērī and another, small river, to a hundred and fifty (Brāhman).

I cannot say anything definite about the Chōla ruler Parakēsarivarman and the subordinate prince **Vira-Chōla**,² mentioned in this inscription; nor am I able to identify the village of Parakēsarichaturvêdimāṅgala.

TEXT.³

Second Plate; First Side.

| | | | | | |
|---|-----------------------|--|-----------------------------|-----------------------------------|------------------|
| 1 | bhavatām ⁴ | bhavatāt(d=) | vibhūttiyai | trayī-sāra-vastu ⁵ | chaturānana- |
| 2 | m=ādi-tējaḥ | \|\| | ⁶ Vidhātus=tasya | putrō=bhūt(n)=Marichi[r*]=m māna- | |
| 3 | sō mahān | [!* | Mari(rī)chēs=cha | tanūjō=bhūt | Kāśyap-ā- |
| 4 | khyō | mahāmuni[h*] | \|\| | Kāśyapasya | munēr=āsīd=ātma- |
| 5 | jō | bhānumān=Ravir ⁷ =vviśvēśhān=cha ⁸ | | | lōkānām=andha- |
| 6 | kār-āpanōda-kṛit | \|\| | Vêda-vêdāṅga-tat[t*]vajñō | | Vi- |

¹ From Brahman to Ikshvāku the genealogy agrees with the one given in the *Kalingattu-Parani*; *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIX. p. 330. Compare also the genealogies in the large Leyden grant (Dr. Burgess' *Arch. Survey of Southern India*, Vol. IV. p. 216) and in the *Vikkirama-Sōlay-Uḍ* (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXII. p. 147).

² [On page 71 above, reference is made to a chief, named Vira-Chōla, who was the father of Vira-Champa (Śaka-Saṁvat 1236). The Pañcha-Pāṇḍava-Malai rock-inscription (*ante*, p. 75, note 1) records a gift by an earlier Vira-Chōla, who was the son of the lord (*udaiyār*) Lātārāja Puṅgalvippavar-Gaṇḍa. This Vira-Chōla appears to have been a local chief, who was not related to the Chōla family at all, but on whom the name Vira-Chōla was bestowed with reference to the ruling dynasty. Similarly, the Vira-Chōla of this Udayēndiram fragment need not necessarily have been a Chōla, and the genealogy on the first plate of the grant may have been that of his sovereign, the Chōla king Parakēsarivarman. The latter cannot be identified, as we know from inscriptions that the surname Parakēsarivarman was borne by several Chōla kings.—E. H.]

³ From an impression received from Dr. Hultsch.

⁴ Metre: Vasantatilakā.

⁵ Originally *traiśāra* was engraved, as required by the metre; afterwards the *ai* of *trai* has been struck out, and *ś* has been inserted below the line, between the *aksharas* *tra* (for *trai*) and *sā*.

⁶ Metre: Ślōka (Anuṣṭubh); and of all the following verses.

⁷ Read *trīā* *trīv*.

⁸ Here one syllable is missing, and the particle *cha* yields no sense. Probably the intended reading is

When many warriors born in the family of Ikshvāku, having long ruled the earth, had gone to heaven, then the most excellent king **Sagara** was born in his family; and in his family again was born afterwards the lord of men **Bhagiratha**.

Raghu by name

B.—Fifth Plate.

While the lord of princes **Vira-Chôla** was ruling the whole earth, a **Brâhman** named **Nila** was his spiritual adviser.

He directed him to bestow on the chief twice-born a gift of religion which would secure heaven to all his ancestors.

When he had heard his advice, the king went to the **Chôla** ruler, bowed down, and, standing in his presence, spoke the following words:—

“In my territory I wish to give a great village, (*which shall be*) named after thee, to the **Brâhman**s; please grant me leave to do this!”

And permitted by **Parakêsarivarman**, who said to him, “Do so speedily,” the lord of princes **Vira-Chôla** (*gave*) to one hundred and fifty (*Brâhman*s) the entire village of **Parakêsarichaturvêdimangala**, well situated between the **Kâvêri** and a small river, endowed with all auspicious marks, embellished with rice and other grains, furnished with jack, mango and other trees, with areca-nut tree gardens

No. 15.—GANAPESVARAM INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF GANAPATI.

SAKA-SAMVAT 1153.

By E. HULTZSCH, PH.D.

This inscription has been already drawn attention to by Mr. G. Mackenzie in his *Manual of the Kistna District*, p. 214, and by Mr. R. Sewell in his *Lists of Antiquities*, Vol. I. p. 54. It is engraved on three faces of a stone pillar in front of the Durgâmbâ temple at **Ganapêsvaram**, a hamlet near Talagada-Divi in the Bandar (Masulipatam) tâlukâ of the Kistna district. The same pillar bears four other, later inscriptions, viz. one at the bottom of the east face¹ underneath the inscription of Ganapati, and three others² on the north face, which had been left blank by the engraver of the Ganapati inscription.

The alphabet of the inscription is Telugu. The language is **Sanskrit** verse as far as line 121, and Telugu prose from line 121 to the end. The Sanskrit portion opens with invocations of Vishnu, Śiva, and Ganêśa (verses 1 to 3). Verses 4 to 14 contain a short genealogy of the **Kâkatiya** king **Ganapati**, to whose time the inscription belongs. Omitting the earliest ancestor who is named in the **Anmakonḍa** and **Êkâmrânâtha** inscriptions,³ the **Ganapêsvaram** inscription commences the list with **Prôla** (verse 5), who resided at **Anmakonḍa** in the **Andhra** country, the capital of the kings of the race of **Kâkati**⁴ (v. 4). He defeated

¹ This inscription is dated in Śālivāhana-Śakavarsha 16[9]3 [expired], the Khara *saṃvatsara*.

² The dates of these inscriptions are: Śaka-Samvat 1268 [expired], Vyaya; 1605 (not 1005, as stated by Messrs. Mackenzie and Sewell), [expired], Rudhirôdgârin; and 1235. The second inscription refers to “the *linga* called after Ganapati, which had been set up by Chôdarâja at the junction of the Vêni and the sea,” and the third records the grant of a lamp “to the god Ganapâtîsvara in the beautiful Peda-Divipura at the junction of the Kishnâ and the sea.”

³ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. p. 10, and Vol. XXI. p. 197.

⁴ See *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXI. p. 198, note 11.

- 87 Yat=kim=api likhitam yuktam=ayuktam tad=asēsham=api pramāṇa-bhūtam
vijñayani¹ | Tithā² bhūyô=pi
88 vyavasthā ch=ātra nanvavyā vasha prativîrsha³ nagarēṇa rājakulasya
arbhana⁴bhāvyārthan⁴ prarmmanau⁵
89 ⁶shashthā(ṣṭya)dhika-śatadvayam=anka(ṅka)tô=pi dra 260 dātavyāni [||*]
Maṅgala[m*] mahāsrî(r)=iti ||

No. 38.—FOUR ANCIENT TAMIL INSCRIPTIONS
AT TIRUKKALUKKUNRAM.

By V. VENKAYYA, M.A.

Tirukkalkunram, or Pakshitirtham as it is called in Sanskrit, is a large village in the Chingleput district on the road from Chingleput to the port of Sadras, about half-way between both. There are two temples, one in the village of Tirukkalkunram, called Vēdagiriśvara, and another, named Bhaktavatsala, on a neighbouring hill. Of the four subjoined inscriptions, which are engraved on the wall of the strong-room (*tiruv-ābharana-kōṭṭaḍi*) of the Vēdagiriśvara temple, three were already published in the *Madras Christian College Magazine*⁷ from pencil transcripts prepared by myself on the spot. At the suggestion of the Editor, I now republish, from inked estampages, these three inscriptions, along with a fourth, which was not yet published, but only referred to in one of my former articles.⁸

That part of the wall where these inscriptions are found, is disfigured by a number of mason's marks, which are noticed in the footnotes to the texts. These marks consist, in most cases, of Tamil numerals, engraved probably before attempting to pull down the wall with a view to repair the temple. The numerals would indicate the order in which the stones had to be arranged while rebuilding the wall. This custom of marking is still prevalent in Southern India, as may be seen on the walls of the temples at Madura and Chidambaram, which have been lately repaired, and of the Ēkāmranātha temple at Conjeeveram, which is now undergoing repair. In these places the numerals are not cut with the chisel as at Tirukkalkunram, but painted on the stones with tar or chunnam. The alphabet and language of the four subjoined inscriptions is Tamil; but a number of words of Sanskrit origin are written either wholly or partially in Grantha characters. The following is a list of such words and syllables, with the exception of the two words *svasti śrī*, which occur at the beginning of every one of these inscriptions and are, as a matter of course, written in the Grantha alphabet.

In A. line 1, *kōv=irāja*, *sa* of *kēsari*, and *parmma* (for *varma*); 1. 3, *śrī-Mūlasthāna*; 1. 4, *Skandasiṣhyan*; 1. 5, *śiṃ* of *Narasiṅga*; 1. 6, *rakshī*; *pūrvva* at the end of 1. 7; 1. 8, *rājā* of *rājāḷkaḷ*, *rāja* and [*sa*]ri of *Rājakēsari*; 1. 9, *rmma* and *ddharmam rakshī*.

In B. line 1, *kō* of *kō=Ppara*⁹; 1. 4, *śrī-Mūlastā*⁹ (for *Mūlasthā*⁹); 1. 7, *kō* of *kōyinaṅgai*; 1. 9, *°ntr-āḍi*⁹ (for *°ndr-āḍi*⁹), *°tha[r]mma* (for *°ddharmam*), *rakshī*, and *sa*; [*°bhai*] at the beginning of 1. 10.

¹ Read *vijñāyam* (?).

² Read || *tathā*.

³ Read *mantavyā gathā* (?) *prati-varsham*; the sign of the vowel *i* of *śrī* is almost certainly struck out in the original.

⁴ I am unable to suggest a proper correction, but believe *arbhana* to stand for *arbhana*.

⁵ Read *drammāni*.

⁶ This line commences in the original with *śata*⁹, and *shashthādhika* is engraved below *śatadvaya*, in a separate line.

⁷ Vol. VIII. p. 267 ff. and Vol. IX, p. 745 ff.

⁸ *ibid.* Vol. IX. p. 748 f.

SCALE 61.

A circular, high-contrast, black and white image, possibly a stamp or seal. It features a central figure or emblem, which appears to be a seated person or a religious icon, surrounded by a textured, grainy border. The image is heavily stylized with high contrast, making details difficult to discern.

J. E. FLEET, I.C.S.

In C. line 1, *śrī* of *śrī-Kaṇṇara*; *dē* at the beginning of l. 2; l. 3, *śrī-Mūlastā°* (for *Mūlasthā°*); *śa* at the end of l. 5; l. 6, *°tr-āditya* (for *°dr-āditya*), *pa* of *paṇ*, *Māhēśvara*, and *rakshai*; l. 7, *ge* of *Geṅgai*; l. 9, *sabhai*.

In D. l. 2, *dē* of *dēva*; *śrī-Mūlastā°* (for *Mūlasthā°*) at the end of l. 4; *bhū* of *bhūmi* at the beginning of l. 9; l. 10, *agni*; l. 11, *sabhai*; l. 12, *dravya* and *santr-ādī°* (for *chandr-ādī°*); l. 13, *tta* of *°ttarum* and *°dharmma* (for *°ddharma*); l. 14, *rakshi* and *°dha[rmma]* (for *°ddharma*); *ge* and *gai* of *Geṅgai* at the beginning of l. 15; the second *pa* of *pāpa* in l. 16.

A.—INSCRIPTION OF RAJAKESARIVARMAN.

This inscription is dated in the 27th year of the reign of Rājakesarivarman, and records the renewal of a grant which had been made by a king called Skandaśishya and confirmed by another king, Vātāpi koṇḍa Narasiṅgappōttaraiyar. Skandaśishya is probably synonymous with Skandavarman, a name which occurs repeatedly in the genealogy of an early branch of the Pallavas,¹ whose grants are dated from Palakkada, Daśanapura and Kāñchīpura.² Though we have no materials for identifying this king, yet it is certain that he was one of the predecessors of the other Pallava king who is mentioned in the inscription. This is Narasiṅgappōttaraiyar,³ which is a Tamil form of the Sanskrit name of the Pallava king Narasiṃhavarman. The epithet Vātāpi koṇḍa, 'who took Vātāpi,' which is given to the king, enables us to identify him with certainty with the Pallava king Narasiṃhavarman I. who is described both in the Kūram plates of Paramēśvaravarman I.⁴ and in the Udayēndiram plates of Nandivarman Pallavamalla⁵ as the destroyer of Vātāpi and as the enemy of Pulikēśin (II.) *alias* Vallabharāja. The Singhalese chronicle *Mahāvamsa* also refers to this war between Narasiṃha and Vallabha, in which Mānavamma, one of the claimants to the kingdom of Ceylon, who was then residing in India, rendered substantial service to the Pallava king.⁶ The *Periyapurāṇam*, a Tamil work which narrates the lives of the sixty-three devotees of Śiva, and some of the statements made in which have been confirmed by recent epigraphical discoveries,⁷ refers to the destruction of Vātāpi in the account of the life of one of the devotees, viz. Śiruttōṇḍa-Nāyaṇār. It is reported that this devotee, who was originally a military man, "reduced to dust the old city of Vātāpi"⁸ for his master, whose name is not given, but who must undoubtedly have been the Pallava king Narasiṃhavarman I. who destroyed Vātāpi according to the Pallava inscriptions.

According to the *Periyapurāṇam*, Śiruttōṇḍa-Nāyaṇār was visited at his own village by the great Śaiva devotee Tiruñānasambandar,⁹ and the latter mentions Śiruttōṇḍa by name in one of his hymns.¹⁰ Thus Tiruñānasambandar was a contemporary of a general of the Pallava king Narasiṃhavarman I., whose enemy was the Western Chalukya king Pulikēśin II. The

¹ Dr. Fleet's *Kanarese Dynasties*, p. 16.

² *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 398.

³ [*Pōta* in Sanskrit and *pōttu* in Tamil mean 'the sprout (of a plant)' and are thus synonymous with *pallava*, 'a sprout,' from which the Amaravati pillar inscription (*South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. I. No. 32, verse 8), derives the name of Pallava, the supposed ancestor of the Pallava dynasty.—E. H.]

⁴ *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. I. p. 152.

⁵ *Salem Manual*, Vol. II. p. 359.

⁶ L. C. Wijesinha's *Translation*, pp. 41 to 43.

⁷ See *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. II. Nos. 29, 40 and 43. In No. 40, there is a distinct reference to the traditional account of the life of Meypporunāyaṇār, one of the sixty-three devotees, as preserved in the *Periyapurāṇam*; and the various images that in Nos. 29 and 43 are said to have been set up, show clearly that the account of the lives of Chandēśvara and Śīrāḷadēvar, respectively, as preserved in the *Periyapurāṇam*, must have been generally known during the time of Rājārājadēva.

⁸ *Vādāvi-ttōṇ-ṇagaran=tugaḷ-āga*; Śēkḷār's *Periyapurāṇam*, Madras edition of 1870, Part II. p. 316, verse 6.

⁹ *ibid.* p. 318, verses 23 and 24.

¹⁰ *ibid.* p. 93.

approximate date derived from this synchronism for the great devotee is confirmed by the fact that he was a younger contemporary of another devotee, called **Tirunāvukkaraiyar** or **Appar**, who was first persecuted and then patronised by an unnamed Pallava king. One of this king's surnames appears to have been **Guṇadhara**, because a feudatory of his is said to have built a temple of Śiva and called it **Guṇadaravichcharam**, i.e. **Guṇadhara-Īśvara**, probably after his overlord.¹ In an archaic inscription in the cave at **Vallam** near Chingleput, which will be published in *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. II. Part III., reference is made to a king called **Mahēndrapōtarāja alias Guṇabhara**, whom Dr. Hultzsck has identified with either of the two Mahēndravarman's mentioned in the Udayēndiram plates of Nandivarman Pallavamalla.² As the difference between the names **Guṇadhara** and **Guṇabhara** is very slight, **Mahēndrapōtarāja alias Guṇabhara** of the Vallam inscription may be identified with **Guṇadhara**, who, according to the *Periappurānam*, first persecuted and then patronised **Tirunāvukkaraiyar**. As this devotee was an elder contemporary of **Tiruñānasambandar**, who, as I have shown, lived during the time of the Pallava king **Narasimhavarman I.**, it is clear that the **Mahēndrapōtarāja alias Guṇabhara** of the Vallam inscription, whom I propose to identify with the **Guṇadhara** of the *Periappurānam*, could only be **Mahēndravarman I.**, the father of **Narasimhavarman I.**³ Thus we arrive at the conclusion that the two great Śaiva devotees **Tirunāvukkaraiyar** and **Tiruñānasambandar**, whose time has been the subject of controversy for a long time,⁴ were contemporaries of the two Pallava kings **Mahēndravarman I.** and **Narasimhavarman I.** respectively. This result is important for the history of Tamil literature, as it fixes the date of two thirds of the collection of Śaiva hymns, which goes by the name of *Dēvāram* and which is ascribed to **Tirunāvukkaraiyar**, **Tiruñānasambandar**, and **Sundaramūrti-Nāyanār**. The date of the last of the three authors cannot yet be settled; but he must have been later than the two others, because he refers to them by name in the hymn which is known as the *Tiruttonḍattogai*.⁵

As regards the king **Rājakēsarivarman** during whose reign the subjoined inscription was engraved, we do not possess sufficient data for his identification. The name **Rājakēsarivarman** suggests that the king was a **Chōla**, because the names **Rājakēsarīn** and **Parakēsarīn** are said to have been borne alternately by the **Chōla** kings⁶ and are actually applied to a large number of them in their inscriptions.⁷ The archaic characters in which the subjoined inscription is engraved, show that, if the king was a **Chōla**, he was probably not a successor but an ancestor of **Parāntaka I.** This conclusion is supported by the comparatively frequent occurrence of the *virāma* or, as it is called in Tamil, the *puḷḷi*, which is marked in no less than twenty cases in this short inscription, while in a pretty long inscription of **Madirai koṇḍa Parakēsarivarman**, i.e. **Parāntaka I.**, the *puḷḷi* occurs only five times.⁸ The occasional occurrence of the *puḷḷi* has been noticed also in two other archaic inscriptions,⁹ but this sign is never met with in the inscriptions

¹ *ibid.* Part I. p. 184, verses 145 and 146.

² Dr. Hultzsck's *Annual Report* for 1892-93, p. 2, paragraph 7.

³ See the Table of synchronisms on page 11 of *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. I.

⁴ *Madras Christian College Magazine*, Vol. IX. Nos. 5, 6, 7 and 9.

⁵ i.e. 'the list of the devotees (of Śiva).' *Sundaramūrti* is said to have sung this hymn in the temple at **Tiruvārūr**.

⁶ *Archæological Survey of Southern India*, Vol. IV. p. 206, l. 19 f.

⁷ See Dr. Hultzsck's *Annual Report* for 1891-92, pp. 4 to 6.

⁸ *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. I. p. 118.

⁹ In the Tamil portion of the Kūram plates of **Paramēśvaravarman I.**, published in *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. I., the *puḷḷi* occurs in combination with seven letters of the Tamil alphabet. In the inscription of **Nandippōttaraiyan**, published in the *Madras Christian College Magazine*, Vol. VIII. p. 98 ff., the *puḷḷi* is marked in six cases. In these two inscriptions as well as in the one quoted in the preceding note, the *puḷḷi* is denoted by a vertical stroke placed over the letter, while, in the *Tirukkālukkunṇam* inscription of **Rājakēsarivarman**, it is denoted by a peculiar crooked line which is not always uniform in its course.

of Râjarâjadêva and in all subsequent Tamil inscriptions. Assuming that the cessation of the employment of the *pulli* was gradual, the comparative frequency of its occurrence may be used as an argument to establish the priority of the present inscription to the time of Parântaka I. Again, in the subjoined inscription, the upper horizontal strokes peculiar to certain Tamil letters are represented by slight curves opening upwards, which remind of similar curves in the corresponding letters of the Sanskrit inscriptions of the Pallava kings Râjasimha and Mahêndravarmā at Conjeeveram. On palæographical grounds we must, therefore, conclude that this is one of the oldest Tamil inscriptions yet discovered, though we cannot ascertain even its approximate date. The contents of the inscription do not furnish any materials for this purpose. Râjakêsarivarman renewed, at the request of a certain Puttaṇ (i.e. Buddha), a grant which had been made by Skandaśishya and confirmed by Narasimhavarman, both of whom are spoken of as "former kings" (*pûrva-râjâkkaḷ*). It is not said what the nature of the grant was that had originally been made by Skandaśishya, nor do we learn the circumstances that led to the petition (*vinṇappam*) of Puttaṇ for a renewal of the grant. But so much is certain that, at the time of Râjakêsarivarman, a portion of the Pallava dominions had passed into the hands of the Chôlas.

In this and in the following three inscriptions, Tirukkalukkunram is said to have been situated in Kaḷattûr-kôṭṭam and "in the subdivision (*kûru*) called after itself."¹ In the Appendix to his *Manual of the Chingleput District*, Mr. Crole gives a list of *kôṭṭams* with the subdivisions contained in some of them. Among the former he mentions "Kallattur-kottam" in the Chingleput talukâ, which is evidently identical with the Kaḷattûr-kôṭṭam of the Tirukkalukkunram inscriptions.

TEXT.

| | | | | | | |
|---|------------------------------------|---------------------|-------------|------------------------------|--|----------------|
| 1 | Svasti ² | śrī | [\|*] | Kôv=Irâjakêsariparmma[r*]kku | yâṇḍu | i |
| 2 | rubatt-êḷâvadu |  | [\|*] | Ka[\|a]ttûr-kkôṭṭattu=ttan | | kûṟṟu= |
| 3 | [T]tirukkalukkunrattu ³ | śrī-Mûlasthânattu | | perumân | | a- |
| 4 | ḍi[gaḷu]kku | ir[ai]y-iliy=âga | | Skandaśishyan ⁴ | | kuḍuttamaiyi- |
| 5 | [l a]ppa[ḍi]yê | Pâdâvi ⁵ | | koṇḍa | | Naraśingappôt- |
| 6 | taraiyarum | apparîsê | | rakshittamaiyil | | Anḍuraiya- |
| 7 | n | Guṇavaṇ | magaṇ | Puttaṇ | vinṇappattinâl | pûrvva- |
| 8 | râjâkkaḷ ⁶ | [vai]tta | | paḍiyê ⁷ | vaittên(n)=Irâjakê[sa]ripa- ⁸ | |
| 9 | rmmaṇ-ên | [\|*] | i-ddharmmam | rakshittân | aḍi | en muḍi mēḷina |

TRANSLATION.

(Line 1.) Hail! Prosperity! In the twenty-seventh year (of the reign) of king Râjakêsarivarman.

(L. 2.) "Whereas Skandaśishya had given (certain land) free from taxes to the feet of the god of the holy Mûlasthâna (temple) at Tirukkalukkunram in Kaḷattûr-kôṭṭam (and) in

¹ The actual name of this subdivision was probably Tirukkalukkunra-kûru.

² The *aksharas* from *sva* of *svasti* to *ja* of *râja* are engraved over an erasure.

³ Above the *tu* of *kunrattu* is engraved some letter which looks like the modern Tamil *sa*, and over the word *Mûlasthâna*, the modern Tamil numeral 'twenty-one.'

⁴ The engraver had originally written *śya* instead of *śi* and then partially erased the *y*.

⁵ The reading *Vâdâvi* or *Vâtâpi* is also possible; Pâdâvi, Vâdâvi and Vâtâpi are ancient names of Bâdâmi in the Bombay Presidency.

⁶ The *aksharas* from *jâ* to *l* appear to be engraved over an erasure.

⁷ Over the *pa* of *paḍi*, the modern Tamil numeral 'five' seems to be engraved.

⁸ The engraver had originally written *ja* instead of *sa* and then corrected only the bottom, leaving the top as it stood.

the subdivision called after itself, (and) as, accordingly, Narasiṅgappōttaraiyar, the conqueror of Vātāpi, had confirmed (*the grant*) in the same manner,—I, Rājakēsarivarman, at the request of Puttaṇ, the son of Guṇavaṇ of Aṇḍurai, have maintained (*the grant*) as former kings had maintained it.

(L. 9.) “The feet of one who protects this charity, shall be on my head!”¹

B.—INSCRIPTION OF PARĀNTAKA I.

This inscription is now published for the first time. It is dated during the 13th year of the reign of Madirai koṇḍa Parakēsarivarman, and records the gift of a perpetual lamp to the Tirukkalukkuṇṇam temple. Madirai koṇḍa means ‘who took Madirai (i.e. Madhurā),’ and is synonymous with the Sanskrit Madhurāntaka, a name which is applied in the large Leyden grant to two of the successors of Parāntaka I.² Several inscriptions of Madirai koṇḍa Parakēsarivarman have already been published,—three from the Kailāsanātha temple at Conjeeveram³ and one from Tiruppūndurutti near Tanjore.⁴ The endorsement on the Udayēndiram plates of Nandivarman⁵ and on those of Nandivarman Pallavamalla⁶ are dated during the reign of the same king. The Tamil portion of the Udayēndiram plates of the Gaṅga-Bāṇa king Prithivīpati II. *alias* Hastimalla belongs to the reign of the same Madirai koṇḍa Parakēsarivarman⁷ and implies that he bore the surname Viranārāyaṇa.⁸ In the Sanskrit portion of the same grant, the two names Viranārāyaṇa⁹ and Parāntaka¹⁰ are used for the Chōla king. In the large Leyden grant the name Parāntaka alone appears.¹¹ In both of these copper-plate grants, he is said to have been the son of the Chōla king Āditya (I.) and the grandson of Vijayālaya. From the Udayēndiram plates we learn that he uprooted the Bāṇa king¹² and gave the Bāṇa territory to his Gaṅga feudatory Prithivīpati II.¹³ He conquered the Pāṇḍya king [Rājasimha]¹⁴ and defeated the army of the king of Ceylon.¹⁵ This event appears to be referred to in the *Mahāvamsa*¹⁶ when it says that the Singhalese king Kassapa V. sent an army to aid the Pāṇḍya king against the Chōla, but that the expedition was not successful. Kassapa V. is supposed to have reigned from A.D. 929 to 939.¹⁷ If the chronology of this portion of the *Mahāvamsa* can be relied upon,¹⁸ we can get to a nearer approximation with regard to the date of Parāntaka I. than what is furnished by the Ātakū inscription, from which it appears that this king’s eldest son Rājāditya had been killed before A.D. 950. In the verse which refers to Parāntaka I. the *Kaliṅgattu-Parāṇi* mentions the conquest of Ceylon and Madhurā.¹⁹ The large Leyden grant says that Parāntaka I. covered with gold the Śiva temple at Vyāghrāgrahāra,²⁰ which is a Sanskrit rendering of Puliūr, one of the Tamil names of Chidambaram. This evidently means that he built the so-called Kanakasabhā or Golden Hall at Chidambaram. In the collection of Śaiva hymns known as *Tiruvīsaippā*, there is a poem composed by Kaṇḍarādittar,

¹ i.e. “I worship their feet.”—[A similar *captatio benevolentia*, the transcription and translation of which must be changed in accordance with the one given here, occurs in line 9 of the Vēlūr inscription of Kaṇṇarādēva; *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. I. p. 77.—E. H.]

² *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. I. p. 111.

³ *ibid.* Nos. 82, 83 and 145.

⁴ *Madras Christian College Magazine*, Vol. VIII. p. 104 ff.

⁵ See p. 147 above.

⁶ *Salem Manual*, Vol. II. p. 359.

⁷ *ibid.* p. 371.

⁸ The village granted by the inscription was called Viranārāyaṇachchēri after the reigning king.

⁹ *Salem Manual*, Vol. II. p. 372, verse 6.

¹⁰ *ibid.* p. 373, verse 25.

¹¹ *Archæological Survey of Southern India*, Vol. IV. p. 206, l. 82.

¹² *Salem Manual*, Vol. II. p. 372, verse 9.

¹³ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXIII. p. 296, note 2.

¹⁴ *Salem Manual*, Vol. II. p. 372, verse 11.

¹⁵ *ibid.* verse 10.

¹⁶ L. C. Wijesinha’s Translation, p. 80.

¹⁷ *ibid.* p. xxii.

¹⁸ That the chronology of the *Mahāvamsa* is not beyond suspicion, has been pointed out by Dr. Hultzsch in his *Annual Report* for 1891-92, p. 5, note *.

¹⁹ Canto viii. verse 23.

²⁰ *Archæological Survey of Southern India*, Vol. IV. p. 206, l. 35 f.

who calls himself 'king of the people of Tañjai (Tanjore)' ¹ and who was very probably identical with Gaṇḍarādityavarman, mentioned in the large Leyden grant as the second son of Parāntaka I. The eighth verse of this hymn refers to a Chōla who conquered the dominions of the Pāṇḍya king and Ceylon, and who was the lord of Uṛaiyūr. It further states that this king covered with gold the hall at Chidambaram. The *Vikrama-Śōḷaṇ-Uḷā*, extracts from which were lately published by Mr. V. Kanakasabhai Pillai, mentions a king 'who constructed a roof of gold to the sacred hall in the temple at Chidambaram.' ² The *Tiruvīsaippā* and the *Vikrama-Śōḷaṇ-Uḷā* evidently refer to the event that is mentioned in the large Leyden grant as having occurred during the time of Parāntaka I. The *Koṅḍiēśarājākkaḷ*, a chronicle the statements made in which are to be accepted with caution, notices a real historical event when it says that the Chōla king Viranārāyaṇa built the Kanakasabhā at Chidambaram. ³ From the Udayēndiram plates it appears that Parāntaka I. married the daughter of the Kēraḷa king. ⁴ Leaving aside the numerous unpublished inscriptions of Parāntaka I., the five published ones, which have been found at Conjeeveram in the Chingleput district, Tiruppūndurutti near Tanjore, and Udayēndiram in the North Arcot district, show that his dominions must have been very wide. The latest date we have for him, is the 36th year of his reign. ⁵

TEXT.

| | | | | | | |
|----|--------------------------------|-------------------|---------------------|-------------------------------|-------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| 1 | Svasti | śrī | [\|\|*] | Madirai | koṇḍa | kô=Ppara[k]é- |
| 2 | śaripaṇmaṛku | | | yāṇḍu | | padiṇ-m[ū]ṇṇāvaḍu |
| 3 | Kaḷattūr-kkôṭ[ta]ttu | | taṇ | | kūṇṇu | Tiru- |
| 4 | [ta]ḷuk[ku]ṇṇattu ⁶ | | | | | ⁷ śrī-Mūlastā[ṇa]ttu=p- |
| 5 | pe[ru]mâ[ḷu]kku | | | | Âm[ū]r-kkôṭṭattu=[Kka]raikkâ- | |
| 6 | [tṭūr] | | N[eḍu]mâ[r=Ch]âttan | | | Seṇṇip[pēra]- |
| 7 | yaṇum | ivaṇ ⁸ | tâyâr | | | [Kô]yina[ṇgai]- |
| 8 | yum=âga | v[ai]yt[ta] | [nu*]ndâ-vilakku | | | o[ṇṇu] ⁹ [\|\|*] |
| 9 | idu | śa[ntr]-âḍittavaṇ | [\|\|*] | i-tha[r]mma[m*] ¹⁰ | | rakshippâr [sa]- |
| 10 | bh[ai]yâr | [\|\|*] |  |  |  |  |

TRANSLATION.

Hail! Prosperity! In the thirteenth year (of the reign) of king Parakṣarivarman, the conqueror of Madirai,—Neḍumāl Śāttan Seṇṇippērayaṇ of Karaikkāṭṭūr in Âmr-kōṭṭam ¹¹ and his mother Kōyinaṅgai ¹² together gave one perpetual lamp ¹³ to the god of the holy Mūlasthāna (temple) at Tirukkaḷukkunram in Kaḷattūr-kōṭṭam (and) in the subdivision called after itself. This (shall last) as long as the moon and the sun (endure). The members of the assembly (sabha) shall protect this gift.

¹ Tañjaiyar kōṇ Kaṇḍarādittan; *Tiruvīsaippā*, Madras edition of 1879, p. 76, verse 10.

² *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXII. p. 142.

³ *Salem Manual*, Vol. I. pp. 39 and 40.

⁴ *ibid.* Vol. II. p. 372, verse 8.

⁵ Dr. Hultzsch's *Annual Report* for 1891-92, inscription No. 100 of 1892.

⁶ Read *Tirukkaḷukkunṇattu*.

⁷ Read *Mūlasthānattu*.

⁸ In this line the Tamil numeral 'seven' seems to be engraved over i of *ivaṇ*; 'twenty-two' below the *aksharas vaṇ tā* of *ivaṇ tāyār*; and 'twenty' over *ṅgai* of *naṅgai*.

⁹ The modern Tamil numeral 'three' appears to be engraved over *ṇṇu* of *oṇṇu*.

¹⁰ Read *i-ḍḍharmam*.

¹¹ See p. 149 above, note 7.

¹² This name is made up of *kōyil*, 'a temple,' and *naṅgai*, 'a lady.'

¹³ *Nundā-vilakku* means 'a lamp which does not require to be trimmed.' See *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. II. p. 132, note 3.

C. AND D.—INSCRIPTIONS OF KANNARADEVA.

These two inscriptions are written in bold archaic characters which resemble very closely those of another inscription of Kannaradēva near Vēlūr (Vellore),¹ but are more rounded than those of other ancient Tamil inscriptions. Both inscriptions are dated during the reign of Kannaradēva,—the first in the 17th and the second in the 19th year. To the name of the king is prefixed in both of them the epithet Kachchiyūn-Tañjaiyūn-konḍa, 'who took Kachchi and Tañjai.' Kachchi is the ancient Tamil name of Kāñchīpura (Conjeeveram), the capital of the Pallavas, and Tañjai is a shorter form of Tañjāvūr (Tanjore), the Chōla capital. The actual meaning of the attribute appears to be that the king conquered the Pallava and the Chōla countries.

The inscription near Vēlūr is dated during the 26th year, but here there is no reference to the conquest of Kachchi and Tañjai. The Aruñāchalēśvara temple at Tiruvannāmalai in the South Arcot district contains two fragmentary inscriptions of Kannaradēva.² As the distinguishing epithet is missing, it is not absolutely certain if the Vēlūr and Tiruvannāmalai records belong to the same reign as the two Tirukkaḷukkunṇam ones. Even if this should not be the case, the fact that the two subjoined inscriptions are found at Tirukkaḷukkunṇam, which is within the Pallava dominions, testifies to the correctness of the statement that the king conquered the Pallava country. The name Kannara, which is a vulgar form of the Sanskrit Kṛishṇa, does not occur among the members of any of the dynasties of the South. Nor is it found among those northern dynasties which are known to have invaded the South, except among the Rāshtrakūṭas. That this dynasty exercised a considerable influence over the history of Southern India, is established by the following facts.

1. In an inscription of Gōvinda III.,³ this Rāshtrakūṭa king claims to have conquered, and levied tribute from, Dantiga, the Pallava ruler of Kāñchī.

2. The Udayēndiram plates of the Gaṅga king Prithivipati II., who was a tributary of the Chōla king Parāntaka I., appear to refer to an invasion of Amōghavarsha (I.) and its repulsion by the Gaṅga king's grandfather, Prithivipati I.⁴

3. The Âtakûr inscription of Śaka-Saṃvat 872 reports that Bûtuga, a Gaṅga feudatory of the Rāshtrakūṭa king Kṛishṇa (III.) alias Kannaradēva, treacherously killed the Chōla king Rājāditya in a battle at Takkōla.⁵ The Dêlî plates of Kṛishṇa III., dated Śaka-Saṃvat 862, report that the king killed Dantiga and Bappuka, and that he transferred the Gaṅga territory from Rachhyāmalla—the Rāchamalla of the Âtakûr inscription—to Bhûtārya.⁶ This is evidently the Bûtuga of the Âtakûr inscription. In his remarks on the Dêlî plates, Dr. Bhandarkar suggests that Bappuka might be identical with the Chōla king Rājāditya,⁷ who is mentioned in the Âtakûr inscription. But no connection can be established between the two names Bappuka and Rājāditya, and the war with the latter need not yet have taken place in the Śaka year 862, the date of the Dêlî plates.

4. The statement of the Âtakûr inscription that Kṛishṇa III. fought against Rājāditya, is confirmed by the large Leyden grant, which reports that the Chōla king Rājāditya, the son of Parāntaka I., died in battle with Kṛishṇarāja.⁸

The characters in which the two subjoined inscriptions are engraved, look more ancient than those employed in the inscriptions of the Chōla king Rājārājadēva, and less archaic than those

¹ *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. I. p. 76.

² *Madras Christian College Magazine*, Vol. IX. p. 665.

³ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. p. 127.

⁵ *Ep. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 168.

⁶ *Journ. Bo. As. Soc.* Vol. XVIII. p. 13 of the Reprint.

⁸ *Archæological Survey of Southern India*, Vol. IV. p. 206 f., ll. 42 to 45.

⁴ *Salem Manual*, Vol. II. p. 378, verse 16.

⁷ *ibid.* p. 4.

in which the grants dated during the reign of Parāntaka I. are recorded. Rājarājadēva was one of the most powerful of the Chōla kings, as is shown by the fact that his inscriptions are found on the walls of almost every ancient temple in the Tamil country. Consequently, it is very improbable that Kaṇṇaradēva's invasion took place during his reign. Again, the three inscriptions of Parāntaka I. found in a Pallava temple at Kāñchīpuram,¹ which was the Pallava capital, and the above published inscription from Tirukkalukkunram, which must also have been situated in the Pallava territory, show either that Parāntaka conquered the Pallavas himself, or, if the conquest had been effected by one of his predecessors, that he continued to keep them under subjection. The two subjoined inscriptions say that Kaṇṇara took Kachchi and Tañjai, and imply that he enjoyed undisturbed possession of the country for a considerable length of time; for, otherwise grants would not have been issued in his name. It is very unlikely that a king like Parāntaka, whose military resources were enough to keep the Pallavas under subjection and at the same time to conquer the Pāṇḍya and other kings, would have allowed a town like Tañjai, situated as it is in the heart of the Chōla country, to be occupied by a victorious invader. Thus palæographical and historical considerations combine together in fixing the period of these grants between the death of Parāntaka I. and the accession of Rājarājadēva. This period was occupied, according to the large Leyden grant, by the reigns of six Chōla kings.² Of the military achievements of none of them has it much to say. The *Kalīngattu-Paranī* leaves out these six kings entirely in the account which it gives of the ancestors of the reigning king Kulōttuṅga I.,³ and inscriptions dated during their reigns are conspicuous by their absence even in the heart of the Chōla country. Of course, some of those which begin either with *kō Rājākēsarivarman* or *kō Parakēsarivarman* alone, may have to be referred to the reigns of two or more of these kings. But the fact that these contain no historical introduction is significant, and would imply that their military achievements were not worthy of record. These considerations naturally lead to the inference that, during the reigns of these six kings, the Chōlas occupied quite an inferior position and were probably feudatories of some foreign king. It was just during this period that the invasion and the considerably long occupation of the Chōla dominions by Kaṇṇaradēva was possible. Not long after the death of Parāntaka I., Būtuga, a Gaṅga feudatory of the Rāshtrakūṭa king Kṛishṇa III. *alias* Kannaradēva, fought a battle at Takkōla,— a place which has not yet been identified,— against the Chōla king Rājāditya, who was defeated and killed in the battle. Commenting on the unreliable nature of most of the statements made in the spurious Sūḍi plates of Būtuga, Dr. Fleet remarks that there are references to two real historical events in the inscription.⁴ There is, I think, a third historical event when they say that, after defeating the Chōla king Rājāditya, the Gaṅga king Būtuga, under orders from Kṛishṇa III., besieged Tañjāpurī, *i.e.* Tanjore.⁵ As has been pointed out above, the Chōla power was very weak after the death of Parāntaka I., and nothing could stand in the way of the victor at Takkōla proceeding straight to Tanjore, which appears to have been the Chōla capital during the time of Rājāditya's successor Gaṇḍarādityavarman,⁶ and capturing it. It was also stated that palæographical considerations point to the interval between the death of the Chōla king Parāntaka I. and the accession of Rājarājadēva as the approximate period of the subjoined inscriptions, which are dated during the reign of Kaṇṇaradēva; that, about the commencement of this interval, the Rāshtrakūṭa king Kṛishṇa III.

¹ See note 3, p. 280 above.

² These were Rājāditya, Gaṇḍarādityavarman, Arimjaya, Parāntaka II., Āditya-Karikāla and Madhurāntaka. The fact that Āditya-Karikāla preceded Madhurāntaka, shows that the succession was disputed after the death of Parāntaka II.; *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. I. p. 112.

³ The next event that is mentioned after the conquest of Ceylon and Madhurā, which took place during the reign of Parāntaka I., is the capture of Udagai, which occurred during the reign of Rājarājadēva; see canto viii. verses 23 and 24.

See p. 175 above.

⁵ See p. 183 above.

⁶ See note 1, p. 281 above.

alias Kannaradēva actually killed the reigning Chôla king; and that the name Kannara does not occur either among the southern dynasties, or among the occasional conquerors of the South, except among the Rāshtrakūṭas. From these facts the conclusion seems to be irresistible that the Kaṇṇaradēva of the subjoined inscriptions, who took Kāñchī and Tañjāvūr, was no other than the Rāshtrakūṭa king Kṛishṇa III. who was also called Kannaradēva.

The donor in the inscription B. was Neḍumāl Śāttan Śeṇṇippērayaṇ of Karaikkāṭṭūr, and in the inscription D. Śāttan Śeṇṇippērayaṇ of Karai. As pointed out to me by the Editor, the names of these two donors are very similar, and the name Karai, which occurs in D., may only be a shorter form of Karaikkāṭṭūr in B. It is, therefore, not improbable that the donors in B. and D., which belong to the reigns of Parāntaka I. and of Kaṇṇaradēva, respectively, were identical. If they were the same, the identity of the Kaṇṇaradēva of the two subjoined inscriptions with the Rāshtrakūṭa king Kṛishṇa III. would receive some support; for, we would then have direct evidence to show that B. and D. were engraved within the life-time of the same man.

Of the two subjoined inscriptions, C. records the grant of a perpetual lamp to the Tirukkaḷukkunṇam temple, and D. the building of a hall (*ambalam*) at Tirukkaḷukkunṇam and a grant of some land to this hall.

TEXT OF C.

| | | | | | |
|---|---------------------------------|----------------|---------|----------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| 1 | Svasti | śrī | [\|\|*] | Kachchiyun-Tañjaiyūn-konḍa | śrī-Kaṇṇara- ¹ |
| 2 | dēvaṛkku | yāṇḍu | | padiṇ-ēlāvadu | Kaḷattūr-kkōṭṭa- |
| 3 | ttu | taṇ | kūṛru | Tirukkaḷukkunṇattu | śrī-Mūlasthān- |
| 4 | tu ² | perumāṇ=aḍigal | u[k*]ku | Karai[y-u]ḍaiya | Baladēvaṇ-āgiya |
| 5 | takappērarayaṇ | vaiytta | | nundā-[vi]lakk-onṇu | [\|*] idu |
| 6 | ntr-ādityavaṇ=paṇ-Māhēśvarar | | | rakshai | [\|*] idu |
| 7 | ṇ | vaiytta | vilakku | muṭ[ti]l | ³ Parāntakappēraraya- |
| 8 | ḍaiy=ēlu-nūṇu=kkādamuṇ=j[e]yḍār | | | seyda | Geṅgaiy-iḍai=Kkumariy-i- ⁴ |
| 9 | m=āṇḍon=Tirukkaḷukkunṇat[tu] | | | sabhaiyōm | pāvattiṇ=paḍuvō- |
| | | | | | [*] |

TRANSLATION.

(Line 1.) Hail! Prosperity! In the seventeenth year (*of the reign*) of the glorious Kaṇṇaradēva, the conqueror of Kachchi and Tañjai,—Baladēvaṇ *alias* Parāntakappērarayaṇ of Karai gave one perpetual lamp to the feet of the god of the holy Mūlasthāna (*temple*) at Tirukkaḷukkunṇam in Kaḷattūr-kōṭṭam (*and*) in the subdivision called after itself. This (*grant shall be under*) the protection of all Māhēśvaras as long as the moon and the sun (*endure*).

(L. 6.) “If (*we*), the members of the assembly (*sabhdā*) of Tirukkaḷukkunṇam, obstruct (*the burning of*) the lamp given by Parāntakappērarayaṇ, we shall incur the sin committed by those who commit seven hundred murders⁵ near the Gaṅgā and near Kumari.”⁶

¹ Above the first line, beginning from *n* of *Kachchiyun* and extending to the end, is an incomplete inscription which runs as follows:—*Svasti śrī* [||*] *Kō=Pparakēśariva[r]mma[r]kku yāṇḍu irāṇ[ḍāvadu*]*.

² Read *Mūlasthānattu*.

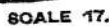
³ The sign of length of *rd* in *Parāntaka* is joined to the *r*, so that *rd* looks as if it were *na*.

⁴ Between the 6th and 7th lines, from the second *g* of *Geṅgai* to *ri* of *Kumari* in line 7, some symbols are engraved, of which the first looks like the modern Tamil letter *ṇā* and the rest seem to stand for the numeral ‘twenty-three.’

⁵ In the *Madras Christian College Magazine*, Vol. IX. p. 750, I had taken *kādam* to mean ‘a measure of distance equal to 10 miles.’ The Editor pointed out to me that *kādam* is derived from the Sanskrit *ghāta*, ‘a murder.’

⁶ Kumari is a name which occurs very often in the imprecatory portion of Tamil inscriptions. Local tradition asserts the existence of a river of that name, which people frequented for bathing, and after which the southern portion of the peninsula was called. The absence at the present time of a river answering to Kumari in the

A.—Inscription of Rajakesarivarman.



B.—Inscription of Parantaka I.



Photo. M I O. Saksuta

E. HULTZSCH.

D.—Inscription of Kannaradeva.



SCALE ONE-SIXTH.

TEXT OF D.

| | | | | |
|----|----------------------------|------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| 1 | Svasti | śrī | [\|\|*] | Kachchiyun=Tañ[j]aiyuñ=koñ- |
| 2 | da | Kaṇṇaradēvaṛku | yāṇḍu | pat[t-o]ṇba. ¹ |
| 3 | dāvaḍu | [\|*] | Kaḷattūr-k[kō]ṭṭattu ² | taṇ [kū]ṇu= ³ |
| 4 | Ttirukkaḷu[k*]kuṇṇattu | | | śrī-Mūlastā- |
| 5 | ṇattu ⁴ | teṇkil=ambalam | | Karaiy-uḍaiya |
| 6 | Ṣāttan | Ṣeṇṇippairaiyan ⁵ | | amba- |
| 7 | lamm=e[ḍut]tu | idaṇukku | ambala-ppuram=ā[ga] | īṣ[ā] |
| 8 | naṣivaṇ=āgiya | Nakkaḍi-Baṭṭan | pakkal | vilai-koṇḍa |
| 9 | bhūmi | Kaḷarichcheruvuñ=kiṇaṇu | taṇṇ[ī]r | aṭṭu[va]- |
| 10 | daṅkum | agniy=iduvaḍaṅkum=āga ⁶ | | ambala-pa- |
| 11 | ṭṭi ⁷ | vaiyittamaiyil | sabhaiyōmum | iva- |
| 12 | n | pakka ⁸ | irai-dravyam | koṇḍu emm=ūrum |
| 13 | ttarum | uḷ-alavum | iraiy=iḷitti=[kku]ḍuttōm | [\|*] i-[d*]dha[r]mma- |
| 14 | m | rakshittān | āḍi talai m[ē]liṇa | [\|*] i-[d*]dha[r]mma[m] irakkiṇān |
| 15 | Geṅgaiy-idai=Kkumariy-idai | | | eḷu-nūṇu=kkāda- |
| 16 | mum | śeydār | śeyda ⁹ | pāpattil paḍuvār [\|\|*] |

TRANSLATION.

(Line 1.) Hail! Prosperity! In the nineteenth year (of the reign) of Kaṇṇaradēva, the conqueror of Kachchi and Tañjai.

(L. 3.) "Whereas Ṣāttan Ṣeṇṇippêraiyan of Karai had built a hall (ambalam) to the south of the holy Mūlasthāna (temple) at Tirukkalukkunram in Kaḷattūr-kōṭṭam (and) in the subdivision called after itself, and had given as a dependence (P puram) of this hall, viz. for providing water and for supplying fire to the hall,¹⁰ a well and (one) paṭṭi of land (called) Kaḷarichcheruvu,¹¹ which he had purchased from Īśānaśiva alias Nakkaḍi-Bhaṭṭa,—(we), the members of the assembly (sabhai), having taken from this (person) the money for taxes, gave (the land) tax-free for as long as our village,¹² the moon and the sun endure."

extreme south of the peninsula has been explained by supposing that the river was swallowed up by the sea. In his *History of Tinnevely*, p. 19 ff., Dr. Caldwell has shown, from explicit statements contained in the *Periplus*, that Kumari was not a river but a place, and that people did, in ancient times as now, not bathe in a river but in the sea. Dr. Caldwell adds that the title *Kumarichcheruvu*, which is given to the Pāṇḍya king on account of the proximity of his dominions to Cape Comorin, also implies that Kumari was not a river but a tract of land.

¹ In the original the symbols for *e* and *t* of *to* are joined together.

² The symbol for *ḷ* and *k* of *kō* are joined together in the original.

³ In the original it looks as if there were three *r*'s here instead of two, of which the first is joined to the *k* which precedes it.

⁴ Read *Mūlasthānattu*.

⁵ Read *ṇpêraiyan*; it is not impossible that the engraver has himself made this correction.

⁶ Over the *ku* of *kumm=āga* some symbol which looks like the modern Tamil *ṇḍ* is cut, and between *kumm=āga* of this line and *sabhai* of the next, the modern Tamil numeral 'nineteen' appears to be engraved.

⁷ Over the *ṭi* of *paṭṭi* and the *ai* of *vaiyitta*, the modern Tamil symbol for the numeral 'ten' is engraved.

⁸ Above the *l* of *pakkal* the modern Tamil numeral 'eight' is engraved.

⁹ Over the *aksharas śeyda pā* the modern Tamil numeral 'seventy-seven' is engraved.

¹⁰ In the Kūram plates, provision is made for water and fire required for a *maṇḍapa* at Kūram; see *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. I. p. 151.

¹¹ The word *kaḷari* means 'uncultivated ground' and *ṣeyvu* means 'a field.' *Kaḷarichcheruvu* was probably a proper name, denoting a certain tract of rice-fields.

¹² It is not common in inscriptions to make the duration of a grant co-extensive with that of the village in which the object granted lies.

Takshaka; a very Kāmadēva with his tiger-crest; the king of the Sindhu country (l. 42);¹ the spotless Sinda (l. 43); the ornament of the Sindakūḷa,—(such was) the illustrious Nāgāditya.

Hail! To Paratrāya-Simharāsibhaṭṭa (l. 44), on a Sunday which combined the Uttarāyana-samkrānti and the Vyatipāta (yōga), having washed the feet of Paratrāya-Simharāsi, Nāgātīyarasa gave, for the god Sindēśvara, a field, of the measure of one thousand *mattars* by the staff of Pattiya-Mattaūra (l. 45), of (the village of) Kīriya-Siriūra. The *aṛuvana* on these thousand *mattars* is twelve *gadyānas*. And those who are in the state of being *Brahmachārins* shall manage the property.

Hail! While the asylum of the universe (l. 50), the favourite of fortune and of the earth, the Mahārājādhirāja, the Paramēśvara, the Paramabhaṭṭāraka, the ornament of the Chālukyas, the glorious Jagadēkamalladēva-(Jayasinha II.) (l. 51-52) was ruling, with the delight of pleasing conversations, at the camp² of Koḷlipāke; and when the Śrīmukha samvatsara (l. 53), which was the 955th Śaka year, was current; the illustrious Mahāsāmanta Nāgātīyarasa, having washed the feet of the holy Tējorāśipaṇḍita, allotted to the god of Puradakēri (l. 54). The six *Gāvunḍus* shall protect this act of piety.

Tējorāśipaṇḍita (l. 57), the Āchārya of the god Sindēśvara, restored such (parts of the temple) as had fallen into ruin.

No. 34.—KUNIYUR PLATES OF THE TIME OF VENKATA II.;

SAKA-SAMVAT 1556.

By H. KRISHNA SASTRI; BANGALORE.

The copper-plates which bear this inscription, belong to a Brāhmaṇa resident of the village of Kūniyūr in the Ambāsamudram tālukā of the Tinnevely district, and were sent to Dr. Hultzsch for examination by Mr. T. Varada Rao, Acting Head Assistant Collector of Tinnevely, in December 1890. I edit the inscription from two sets of ink-impressions, which were kindly made over to me by Dr. Hultzsch, who has already noticed it briefly in his *Progress Report* for October 1890 to March 1891.³

The original consists of seven plates, measuring $8\frac{3}{4}$ inches in height from the middle of the bottom to the middle of the semi-circular top, and $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches in breadth between the two parallel sides, the height of which approaches to $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches. The ring-hole, which is a little more than $\frac{1}{2}$ " in diameter, is bored just $\frac{3}{4}$ " below the rounded top. "The plates are strung on a ring with the seal which contains the figure of a boar facing the left, the legend *Śrī-Veṅkaṭēśa*, and representations of the sun and the moon" (*loc. cit.*). The first and last of the seven plates bear writing only on the inner side, while the rest are written on both sides. The second side of the first plate, where the inscription begins, is marked with the Telugu numeral 'one' to the proper right of the ring-hole, while the remaining plates are similarly and regularly numbered on their first sides. From the appearance of the impressions I infer that the original plates have raised rims, and that those letters at the beginning and end of lines, which are indistinct on the impressions, may be quite clear in the original.

¹ 'Sindhu' is possibly a mistake for 'Sinda.'

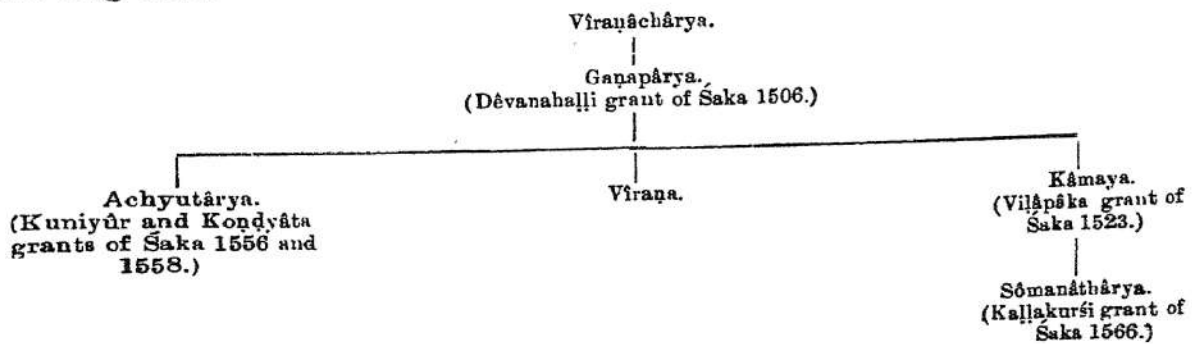
² Here we have *ḍiḍu*, 'a temporary residence, a halting-place.' It seems to have not so strong a meaning as *ḍevḍu*, of which of course it is a component.

³ Madras G. O. dated 10th June 1891, No. 452, Public, p. 6.

As other grants of the third Vijayanagara dynasty, the present grant is written in the **Nandināgarī** alphabet. The writer has been very careless and quick, so much so, that the letters *ya*, *va*, *da* and *ta* assume various forms and that, in conjunct consonants, the several parts are often not easily distinguishable. Several erasures and insertions are made, the most important of which are pointed out in the foot-notes. The writing on the whole of the first side of the sixth plate and on the latter part of the seventh is very small, evidently owing to want of space. A graphical peculiarity which I have noticed in this and in the **Vilāpāka** grant of Venkata I.,¹ an impression of which Dr. Hultsch has kindly given me, is that the group *rya* is expressed by combining the full form of *r* with the secondary form of *ya*; but in four cases (in lines 9 and 15, and twice in line 255), the *r* is, as usual, written over the line. Other consonants following *r* are written in the usual style, with the exception of *rma* in line 170, where the secondary form of *m* is affixed to the full form of *r*. The vowel *ri* is never used at the beginning of words, but is then expressed by *ri*, *ru*, and even *r²* (lines 176, 182, 184 and 241). *Jña* is written as *gñā* in two cases (lines 11 and 143). The prefixing of *y* and *v* to certain vowels, the interchange of the dental and palatal sibilants, the insertion of superfluous *anusvāras*, *visargas* and punctuation-marks, the assimilation of consonant-groups, and similar vulgarisms are not uncommon in this and other grants of the third Vijayanagara dynasty. Comparatively speaking, the present inscription is on the whole correct.

The language is **Sanskrit** verse in various metres. The poetry is of the poorest possible kind and deserves that name only because it conforms to the laws of metrics. Line 249, which is in **Telugu** prose, is engraved on the upper margin of plate vii. and was evidently inserted after the engraving of the whole grant had been finished.

The composer of this inscription and of the **Vilāpāka**, **Konḍyāta**,³ and **Kallakursī**⁴ grants of Venkata I., Venkata II., and Raṅga VI. is stated to have been one and the same person, viz. Rāma, the son of Kāmākōṭi and grandson of Sabhāpati; while the engravers of these four grants were Kāmayāchārya (the son of Gaṇapaya and younger brother of Vīraṇa), Achyutārya (the son of Gaṇapārya and grandson of Vīraṇāchārya), and Sōmanāthārya (the son of Kāmaya and grandson of Gaṇapayārya). It thus appears that Achyutārya, Vīraṇa and Kāmayāchārya were brothers. The engraver of the **Dēvanahallī** grant of Raṅga II.⁵ was Gaṇapārya, the son of Vīraṇa. Evidently the descendants of Vīraṇāchārya were the hereditary engravers of the grants of the kings of the third Vijayanagara dynasty. Their relations are shown in the following table.



The inscription may be divided into four parts:—I. a genealogy of king Venkata II. of the third Vijayanagara dynasty (vv. 1-37); II. the date of the grant and the description of the granted village (vv. 38-48); III. a genealogy of Tirumala of the Nāyaka dynasty (of

¹ See *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIII. p. 125, note 4.

² *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIII. p. 125 ff.

³ In line 205 the same symbol is used for the final *r*.

⁴ *ibid.* p. 153 ff.

⁵ *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 252 ff.

Madhurā (vv. 49 to 54); and IV. the information that the previously mentioned village was granted by **Veṅkaṭa II.** at the request of **Tirumala** to a number of **Brāhmanas**, and a list of their names, etc. (vv. 55-118). The inscription ends with some additional clauses regarding the grant, three verses (124-126) referring to **Veṅkaṭa II.**, the composer and the engraver, five of the usual imprecatory verses, and the name of the god *Śrī-Veṅkaṭeśa*.¹

The first part of the inscription opens with invocations of the god **Veṅkaṭeśa** (line 1), the feet of **Rāma** (verse 1), and the god **Vishvaksēna** (verse 2). The genealogy begins with the **Moon** (verse 3) and some of his mythical descendants (verse 4). The next verse contains a number of royal names which the composer appears to have introduced in order to connect his patron with certain well-known ancient dynasties. Thus **Nanda** is the representative of the dynasty which was subverted by the **Mauryas**; **Chalikka** and **Rājanarēndra**, of the **Chalukyas**; and **Bijjalēndra**, of the **Kaḷachuris**. **Vira-Hemmālirāya**, the lord of **Māyāpuri**, is probably identical with the **Kaḷachuri** king **Permāḍi** (*Śaka-Saṁvat* 1050).² The fourth after **Hemmāli** is reported to have been **Tāta-Pinnama** (verse 6), with whom the regular genealogy begins. The only difficult point in this long list of kings is the relation of **Raṅga**, the father of **Veṅkaṭa II.**, to his predecessors. Dr. Hultzsch has conclusively shown³ that the word *pūrvam*, 'formerly,' in verse 24 of the subjoined inscription refers to **Rāma II.**, and that Dr. Oppert's arrangement of the third **Vijayanagara** dynasty⁴ is opposed to facts. One alteration has to be made in Dr. Hultzsch's table;⁵ as recognised by Dr. Oppert,⁶ **Raṅga VI.** was not the son of **Gōpāla**, but the son of **China-** or **Pina-Veṅkaṭa**, and the adopted son of **Gōpāla**.⁷ In the annexed genealogical table, the Arabic figures prefixed to names show the order in which the latter are mentioned in the copper-plate grants.

The second of the kings of the accompanying table, **Sōmidēva**, is said to have taken seven forts in a single day from an unnamed enemy (verse 6). **Pinnama II.** is styled the "lord of the city of **Āravīṭi**" (verse 7). His son, **Bukka**, is said to have "firmly established even the kingdom of **Sāluva-Nṛisimha**." From this statement we may conclude that he was the minister of the third king of the second **Vijayanagara** dynasty, **Nṛisimha** or **Narasimha**, whose inscriptions are dated in *Śaka-Saṁvat* 1404 and 1418,⁸ and who bore the surname **Sāluva**.⁹ Regarding **Bukka's** son, **Rāma I.**, we learn from two other grants¹⁰ that he took the fort of **Avanigiri** from **Sapāda** or **Sapāta**, whose army consisted of seventy thousand horse, drove away **Kāsappoḍaya** or **Kāsapuḍaya**, and captured the fort of **Kandanavōli**. Both **Muḥammadan** historians and European travellers inform us that **Rāma II.** was the powerful minister of the puppet king **Sadāśiva**, the last representative of the second **Vijayanagara** dynasty, whose sister he took in marriage as we learn from an inscription of **Sadāśiva**.¹¹ **Rāma II.** and his youngest brother **Veṅkaṭādri** lost their lives in the famous battle of **Tālikōṭa** on the 23rd January, A.D. 1565. The second brother, **Tirumala I.**, continues to acknowledge the nominal authority of **Sadāśiva** in four inscriptions near **Vēlūr** in the North Arcot district, which are dated on the 5th February, A.D. 1567.¹² He is said to have transferred the seat of government to **Pennakonḍa** in that very

¹ This is the name of the image of Vishṇu on the hill of Tirumalai near Tirupati in the Chandragiri tālukā of the North Arcot district.

² See Dr. Fleet's *Kanarese Dynasties*, p. 58 f.

³ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIII. p. 153, and Vol. XV. p. 147 f.

⁴ *Madras Journal of Literature and Science* for the year 1881, p. 277, and *Ne Sutor Ultra Crepidam*, pp. 28 and 81.

⁵ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIII. p. 155.

⁶ See the two first quotations in note 4.

⁷ The words धरणीमवापमधुना in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIII. p. 158, plate iii. b, line 10 f. must be written as one.

⁸ *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 362, note 5.

⁹ *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. I. Nos. 116 and 119.

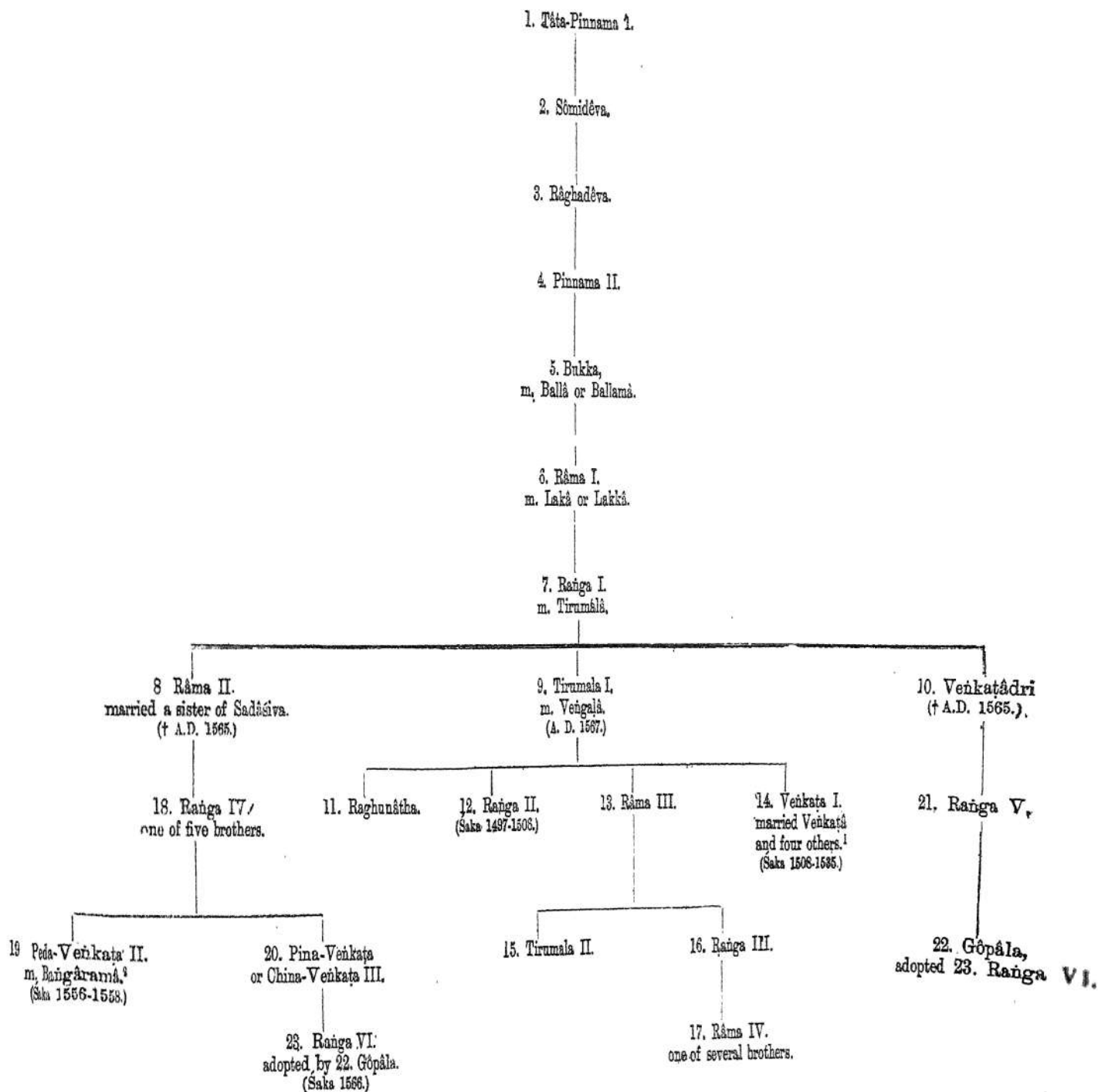
¹⁰ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIII. p. 129, verses 10 and 11, and foot-notes.

¹¹ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIII. p. 154 f.

¹² *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. I. p. 69 ff. and *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXII p. 136.

THE THIRD VIJAYANAGARA DYNASTY.

(To face page 238.)



¹ These were Rāghavā, Pedōpamā, Kṛṣṇarāmā and Koṇḍā according to the Viṭṭala's grant.

² See verse 81 of the present inscription.

year.¹ His second son, Raṅga II., is actually called king of Penugonḍa (verse 19). The same town was the residence of Veṅkaṭa II., to whose time the subjoined inscription belongs (verse 32)

The description of the reign of Veṅkaṭa II. and the list of his *birudas* (verses 33-37) are altogether devoid of historical value, because they have been copied over from the inscriptions of his predecessors. Thus, verse 33 of the Kūniyūr grant (= verse 36 of the Koṇḍyāta grant), which records that Veṅkaṭa II. was anointed by his family preceptor Tātayārya and that he destroyed the Yavanas (i.e. the Muḥammadans), is already applied to Veṅkaṭa I. in the Viḷāpāka grant.

The third part of the inscription (verses 49-54) supplies the following genealogy of Tirumala Nāyaka (of Madhurā), who is well-known on account of the magnificent buildings with which he adorned his capital.

The Nāyakas of Madhurā.

Nāga of the Kāśyapa (*gōtra*).

Viśvanātha.

Kṛishṇapa Nāyaka.

Virapa.

Viśvapa Nāyaka.

Muddukṛishṇa.

Mudduvāra.

Tirumala.

"This pedigree agrees almost completely with that of the Nāyakas of Madhurā given by Mr. Sewell,² with the only difference that the present inscription makes Muddukṛishṇa the son of Viśvapa, while, according to Mr. Sewell, he was the son of Viśvapa's elder brother."³ A copper coin of Muddukṛishṇa, the father of Tirumala, and three copper coins of Viśvanātha, the second in the pedigree, have been published by Dr. Hultzsch.⁴ The two first Nāyakas of Madhurā were originally generals of the king of Vijayanagara. Having been despatched by their sovereign against the king of Tañjāvūr, they seized Madhurā and founded an independent dynasty.⁵ The present grant shows that they continued, at least nominally, to acknowledge the kings of the third Vijayanagara dynasty as their sovereigns.

The second and fourth parts of the inscription (verses 38-48; and verse 55 to the end) contain the grant itself. The date of the grant was the full-moon *tithi* of Vaiśākha in Śaka-Saṁvat 1556 (expired), the Bhāva *saṁvatsara* (A.D. 1634) (verse 38f.). Veṅkaṭa II. issued the grant in the presence of the god Veṅkaṭeśa (verse 39), who is also invoked at the end of the inscription (lines 1 and 266). The object of the grant was the

village of Kûniyûr (verse 46), which was surnamed **Muddukrishnâpuram** (verse 45) evidently after Muddukrishna, the father of the donor, Tirumala. The village was situated in the **Viravanallûru-mâghâni**, in **Mulli-nâdu**, in **Tirvaḍi-râjya** (verse 41), to the south of the **Tâmrarnî** river and of **Bhrântamaṅgala**, to the east of **Kârukurchi**, and to the west of **Śêravanmahâdêvi** (verse 42f.). According to verse 119, it was situated on the bank of the **Kurnâṭaka** (i.e. **Karnâṭaka**) canal, and according to verse 122, "on the western bank of the canal which flows to the south." The Map which accompanies the *Tinnevelly Manual*, shows two of the boundaries of Kûniyûr, viz. **Shêrmâdêvi** (**Śêravanmahâdêvi**) and, to the west of it, **Karaikurichi** (? **Kârukurchi**), both situated in the **Ambâsamudram tâlukâ** and to the south of the **Tâmrarnî** river. The **mâghâni** in which Kûniyûr is stated to have been situated, was evidently named after **Viravanallûr**, a village to the west of Karaikurichi. The term **Tirvaḍi-râjya** is perhaps derived from the Tamil *tiruvaḍi*, "the sacred feet" (of the king). The **Karnâṭaka** canal on which Kûniyûr was situated, reminds of the "Kannadiyan channel;"¹ but the two can hardly be identical as the "Kannadiyan channel" does not appear to extend as far east as Karaikurichi and Shêrmâdêvi.

In the list of donees occur many names of Tamil origin. Most of these are derived from the designations of certain temples of **Vishṇu** and **Śiva** in Southern India. Thus, **Āḷagâdri** is called after the sacred hill of **Āḷagar** in the **Madura** district; **Veṅkatâdri**,² **Veṅkatâpatî**, **Vêṅgaḍattappa**, **Timm-arasu**, **Tirumala**, **Tiruvêṅgaḍa**, **Vaḍamala** and **Śêshâdri** are derived from different names of the temple on the hill at **Tirupati** in the **North Arcot** district; **Varadabhaṭṭa** owes his name to the **Varadarâja** (**Arulâḷa-Perumâl**) temple at **Little Kâñchi** in the **Chingleput** district; **Raṅga** and **Raṅgarâja** refer to the temple at **Śrîraṅgam** in the **Trichinopoly** district; and **Ahâbala** is the name of a village in the **Kannul** district, which contains a famous shrine of **Narasimha**. Among the names connected with **Śaiva** temples, **Ârûra** is derived from **Tiruvârûr** in the **Tanjore** district, and is commonly applied in Tamil literature to **Sundaramûrti**, one of the sixty-three **Tiruttonḍar** or **Śaiva** devotees; **Kanakasabhâpati** is a name of the god at **Chidambaram** in the **South Arcot** district, and **Chidambarâvadhânin** is called after the same place; **Chokkanâthamakhin** and **Chokkâvadhânin** are derived from **Chokkanâthasvâmin**, one of the names of the god at **Madhurâ**; **Kâlahasti** is the name of a famous place of pilgrimage in the **North Arcot** district; and **Arunâgiri** and **Arunâdri** are Sanskrit names of **Tiruvannâmalai** in the **South Arcot** district. Among the remaining Tamil names, **Periyatiruvaḍi** is synonymous with **Periyâlvâr**, the name of one of the twelve principal saints of the **Vaishṇavas**. **Âlvâr** (i.e. *âlvâr* in Tamil) is an epithet which the **Vaishṇavas** add to the names of their *gurus*, and *nâyanâr*, the first member of **Nâinârbhaṭṭa**, is an honorific title affixed to the names of **Śaiva** devotees.

TEXT.

First Plate.

- 1 श्रीवेङ्कटेशाय नमः । यस्य संपर्कपुण्ये-
- 2 न नारीरत्नमभूत्तिला । यदुपास्यं सुमनसां
- 3 तद्वस्तुद्वंद्वमाश्रये । [१*] यस्य द्विरदवक्ताद्याः पारिव-
- 4 द्याः परश्शतं । विघ्ननिघ्नंति भजतां विष्वक्सेनं

¹ *Tinnevelly Manual*, p. 41, and No. 3 on the Map.

² The same.

- 5 तमाश्रये । [२*] जयति क्षीरजलधेर्जातं संवेक्षणं^१ ह-
 6 रेः । आलम्बनं चकीराणाममरायुष्करं सहः । [३*] प्रीवस्त-
 7 स्य पुरुरवा बुधसुतस्तस्यायुरस्यात्मजसंज-
 8 [ज्ञे] नहुषो ययातिर[भ]वत्तस्माच्च पूरुस्ततः । तदंशे
 9 भरतो बभूव नृपतिस्तत्संततौ शंतनुः^३ (I) तत्तुर्यो विज-
 10 योभिमन्युरुदभूत्तस्मात्परीक्षिततः । [४*] नंदस्तस्याष्ट-
 11 मोभूत्समजनि नवमस्तस्य रागश्चञ्चिकक्ष्मापत्तः^४
 12 त्वप्तमः[*] श्रीपतिरुचिरभवद्राजपूर्वो नरेंद्रः । तस्यासी-
 13 द्विज्जम्बेद्रो दशम यिह^५ नृपो वीरहेमाक्षिरायस्तार्ति-
 14 ईको^६ सुरारौ कृतनतिरुदभूत्तस्य मायापुरीशः । [५*] त-
 15 त्तुर्योजनि तातपित्रममहीपालो निजाज्ञोकनचस्त[र]-
 16 मित्रगणस्ततोजनि हरन् दुर्गाणि सप्ताहितात् । अन्धै-^७
 17 केन स सोमिदेवनृपतिस्तस्यैव जज्ञे सुतो (I) वीरो रा-
 18 घवदेवराडिति ततः श्रीपित्रमोभूत्तः^८ । [६*] आरवी-
 19 टिनगरीविभोरभूदस्य बुद्धधरणीपतिस्तुतः ।
 20 एन^९ साकुवन्सिंह्यारान्ध्रमप्येधमानमहसा^{१०}

Second Plate; First Side.

- 21 स्थिरीकृतं । [७*] स्वःकामिनी[*] स्वतनुकांतिभिरा-
 22 क्षिपंतीं (I) बुक्कावनीपतिलको बुधकल्पश-
 23 खी । कल्याणिनीं कमलनाभ^{११} इवाभ्दिकन्यां (I) बल्लांवि-
 24 कामुदवहद्बहुमान्यसीलां^{१२} । [८*] सुतेव कलशांबुधे-
 25 स्सुरभिष्ठाशुगं (I) माधवात्कुमारमिव शंकरात्कुलम-
 26 हीभूतः कन्यका । जयंतममरप्रभोरपि शचीव बुक्का-
 27 धिपा[च्छृ]तं^{१३} जगति बल्लमालभत रामराजं सुतं । [९*] श्री-
 28 रामराजक्षितिपस्य तस्य चिंतामणेरर्थिकदंबका-
 29 नां । लक्ष्मीरिवांभोरुहलीचनस्य लकांब्बिकासुथ [म]हि-
 30 थलासीत् । [१०*] तस्याधिकैस्समभवत्तनयस्तपोभि[*] श्री-

^१ Read संवेक्षणं.

^४ Read रागश्चञ्चिकक्ष्मापत्तः.

^७ Read अन्धै.

^{१०} Read वसिष्ठ.

^२ नृ is corrected from बु.

^५ Read इह.

^८ Read भूत्तः.

^{११} Read इवाभ्दि.

^३ Read शंतनुस्तुर्यो.

^६ Read यीको.

^९ Read येन.

^{१२} Read श्रीलाम्.

^{१३} च्छृ seems to be a correction from प, which the engraver had written a second time by mistake. Read पाकृतं.

- 31 रंगराजनृपतिश्शिवंशदीपः । आसन् समुल्ल-
 32 सति धामनी¹ यस्य चित्रं नेत्राणि वैरिसुदृशां² च निरं-
 33 जनानि । [११*] सतीं तिरुमलांबकां³ चरितलीलयारुंध-
 34 तीप्रथामुपि⁴ तितिच्चया वसुमतीयशो रुंधती⁵ । हि-
 35 मांशुरिव रोहिणीं हृदयहारिणीं सङ्गुणैरमोदत
 36 [स]धर्मिणीमयमवाप्य वीराग्रणीः । [१२*] रचितनय-
 37 विचारं रामराजं च धीरं वरतिरुमलरायं वें-
 38 कटाद्रीक्षितोऽयं । अजनयत स येतानानुपूर्व्या कु-
 39 मारा(।)निह तिरुमलदेव्यामेव राजा महोजाः⁸ । [१३*] सक-
 40 लभुवनकंटकानरातीन् समिति निहत्य स राम-

Second Plate; Second Side.

- 41 राजवीरः । भरतमनुभगीरथादिराजपथि-⁹
 42 तयशाः प्रशशास चक्रनूर्व्याः¹⁰ । [१४*] त्रिषु श्रीरंगक्ष्मा-
 43 ¹¹परिवृ[ढ]कुमारेष्वधिरणं विजित्यारिक्छापान्¹²
 44 तिरुमलमहारायनृपतिः । महौजास्त्रांम्राज्ये सु-¹³
 45 मतिरभिषिक्तो निरु[प*]मे प्रशास्युर्वी¹⁴ सर्वाभपि
 46 तिसृषु¹⁴ मूर्तिष्विव हरिः । [१५*] ¹⁵यशस्विनामग्रसरस्य
 47 यस्य पद्मभिषेके शति¹⁶ पार्थिवेदोः । दानांबुधू-
 48 रैरभिषिच्यमाना देवीपदं भूमिरियं दधाति । [१६*]
 49 सामादयो विधिमुखादिव सत्यवाचः सामाद्युपा-
 50 यनिवहा युव¹⁷ सांयुगीनात् । रामादयो दशरथादि-
 51 व राजमौलिः¹⁸ तस्मादमेययशस्तनया बभूवुः । [१७*] रा-
 52 जा ततोभूद्रुधुनाथनामा श्रीरंगराय[:*] श्रितपारि-
 53 जातः । श्रीरामराज[:*] ¹⁹शिशुरांशुरुर्व्याः(।) विख्य[।*]तिमान्
 54 वैकटदेवरायः । [१८*] श्रीरंगरायस्सहजेषु तेषु पारं

¹ Read धामनि.

² Read सुदृशां.

³ Read तिरुमलान्बिकां.

⁴ Read प्रथामपि.

⁵ The whole of this *pāda* seems to have been erased and written afresh; and the श्री of यशो is written above the line.

⁶ Read °टाद्रि.

⁷ Read एता°.

⁹ Read प्रथि°.

¹⁰ Read °सुर्व्याः.

⁸ Read महौजाः.

¹¹ The ढ of परिवृढ seems to be an imperfect correction from ड.

¹² Read आपांस्तिरु°.

¹³ The ५ of सु runs into the ३ of पि at the end of the next line.

¹⁴ Read तिसृषु.

¹⁵ Read यशस्वि°.

¹⁶ Read सति.

¹⁷ Read द्व.

¹⁸ Read मौलिसम्मा°.

¹⁹ Read शिशिरांशु°.

- 55 गतो नीतिपयःपयोधेः । अष्टासु दिक्षु प्रथितस्स ले[भे]
 56 पद्माभिषेकं पेनुगोडराज्ये । [१८*] अथ अदेकैकटपनि-^१
 57 देवरायो नयोञ्जलः^२ । अवनीमशिषकीर्त्या दि[शी] द-
 58 श विशोभयन् । [२०*] तज्जग्रायससुरदृमलज्जावहच-^३
 59 रितरामराजविभोः । जातस्तिरुमलराज[:*] ख्यात[:*]
 60 श्रीरंगरायोपि । [२१*] तयो[:*] श्रीरंगरायस्य तन[या] वि-

Third Plate; First Side.

- 61 नयाधिकाः । अजायंत दयावंत[:*] श्रुतवंतो^४
 62 यशस्विनः । [२२*] श्रीरंगरायनृपतेस्तनयेषु तेषु
 63 पारं गिरामधिगतः कविपुंगवानां । रत्नेषु कौ-
 64 स्तुभ इवांबुधिसंभवेषु श्रीरामरायनृपतिसुचि-
 65 [रं] व्यलासीत् ॥ [२३*] पूर्वं विमृतरामराजनृपतेः श्रीराम-
 66 भद्राकृतेः (i) कल्याणीदयशालिनस्तनुभवा[:*] पंच प्रपंचा-
 67 वने । दद्या नीतिपद्यानुगास्समभवन् श्रीरामराजकामि-
 68 नो (i) गोवर्णालयभू[र] इव बुधश्रेणीष्टदानोत्सुकाः । [२४*] आ-
 69 [ज्ञ]विजितसुग्रीवाः (i) प्राज्ञावनकताग्रहाः ।^५ [२५*] विख्यातचर्ये-
 70 षु नृपेषु तेषु श्री[रं]गराजशिशिरांशुरव्याः । विश्व-
 71 चये विमृतकीर्तिरासीत् सौरेषु शालेखिव पारि-
 72 जातः । [२६*] यङ्गेरीवनलांकृतिश्रवणो भीत्या महत्या
 73 रणो^६ (i) प्रत्यर्थिचितिपैः पलायनपरैः^७ सुक्ता लु[ठं]-
 74 त[:*] अमात् । कांताराभरणीभवन्ति कलशच्छवध्व-
 75 ^{१०}[जं]कांचिता(i)न्युभ्यार्जत्यधिभूपदानि तदनुव्रजा-^{११}
 76 [भि]या किं ह्याः । [२७*] श्रीरंगराजस्य तपोविशेषैः [सं]-
 77 ^{१२}तोषणशेषगिरीश्वरस्य । कारुण्यभृन्ना कम[नी]-
 78 यशोभौ पुत्रावहतां^{१३} पुरुहूतभोगौ । [२८*] पेदवैक[टे]-
 79 द्रपिनवैकटाधिराडित्तिनामकौ प्रकृतिपालनौ-
 80 लुको । खरदूषणप्रकृतिदक्षिणाभौ^{१४} ददतः प्रमो-

^१ Read पति.^४ Read श्रुतवंतो.^५ The inscription omits the following half verse: — सर्वे ते विजयदाया गुणै रविरविहाराः ॥^७ Read विमृत.^{१०} Read 'जाडाचिता'.^{११} Read पुत्रावहतां.^२ Read नयोञ्जलः.^३ Read विमृत.^६ Read रण.^८ Read 'प्रजा'.^९ Read 'तीर्थ'.^{१२} Read दक्षिणाभौ.^{१३} Read दृक्.^{१४} Read परैसुका.^{१५} Read 'तीर्थ'.

Third Plate; Second Side.

- 81 दमिव रामलक्ष्मणौ । [२८*] श्रीशाली पेदवेंकट-
 82 द्रुपतिर्जेष्टो^१ वयोभिस्तयोः (।) ^२शौर्यैर्दार्यगभी-
 83 ^३रथाधृतिकलाः(ः)पूर्वैश्च सर्वैर्गुणैः । यस्थारातिवृ-
 84 पालभेदनकलायात्रासु सेनारजःपूर्वैर्भूर्जलधि-
 85 भवेदिति हरिश्चित्तेश्च^४ धत्ते स्थितिं । [३०*] ^५श्रींगारराज्या[स्व]-
 86 ददिव्यमूर्त्याः(ः) बंगारमांवारमया समेतः । विभात्य-
 87 सौ वेंकटभूमिपालः शस्त्रेव^६ शक्तो रमयेव शौरिः । [३१*] श्री-
 88 रंगराजेंद्रकुमारकेस्मिन् वीरोत्तमे वेंकटदेवरा-
 89 ये । पट्टाभिषिक्ते पेनुगोडराज्ये तदाभिषिक्ता[ः*] सुधियो-
 90 पि हेन्मा^७ । [३२*] यथा रघुकुलोद्भवः[ः*] स्वयमबंधतोऽजानिन[ः१]
 91 स्वगोत्रगुरुणा सुधीतिलकतातयार्येण यः । यथावि-
 92 धि यशस्विना विरचिताभिषेक[ः*] क्षण[ः*]द्विभिद्य यवना-
 93 शरान्विजयते प्रघ्नासन्मही^८ । [३३*] ^९वारासिगांभीर्यविशे-
 94 षधुर्यश्चौरासिदुर्गेकविभाळवर्यः^९ । पराष्टदिपा[य]-
 95 मनःप्रकाशभयंकरः ^{१०}शार्ङ्गधरांतरंगः । [३४*] सार[वी]-
 96 ररमया समुल्लसन्^{११} आरवीटिपुरहारनायकः [।]
 97 कुंडलीश्वरमहाभुज[ः*] अयन् मंडलीकधरणीवराह-
 98 तां । [३५*] आच्येयगोचजानामग्रसरो भूभुजासुदारय-
 99 शाः ।^{१२} [३६*] सोयं नीतिजितादिभूपतिततिस्सुनामशास्त्री
 100 सुधी(।)सार्थानां भुजतेजसा स्ववशयन् कर्नाट[शि]-^{१३}
 101 हासनं । आ सेतोरपि^{१४} चाहिमाद्रि विमतान् संह[त्य]

Fourth Plate; First Side.

- 102 शासन्मदा (।) सर्वोर्वी^१ प्रचकास्ति वेंकटपतिश्री-
 103 देवरायाग्रणीः ॥ [३७*] ^{१५}रितुबाणकळंबेंदुगणिते शक-

^१ Read द्रुपतिर्जेष्टो.^२ In the original, the *r* of *ryas* is doubled; read शौर्यैर्दार्य.^३ Read रता.^४ Read हरिश्चित्तेश्च.^५ Read शङ्कार.^६ Read शस्त्रेव.^७ Read हेन्मा.^८ Read वाराशि.^९ The *v* of *वर्यः* is imperfectly executed and looks almost like दा.^{१०} Read शार्ङ्ग.^{११} Read समुल्लसन्नारवीटि.^{१२} Just as the Kallakursi grant, the inscription omits the following half verse which is found in the Kōṇḍyāta and Viḷāpāka grants:— अतिविदुदतुरगधृष्टो मतिगुरुरारट्मगधमान्यपदः ॥^{१३} Read कर्णाटशिं.^{१४} The *r* and *v* of *रपि चा* seem to be corrected from other letters.^{१५} Read ऋतु.

- 104 वत्सरे । भावाभिधानके¹ वर्षे मासि वैशाखनामनि । [३८*] पक्षे
 105 वळचे पुण्यर्चे पौर्णमास्यां² जगति³ । श्रीवेकटेश-
 106 पादाब्जसंनिधौ श्रेयसान्निधौ । [३९*] नानाशाखाभिध[गो]-
 107 चसूत्रेभ्यः शास्त्रवित्तया । विख्यातेभ्यो द्विजेंद्रेभ्यो वेद-
 108 विद्वांसो विशेषतः ॥ [४०*] श्रीमत्तिर्वडिराज्यस्थं मुक्किनाडु इति
 109 श्रुतं⁴ । श्रीमद्दीरवनल्लूमाघाणि [४१*]ति शोभितं । [४१*] ताम्रपर्णीम-⁵
 110 हानद्याः) दक्षिणस्यां दिशि⁶ स्थितं । कारकुर्चिमहाप्रामात्
 111 प्राच्यां दिशि च संस्थितं । [४२*] [भ्र]तिमंगलसीमा[या] दक्षिणाशामु-
 112 पाश्र्वितं । श्रीशेरवंमहादेविप्रामात्पश्चिमतः⁷ स्थितं । [४३*] पर्व-
 113 तोदक्षहामार्गादुत्तराशामुपाश्र्वितं । कारकुर्चाः⁸ पंचद-
 114 शकुल्यायां क्षेत्रयुग्मगं । [४४*] [ग्र]ामं च सर्वसस्याब्जं द्विषष्टिम-
 115 णसयुतं⁹ । सुदुक्किणापुरमिति प्रतिनाम्ना सुशोभितं ॥ [४५*]
 116 कूनियूरिति विख्यातं गृह्यारामोपशोभितं । सर्वमा-
 117 न्यं चतुस्त्रीमासहितं च समंततः । [४६*] निधिनिक्षेपपा-
 118 ण्यल्लिप्ताध्यजलरत्नितं । अक्षिण्यागामिसंयुक्तं ग-
 119 णभीज्यं सभूरुहं । [४७*] पुत्रपौत्रादिविर्भोज्यं¹⁰ क्रमादाचंद्रता-
 120 रकं । [४८*] ¹⁰आसीत्काश्यपसंततेर्वनतपसस्तुष्टविश्वेश्वरस्वै-
 121 रानुग्रहभाजनाहुनिधेः श्रीनागपृथ्वीपतेः । विद्वत्सं-
 122 ण्यवांश्चित्तार्थकृतिकूर्ध्वव्यादवन्थां महावीराणां धु-
 123 रि विश्वनाथधरणीसंक्रंदनो मानितः । [४९*] तत्त्वादजय-
 124 त धनेशसमानधर्मा धर्मानुशासितधरातलजीव-
 125 लोकः । आख्यानुरूपविजितारिणृपालमौळिर्विख्या-

Fourth Plate; Second Side.

- 126 तिमान्¹¹ जगति ¹²कृष्णपनायकेंद्रः । [५०*] तस्याजनिष्ट
 127 ततकोर्तिमहस्समेतः (i) श्रीवीरपेंद्रधरणीतल[शी]-
 128 तमानुः । आ[मो]दयन्¹³ कुवलयस्य तथा बुधानामालं-
 129 वनं शिथिलितारिमनोविनोदः । [५१*] तस्योदभूद्विषयपना-
 130 यकेंद्रः (i) प्रतीपभूपालतमस्सुधांशुः । श्रीसुदुक्किणप्र-

¹ Read भावाभिधानके.² Read पौर्णमास्यां.³ Read जगति.⁴ Read श्रुतम्.⁵ Read ताम्रपर्णी.⁶ Read दक्षिण.⁷ Read पश्चिम.⁸ Read कारकुर्चाः.⁹ Read द्विषष्टिम्.¹⁰ Read विभोज्यं.¹¹ Read आसीत्काश्यप.¹² Read क.¹³ Read पौर्णमास्यां.¹⁴ Read दिशि.¹⁵ Read सुदुक्किणा.¹⁶ Read ताम्रपर्णी.¹⁷ Read आसीत्काश्यप.¹⁸ Read क.¹⁹ Read क.²⁰ Read क.²¹ Read क.²² Read क.²³ Read क.²⁴ Read क.²⁵ Read क.²⁶ Read जितम्.²⁷ Read कारकुर्चाः.²⁸ Read दिशि.²⁹ Read विभोज्यं.³⁰ Read आसीत्काश्यप.³¹ Read क.³² Read क.³³ Read क.³⁴ Read क.³⁵ Read क.³⁶ Read क.³⁷ Read क.³⁸ Read क.

- 131 भुरस्व जज्ञे प्रतापवान् मेरुसमानधैर्यः । [५२*] तस्यास्तां
 132 ^१मुहुवीरप्रभूतिरुमलभूपालकौ नन्दनौ द्वौ (।) मीनाक्षी-
 133 सुन्दरेशस्थिरतरकरुणापूरधारानिधानौ । आकैला-
 134 साद्रिसेतुप्रथितनिजयशोद्भासमानौ^२ यदीयाप्याज्ञा रा-
 135 ज्ञां किरीटस्फुरितमणिमयालंकृतिर्माननीया । [५३*] अथ
 136 तिरुमलभूपो मन्त्रिसुख्यैरनेकैः (।) सकुतुकमभिषिक्त-
 137 स्वर्वराज्याधिपत्ये [।*] समधिककृपयासौ सुन्दरसस्य^३
 138 लब्ध्वा ^४धरणिवलमशेषं राजते भूतलेंद्रः । [५४*] येतस्य^५ पर-
 139 दुर्वारभुजविक्रमशालिनः । भोगे भूलीकसुचाम्णस्यागे
 140 भूकल्पशाखिनः । [५५*] करीन्द्रारोहमात्रेण गिरीन्द्रारूढविहि-
 141 षः । लङ्घिते नगरे जेतुं ^६लङ्घितार्नववैरिणः । [५६*] कन्थान्न-
 142 ^७स्वर्नभूदानैः कालक्षेपं मितन्वितः^८ । जयंतचंद्रकंदर्प-
 143 जयसौंदर्यशालिनः^९ । [५७*] श्रीमत्तिरुमलेंद्रस्य विग्नमिम-^{१०}
 144 नुपालयन् । श्रीवीरवेंकटपतिमहारायमहीपतिः [।] [५८*]
 145 [स]हिरण्यपयोधारापूर्वकं दत्तवान् मुदा ॥ वृत्ति-
 146 मंतोत्र हिंख्यंते^{११} विप्रा वेदांतपारगाः । [५९*] वेंकटाद्रीं [ह]-^{१२}
 147 तनयो भारद्वाजी च याजुषः । क्षेत्रं स लब्धवाने[कं]

Fifth Plate; First Side.

- 148 रघुनाथाभिथी^{१३} मखी । [६०*] लक्ष्मीनृसिंहयज्वं-^{१४}
 149 द्र(ः)सुत[ः*] श्रीवल्लगीत्रजः । लक्ष्मीनरहरिर्यज्वा वृ-
 150 ^{१५}र्त्तिमर्धाधिकामगात् । [६१*] गोत्रे हरितसे जातः प्राप्तस्ति-
 151 ^{१६}मरसात्मजः । वेंकटाद्रिद्विजोप्येकां वृत्तिं याजुषिकोत्तमः [॥ ६२*]
 152 आत्रेयगोत्र[ः*] संप्राप्नोप्याश्वलायनसूत्रवान् । सदासिव-^{१७}
 153 सुतः क्षेत्रं त्रिपादं ध्रुवमीश्वरः । [६३*] श्रीरंगराजपुत्रः कन-
 154 कसभापतिरतीव मेधावी । ^{१८}कौसिककुलप्रभूतो गृह्ण[।*]-
 155 ^{१९}वृत्तिद्वयं यजुर्वेदी । [६४*] ^{२०}प्रतीतकौसिकान्ववायसिंधुबंधुचं-

^१ Read प्रभु.

^४ Read धरणितल°.

^७ Read स्वर्ण.

^{१०} Read विग्नमि°.

^{१३} Read °भिधी.

^{१६} Read °सिम्भरसा°.

^{१९} To the ह of ह both रः and ः are attached in the original.

^२ Read यशोभासमानौ.

^५ Read एतस्य.

^८ Read वितन्वतः.

^{११} Read लिंख्यन्ते.

^{१४} Read वृत्तिं.

^{१७} Read सदाशिव.

^३ Read सुन्दरेशस्य.

^६ Read लङ्घितार्नव.

^९ Read सौन्दर्य.

^{१२} Read °द्रीन्द्र.

^{१५} Read वृत्ति°.

^{१८} Read कौशिक.

^{२०} Read कौशिका°.

- 156 द्रमाक्षिरं धरातले रिचा¹ दुरंधरः स बंधुमान् । अनं-
 157 तभटन[दनो]पि² चाय्यभटभूसुरस्त्रिपादयुक्तवृत्ति-
 158 पंचकं समेत्य शोभते । [६५*] ³काश्यपान्वयजः श्रीमानापस्तं-
 159 बी च लब्धवान् । तिरुमलार्यसुतो मल्लभट्टो वृत्तिं स ए-
 160 किकां । [६६*] मारुभट्टसुतो भारद्वाजी याजुषिकोत्तमः । वैक-
 161 टाद्रीवरः⁴ श्रीमान्वृत्तिमेकां समश्रुते । [६७*] अरुणाद्रिसुतो भा-
 162 रद्वाजी ⁵रुग्वेदवानयं । यल्लप्यभूसुरः क्षेत्रं प्राप्तवानर्ध-
 163 मच तु । [६८*] ⁶काश्यपान्वयजो लब्ध्वा यजुर्वेदी विराजते । भ्रांतीश्व-
 164 री महान्वृत्तिमर्धमप्यलयात्मभूः । [६९*] आश्वलायनसूची-
 165 यं भारद्वाजान्वर्ध⁷ सुतः । श्रीवेकटपतेरिकां वृत्तिं नागर-
 166 सोश्रुते । [७०*] भारद्वाजकुलीङ्गतोष्यर्ध⁸ याजुषिकोत्तमः । चे-
 167 त्रं रघुपतेः सूनुरळगाद्रिरिचाश्रुते । [७१*] श्रीवत्सगोत्रगोविं-
 168 दसुतो घटलयाभिधः । ⁹रुग्वेदवानयं प्राप्य त्रिपादां वृत्ति-
 169 मेधते । [७२*] आत्रेयगोत्रजोऽष्टहात्मावेदाभिपारगः¹⁰ । श्री-
 170 निवासात्मजो वृत्तिद्वयं(१) नरहरिर्महान् । [७३*] आत्रेयगोत्रजः(-)
 171 सोमनाथो याजुषिकोत्तमः । नरसंभट्टपुत्रोयं क्षेत्रे-

Fifth Plate; Second Side.

- 172 णार्धेन राजते । [७४*] अनंतभट्टपुत्रोसौ श्रीनिवासो-
 173 तिधार्मिकः । ¹¹कौसिकान्वयजोप्येक(१)क्षेत्रं याजुषिको-
 174 गृहीत्¹² । [७५*] ¹³काश्यपान्वयभूषायमापस्तंबी महायशः ।
 175 वैकटय्यसुतः क्षेत्रं ¹⁴सिधयोप्येकम(१)श्रुते । [७६*] वसवावधा-
 176 निनः पुत्री नागादीक्षितशेखरः । भारद्वाजी च ऋक्छात्री द्वे-
 177 त्रमर्धं प्रपेदिवान् । [७७*] जातो हरितसे वंशे यजुर्वेदी समेदवा-¹⁵
 178 न् । काळहस्तिसुतः क्षेत्रं त्रिपादं ¹⁶ध्रुवमंगयः । [७८*] वत्सगोत्र-
 179 भवः सत्याषाढसूत्रोपि चैककं । श्रीनल्लपेरुमाळसूनु-
 180 रारूरः क्षेत्रमश्रुते । [७९*] संजातः काश्यपे¹⁷ श्रीमान् यजुःशा-
 181 खी समेदवान्¹⁸ । ¹⁹नरसिंहात्मजः क्षेत्रं पादत्रयमहो-

¹ Read ऋचा धुरंधरः.⁴ Read टाद्रीवरः.⁷ Read न्वयी.¹⁰ Read गृह्णात्सामं.¹³ Read काश्यपान्वयभूषीयं.¹⁶ Read ध्रुवं.¹⁹ Read नरसिंहा.² Read भट्ट.⁵ Read रुग्वेदं.⁸ Read ष्यर्धं.¹¹ Read कौशिकां.¹⁴ Read सिधयी.¹⁷ Read काश्यपे.³ Read काश्यपा.⁶ Read काश्यपा.⁹ Read रुग्वेदं.¹² Read गृहीत्.¹⁵ Read समेदिवान्.¹⁸ Read समेदिवान्.

- 182 बलः । [८०*] ¹काश्य[पा*]न्वयजी वृंदावननाथसुतीत्तमः । ऋत्स्ना-²
 183 स्त्री ³नइनारुमहः चेन्नमर्ध स लम्बवान् । [८१*] सिंगपेरु-
 184 माळ्न्दनीयं (।) वेंगडत्तप्पभूसुरः । चेन्नद्वयं च ऋत्स्ने-
 185 दो अयत्ताचेयगीचजः । [८२*] यजुर्वेदविदां श्रेष्टी⁴ भारद्वाज-
 186 कुलीङ्गवः । पेडिभट्टसुती नीलकंठी ⁵वृत्त्यार्धयांचति । [८३*] श्री-
 187 वत्सगीचभूः सीमाभट्टजो याजुषोत्तमः । श्रीमान्⁶ लक्ष्मण-
 188 शास्त्रीन्द्रः⁷ चेन्नमर्ध समश्रुते । [८४*] आपस्तम्बी च ⁸गौर्विन्ददीक्षि-
 189 तिः⁹ कौशिकान्वयः । ¹⁰क्रिष्णभट्टोपि केदारमर्ध लम्बा समेधते । [८५*]
 190 पेरुभट्टसुत[स्त्रि]मावधानी¹¹ याजुषोत्तमः । भारद्वाजकु-
 191 लीङ्गुतो¹² वृत्तिमर्ध समेधवान्¹³ । [८६*] कौशिकान्वयवान्¹⁴ लिंगा-
 192 वधानी मल्लभट्टजः । आपस्तम्बी च केदारमर्ध प्राप्य वि-
 193 शोभते । [८७*] पुत्री नरहरैरापस्तम्बि¹⁵ शेषाद्रिभूसुरः । शाला-
 194 वतसगीचीयं¹⁶ चेन्नद्वयमिहाश्रुते । [८८*] भारद्वाजान्वये जातो यजु-
 195 भट्टस्य नंदनः । नारसिंही यजुर्वेदी ¹⁷वृत्तिमेकामिहाश्रुते । [८९*] श्री-
 196 (मान्)तिरुमलभट्टोपि जातो हरितसे कुले । नागाभट्टसुत[*]
 197 चेन्नमेकं लम्बा विजृम्भते । [९०*] कौडिन्यवंशसंभूतः कृष्ण-

Sixth Plate; First Side.

- 198 भागवतीत्तमः । केदारैण त्रिपादेन कुबेर इ-
 199 व राजते । [९१*] लिंगावधानिनः पुत्री भारद्वाजी च या-
 200 जुषः । रायल्लिंगावधानीन्द्रः चेन्नमेकमिहाश्रुते । [९२*]
 201 आचेयगीचजी गंगाधरयज्वात्मजोश्रुते । यजुर्वेदी श्री-
 202 निवासशास्त्रि¹⁸ केदारमर्दकं¹⁹ । [९३*] शेषाद्रिनंदनस्तिमावधा-
 203 नी याजुषोत्तमः । भारद्वाजकुले जातस्त्रिपादां वृत्तिमश्रु-
 204 ते । [९४*] यजुयज्वसुती लक्ष्मीनरसिंहबुधोद्यहीत् । आपस्त-
 205 [म्बी]²⁰ महानेकं चेन्नमाचेयगीचवान् । [९५*] ²¹आचेयगीचजोप्याळ्वारसुत[*] श्री-

¹ Read काश्यपा°.

⁴ Read श्रेष्टी.

⁷ Read शास्त्रीन्द्रः.

¹⁰ Read कृष्ण°.

¹⁸ Read समेधिवान्.

¹⁵ Read °लक्ष्मी.

¹⁷ Read वृत्ति°.

¹⁹ Read °मर्धकम्.

² Read ऋत्स्नास्त्री.

⁵ Read वृत्त्या°.

⁸ Read गौर्विन्द.

¹¹ Read °क्रिष्णा.

¹⁴ Read कौशिकान्वयवाङ्मिता°.

¹⁶ The स of सगीची is written below the line.

¹⁸ Read शास्त्री.

²⁰ Read आपस्तम्बी.

³ Read नइनार्.

⁶ Read श्रीमान् लक्ष्मण.

⁹ Read °तः कौशिका°.

¹² Read °लीङ्गुतो.

²¹ The three letters यगीच of आचेयगीच are written at the top of the plate, and the necessary insertion is indicated by a faint caret made above च.

- 206 वेंकटेश्वरः । चैत्रमेकं त्रिपादं च लब्धवानृग्विभूषणः । [८६*] आत्रे-
 207 यगोची^१ रुग्वेदी श्रीमानीश्वरनंदनः । चैत्रं कळप्परान्पादत्रयं
 208 [प्रा]प्य समेधते । [८७*] विश्वामित्रकुले जाती^२ रुक्शाखी चाय्यपो म-
 209 हान् । अनंतकृष्णतनयो वृत्तिमर्धामिहाश्रुते । [८८*] 'पेरीय्यतिरुव-
 210 डि[:*] श्रीमान्^३ चीकनाथमखींद्रजः । धनंजयान्वई^४ चैत्रद्वयस्य-
 211 र्वेदवानगात् । [८९*] आत्रेयवंशी^५ रुक्शाखी नारायणवरात्मजः ।
 212 श्रीरामभट्टः केदारमेकमासाद्य वर्धते । [१००*] आपस्तंबी भरद्वाज-
 213 वंश्यः शिंगिरिनंदनः । नारायणीप्यर्धवृत्तिं समेत्य धन-
 214 दायते । [१०१*] गिरियप्पकुमारीयं श्रीवेंकटपतिर्महान् । श्रीव-
 215 त्तगोची रुक्शाखी^६ वृत्तिमेकां प्रपेदिवान् । [१०२*] लब्ध्वारुणगिरिः
 216 पुत्रः सूर्यनारायणीचति । 'कौडिन्यवं[श]जः चैत्रमेकं या-
 217 [जु]षिकीत्तमः । [१०३*] तिरुवेंगडनाथस्य पुत्री वडमलीश्रुते । व-
 218 त्तगोचभव[:*] चैत्रमेकं याजुषिकीत्तमः । तस्यानुजौ चैत्र-
 219 मेकं श्रीनिवेंकटनामकौ । [१०४*] कौडिन्यगोत्रजीनंतनारा-
 220 यणसुतोश्रुते । रामाभट्टवरः चैत्रमेकं याजुषिकीत्तमः ।
 221 तस्यानुजौ राघवश्च चैत्रमेकं स लब्धवान् । [१०५*] यत्तयो रं-
 222 गयश्चैव वेंकटाद्रिश्च वेंकपः । चत्वारः चैत्रमेकं तु वर्धते
 223 [प्र]तिगृह्य^७ ते । [१०६*] कौडिन्यवंशजः सत्याषाढसूत्रसमेदवान्^{१०} ।

Sixth Plate; Second Side.

- 224 वेंकटाद्रिवरः चैत्रत्रयं गणपतेस्तुतः । [१०७*] रघुना-
 225 थमखी [व्या]सरायभट्टसुतोश्रुते । वृत्तिमेकां साम-
 226 वेदी भारद्वाजकुलोद्भवः । [१०८*] नारायणीनंतभट्टसुतः सं-
 227 कृतिगोत्रजः । लब्धवानर्धकेदारं^{११} श्रीबीधायनसूत्रवान् । [१०९*]
 228 धर्मराजो वत्सगोची पादचैत्रमिहाश्रुते । [११०*] नारायणी
 229 राघवस्य सुतो भार्गवगोत्रजः । प्राप्तवा[न]र्धकेदारं धो-
 230 मान्^{१३} जैमीनिसूत्रवान् । [१११*] आपस्तंबी भरद्वाजवंश्ये^{१३} भास्क-
 231 रभट्टजः । सूर्यनारायणस्त्रीयं वृत्तिमेकां समश्रुते । [११२*]
 232 [शि]गिरिनंदनश्चोक्तावधानी याजुषीत्तमः । लोहिता-

^१ Read गोच रुग्वेदी.

^४ Read श्रीमानीश्वर.

^७ Read रुक्शाखी.

^{१०} Read सवेयिवान्.

^{१३} Read बीमाश्वमिनि.

^२ Read जात रुक्शाखी.

^५ Read 'न्ययी.

^८ Read कौडिन्य.

^{११} The श्री of बीधायन is written below the line.

^{१३} Read वंश्ये.

^३ Read पेरीय.

^६ Read वंश्य रुक्शाखी.

^९ Read प्रतिगृह्य.

- 233 न्वयभूरर्धो वृत्तिमासाद्य वर्धते । [११३*] चिदंबरवधानी च
 234 श्रीमान् ¹वरदुभट्टजः । कौशिकान्वयवानापस्तं²[वि]² वृत्त्या-
 235 धंयांचति । [११४*] आत्रेयवंशजो रामावधानी याजुषीत्तमः [१*]
 236 जगन्नाथकुमारोयमर्धं क्षेत्रमिहासवान् । [११५*] कौशिका-
 237 न्वयजो रामचंद्रभट्टसुतीश्रुते । श्रीनिवासदि³ [क]
 238 क्षेत्रं याजुषिकीत्तमः । [११६*] श्रीमानगस्थविबुधोप्यर्धवृ-
 239 त्तिमिहाश्रुते । अर्धवृत्तिं कीडवीटिरामलिंगबुधोय-
 240 हीत् । [११७*] आत्रेयगोत्रजः सर्वनाथो दीक्षितशेखरः । अ[र्ध]-
 241 वृत्तिं समासाद्य ऋङ्गाखी⁴ धनदायते । [११८*] येते⁴ सर्वे द्विजये-
 242 ष्ठाः पूर्वोक्तं ग्राममुत्तमं । ⁵श्रीकुर्नाटककुल्यायास्तीर[स्थ]-
 243 तरुशोभितं । [११९*] भट्टवृत्तिं विना सर्वदेवदायसमन्वितं । क-
 244 पटाजीलेसहितं तिरुतुवलयान्वितं । [१२०*] मटप्परयुतं कीळ्ळि-
 245 ळ्ळिपळसमन्वितं । ⁶कारुकुचामर्धयुक्तपंचमावुसमन्वि[तं ।] [१२१*]
 246 तत्तद्विद्म⁷ स्थितश्रीमद्वामनांकितसीमकं । स्थितं दक्षिणवाहि-
 247 न्याः कुल्यायाः पश्चिमे तटे ॥ [१२२*] कारुकुर्चाः पूर्वनीचवाटिकाया-
 248 स्तु पूर्वतः । सर्वमान्यतया लब्ध्वा जयंत्याचंद्रतारकं ॥ [१२३*]

Seventh Plate.

- 249 ग्रामदेवतकु कोनि विडिचिन क्षेत्रं अर्धं ॥
 250 श्रीवेंकटपतिरायक्षितिपतिवर्यस्य
 251 कीर्तिधुर्यस्य । शासनमिदं सुधीजनकु-
 252 वलयचंद्रस्य [भू]महेंद्रस्य । [१२४*] श्रीवीरवेंकटरायीक्ता⁸ प्रा-
 253 ह पौत्रस्सभापतेः । कामकोटिसुतो रामकविश्वा-
 254 सनवाङ्मयं । [१२५*] श्रीवीरणाचार्यवरैष्यपौतो⁹ वरा-
 255 च्युतार्थी गणपार्थपुत्रः । सूक्त[१*]लिखवेंकट-
 256 रायमौलेः पद्यानि हृद्यान्वय शासनस्य । [१२६*] दान-
 257 पालनयोर्मध्ये ¹⁰दानात्त्रेयोनुपालनं । दाना(१)त्स्वर्ग-
 258 मवाप्नोति पालनादच्युतं पदं [॥ १२७*] स्वदत्ता[द*]द्विगुणं पुण्यं
 259 परदत्तानुपालनं [१*] परदत्तापहारेण स्वदत्तं निष्फलं¹¹

¹ Read वरद.

² Read एते.

³ Read कारुकुर्चा⁴.

⁴ Read पौत्री.

⁵ Read कौशिकान्वयवानापस्तम्बी वृत्त्या⁶.

⁶ The five letters श्रीकुर्नाटक are written on an erasure. Read कर्णाटक

⁷ Read तत्तद्विद्म स्थित.

⁸ Read दानात्त्रेयो.

⁹ Read षट्कर्णाखी.

¹⁰ Read रायीक्ता.

¹¹ Read निष्फलं.

- 260 भवेत् । [१२८*] स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा यो हरेत् वसुंधरा । षष्टिर्वर्ष-¹
 261 [स]हस्राणि विष्टा[यां*]² जायते क्रिमिः । [१२९*] येकैव³ भगिनी लोके
 सवेषांनेव⁴
 262 भूवृजां⁵ । न भोज्या न करग्राह्य[१*] विप्रदत्ता वसुंधरा । [१३०*]
 सामा[न्यो]-
 263 यं धर्मसेतुं⁶ वृषाणां काले काले पालनीयो भवद्भिः । सर्वानि-
 264 तान् भाविनः पार्थिवेदान्⁷ (i) भूयो भूयो याचते रामचं-
 265 द्रः ॥ [१३१*]
 266 श्रीवैकटेश⁸ [॥*]

TRANSLATION.

(Line 1.) Obeisance to the blessed Venkateśa!

(Verse 1.) I take refuge to that pair of objects which is to be worshipped by the gods, (and) at whose meritorious touch a stone became the best of women.⁹

(V. 2.) I take refuge to that Vishvaksēna whose more than hundred attendants, the elephant-headed (Gaṇēśa) etc., remove the obstacles (in the way) of (his) devotees.¹⁰

(V. 3.) Victorious is the luminary (viz. the Moon) which rose from the milk-sea, (which is) the left eye of Hari (Vishṇu), (which is) the support of the chakōra (birds), (and) which sustains the life of the gods.

(V. 4.) The grandson of him (viz. the Moon) (was) Budha's son Purūravas; his (son was) Āyus; his son was Nahusha; from him was born Yayāti; (and) from him Pāru. In his race was born king Bharata; in his lineage Śāntanu; the fourth from him was Vijaya; from him was born Abhimanyu; (and) from him Parīkshit.

(V. 5.) The eighth (in descent) from him was Nanda; the ninth from this king was king Chajikka; the seventh from him was Narēndra (whose name was) preceded by Rāja (i.e. Rājanarēndra), (and) who was devoted to Śrīpati (Vishṇu); the tenth from him in this (world) was king Bijjalēndra; (and) the third from him was Vira-Hammājirāya, the lord of Māyāpurī, who prostrated himself before Murāri (Vishṇu).

(V. 6.) The fourth from him was king Tāta-Pinnama, at whose sight the crowd of enemies trembled; from him was born that king Sōmidēva who took from the enemy seven forts in a

¹ Read षष्टि वर्ष.

⁴ Read सर्वेषांनेव.

⁷ Read पार्थिवेदान्.

⁹ The two objects referred to in this verse are the two feet of Rāma. It is said of him that, while he was

² Read विष्टायां.

⁵ Read वृषाणां.

⁸ In Telugu characters.

³ Read एकैव.

⁶ Read सैवर्षपायां.

on his way to Janaka's town with his brother Lakshmana and his preceptor Viśvāmitra, he trod upon a stone, which immediately turned into the body of a woman. This was Ahalyā who had formerly been cursed by her husband, Gautama, for her misconduct, to remain a stone until the time when Rāma should tread upon it; see the *Padmapurāṇa*, *Mahānātaka*, *Jānakīpariṇaya*, and *Chāmpūrāmāyana*. The two white lines which form part of the Vaishnava sectarian mark, are also intended for the feet of Rāma and are consequently represented in pictures along with marks of royalty and high birth, such as pitchers, *chauris*, flags, etc. It is but natural that an inscription of a Vaishnava king should begin with an invocation of the feet of Rāma, as it is even now usual to insert wood-cuts of Rāma's feet at the beginning of Vaishnava books.

¹⁰ Among Vaishnavas the god Vishvaksēna is worshipped at the beginning of every ceremony, just as among the Śaivas the god Gaṇēśa, who is here represented as one of Vishvaksēna's attendants.

single day; his heroic son was king Rāghavadēva; (and) from him was born the glorious king Pinnama.

(V. 7.) The son of this lord of the city of Âravīti was king Bukka, whose power was (continually) rising, (and) who firmly established even the kingdom of Sāluva-Nṛisimha.

(V. 8.) Just as Viṣṇu (married) Lakshmī,—Bukka, the ornament of kings (and) the kalpa tree to scholars, married the prosperous Ballāmbikā, who surpassed the celestial nymphs by her personal beauty, (and) whose virtue was highly respected.

(V. 9.) As Lakshmī (bore) Kāma from Mādhava, as Pārvatī (bore) Kumāra from Śaṅkara, and as Śāchī (bore) Jayanta from Indra, so did Ballamā bear a son, Rāmarāja, who was renowned in the world, from the lord Bukka.

(V. 10.) As Lakshmī to Viṣṇu, so to this glorious king Rāmarāja, who fulfilled the desires of all supplicants, Lakāmbikā was the queen.

(V. 11.) In consequence of (his) great austerities, there was born to him a son, king Śrīraṅgarāja, the light of the race of the Moon, at whose brilliant splendour—O wonder!—the eyes even of the wives of (his) enemies became bright.¹

(V. 12.) Having wedded as (his) legal wife the virtuous Tirumalāmbikā, who resembled Arundhatī in good conduct, who at the same time surpassed the fame of the earth in patience, (and) who captivated (all) hearts by (her) good qualities,—that foremost among heroes felt as happy as the Moon (by the possession of) Rôhīṇī.²

(V. 13.) This powerful king begat by that Tirumaladēvi the following (three) sons in succession,—the wise Rāmarāja, who was conversant with politics; the excellent Tirumalarāja; (and) king Veṅkaṭādri.

(V. 14.) Having killed in battle all dangerous enemies in the world, this heroic Rāmarāja, who resembled by his great fame Bharata, Manu, Bhagīratha and other kings, ruled the circle of the earth.

(V. 15.) Among the three sons of king Śrīraṅga, the wise (and) powerful king Tirumalamahārāja, as Hari among the trinity, having conquered hostile kings in battle (and) having been anointed to the matchless sovereignty, ruled the whole earth.

(V. 16.) At the coronation of this moon among kings (and) foremost among the famous, this earth, being sprinkled with floods of water (poured out) at donations, occupied (as it were) the place of queen.³

(V. 17.) Just as the Sāman and the other (three Vēdas were produced) from the mouth of the Creator, as peace and the other (three) expedients from the brave Satyavāch (?), (and) as Rāma and (his three brothers) from Daśaratha,—(thus) from that excellent king were born (four) sons of great fame:—

(V. 18.) From him were born a king called Raghunātha; Śrīraṅgarāja, (who was) a pārijāta (tree) to supplicants; the glorious Rāmarāja, the moon of the earth; (and) the famous Veṅkaṭadēvarāja.

(V. 19.) Among these brothers, Śrīraṅgarāja, who had crossed the milk-ocean of policy (and) who was renowned in the eight regions, was crowned to the kingdom of Penugonḍa.

(V. 20.) After (him) the wise (and) glorious Veṅkaṭapatidēvarāja ruled the earth, illumining the ten regions by (his) fame.

¹ i.e. he killed his enemies. As widows are not permitted to use collyrium, the eyes of the relicts of his deceased enemies had a bright appearance, though filled with tears. Hence the wonder.

² In this verse a *virôdhābhāsa alamkāra*, which does not admit of a literal translation, is hinted in the antithetic words *Arundhatī* and *rundhatīm*.

³ It is usual at a coronation ceremony to bathe both the king and the queen with water brought from various *śrīṅgas*.

(V. 21.) To his elder brother, the lord Rāmarāja, whose deeds put to shame the celestial trees, were born Tirumalarāja and the famous Śrīraṅgarāja.

(V. 22.) Of these two, Śrīraṅgarāja begat sons who possessed great modesty, were full of compassion, learned (*and*) famous.

(V. 23.) Among these sons of king Śrīraṅgarāja, the glorious king Rāmarāja, who was beyond the reach of the eloquence of the best poets, shone for a very long time, as the *kaustubha* among the gems produced from the sea.

(V. 24.) Formerly, from the famous king Rāmarāja, who resembled the holy Rāmaḥhadra, were born,—as the (*five*) celestial trees from the milk-ocean,—five sons who were eager to gratify the desires of all scholars, who followed the path of policy, who were able to protect the world, (*and*) who possessed rising prosperity.

(V. 25.) [All these] excelled Sugrīva in (*the effectiveness of their*) commands, were stubborn (*only*) in pleasing wise men, [were to be respected by the learned on account of (*their*) virtues, (*and*) had beautiful forms].

(V. 26.) Among these kings of famous deeds, Śrīraṅgarāja, a moon on earth, was celebrated in the three worlds, as the *pārijāta* tree among the celestial trees.

(V. 27.) The horses which are abandoned in battle by hostile kings who have taken to flight in great terror on hearing the loud roar of his drums, are wallowing (*on the ground*) through fatigue. Is it through fear of their (*the kings'*) being pursued that (*these horses*) are (*thus*) wiping away the foot-prints of (*their*) masters, which bear the (*royal*) marks of pitchers, parasols and flags, (*and*) which (*now*) adorn (*only*) the jungle?

(V. 28.) Through the great mercy of the lord of Śēshagiri,¹ who was pleased with the great austerities of Śrīraṅgarāja, there were born to (*him*) two beautiful sons who were as happy as Indra.

(V. 29.) Fond of protecting (*their*) subjects, (*and*) expert in slaying the cruel (*khara*) and the wicked (*dūshana*), (*these*) two (*princes*), named Peda-Veṅkaṭēndra and the lord Pina-Veṅkaṭa, gave delight (*to the world*), as Rāma and Lakshmaṇa (*who slew the demons Khara and Dūshana*).

(V. 30.) Of these two, the elder by years, prowess, liberality, profundity, firmness, scholarship and all other virtues (*was*) the glorious king Peda-Veṅkaṭēndra, in whose heart Hari (Vishṇu) takes up (*his*) abode (*because he is afraid*) that (*his proper abode*) the ocean might become land by the clouds of the dust of (*his*) army during his expeditions (*in which he practises*) the art of destroying hostile kings.

(V. 31.) United with (*his*) queen Baṅgāramāmbā, whose heavenly form is the abode of the kingdom of love, this king Veṅkaṭa shines like Śakra (Indra) with Śachī, (*and*) like Śaurya (Vishṇu) with Rāmā (Lakshmi).

(V. 32.) When this son of king Śrīraṅgarāja,—Veṅkaṭadēvarāja, the best of heroes,—was anointed to the kingdom of Penugonḍa, then were also the learned anointed (*i.e.* abundantly presented) with gold.

(V. 33.) Having been anointed according to the rule by his family preceptor, the famous Tātayārya, the ornament of the learned, just as (Rāma) the descendant of the race of Raghu himself by (Vasishṭha) the husband of Arundhatī, (*and*) having destroyed in an instant the Yavanas, (*just as Rāma*) the demons,² he rules the earth victoriously.

¹ This is another name of Tirumalai, on which see page 238 above, note 1. The synonym Veṅkaṭaśēṣa occurs in verse 34 of the Kallakurūṁ grant.

² For the word *āsara* in the sense of 'demon' see the *Amarakōśa*, i. 1, 62 :— क्रव्यात्क्रव्यादो ऽसप चाशरः.

(V. 34.) He who resembles the ocean in great profundity; the only excellent conqueror of the fort (*durga*) of Chaurāsi; he who terrifies vehemently the hearts of the hostile kings of the eight directions; the favourite of Śārṅgadhara (Vishṇu);

(V. 35.) He who is sporting with the powerful goddess of heroes; the lord (*or*, the central gem) of the necklace (*which is*) the town of Āravīṭi; he whose arm is as strong as (Śeṣha) the lord of serpents; he who is obtaining the title *Maṇḍalīkadharanīvarāha*¹ (*i.e.* the boar on earth among provincial chiefs);

(V. 36.) The foremost of the kings born from the Ātrēya *gōtra*; he whose fame is great;

(V. 37.) Bringing the throne of Kārṇāṭa into his power by the strength of (*his*) arm, (*and*) joyfully ruling the whole earth after (*he*) has destroyed (*all*) enemies from (Rāma's) bridge up to the snowy mountain,—this glorious prince, Veṅkaṭapati, the foremost among kings, who surpasses all ancient kings in wisdom, (*and*) who is Sutrāman's (Indra's) tree to (*i.e.* fulfils the desires of) the crowds of wise men, is resplendent.

(V. 38.) In the Śaka year reckoned by the seasons (6), the arrows (5), the arrows (5), and the moon (1), (*i.e.* 1556), in the (*cyclic*) year called Bhāva, in the month named Vaiśākha,—

(V. 39.) In the bright fortnight, under an auspicious star, on the sacred full-moon *tithi*, in the blissful presence of the lotus-feet of the blessed Veṅkaṭeśa,—

(V. 40.) (*The king gave*)² to excellent Brāhmaṇas of various *śākhās*, names, *gōtras* and *sūtras*, who were celebrated for learning in the *Śāstras* (*and*) deeply versed in the Vēdas,—

(Vv. 45-48.) A village, famed by the name Kūṇiyūr, rich in all grain, consisting of sixty-two shares (*gaṇa*), adorned by the surname Muddukṛishṇapuram, adorned with houses and gardens, free of taxes (*sarvamānya*), up to the four boundaries all round, accompanied by treasures, deposits, stones, actuals, outstandings and water, with the *akshinī* and the *āgāmin*, to be enjoyed in shares (*gaṇa*), with the trees, to be successively enjoyed by the (*donees'*) sons, grandsons, *etc.*, as long as the moon and stars (*exist*),—

(V. 41.) Situated in the prosperous Tirvaḍi-rājya, in Muḷli-nāḍu, in the prosperous Viravanallūru-māghāpi,—

(V. 42.) Situated to the south of the great river Tāmraparṇī, and to the east of the great village Kārūkurchi,—

(V. 43.) To the south of the boundary of Bhrāntamaṅgala, to the west of the prosperous village of Śēraṇmahādēvi,—

(V. 44.) (*And*) to the north of a high road (*which is*) to the north of a hill,—comprising (?) two fields (*kshētra*) on the fifteenth (?) canal at Kārūkurchi.

(V. 49.) (*The son*) of the glorious prince Nāga,—who was a descendant of the Kāśyapa (*gōtra*), the object of the spontaneous favour of (*the god*) Viśvēśvara who was pleased by (*his*) severe austerities, a treasury of virtues, (*and*) the best of those who grant the object of (*their*) desires to the crowd of scholars,—was Viśvanātha, a Saṁkrandana (Indra) on earth, who was honoured on earth as the foremost of great heroes.

(V. 50.) From him was born a chief of Nāyakas, Kṛishṇapa, who was renowned in the world, who seized the diadems of hostile kings in conformity with (*his*) name,³ who governed the inhabitants of the earth with justice, (*and*) whose (*liberal*) disposition resembled that of (Kubēra) the lord of wealth.

(V. 51.) To him was born a moon on earth, the glorious prince Virapa, who was surrounded by the splendour of spreading fame, who delighted the circle of the earth (*or the night-lotus*),

¹ The title *Dharanīvarāha* had been previously borne by Immaḍi-Nṛisimha (of Vijayanagara); see *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. I. p. 137, No. 116.

² The name of the king and the verb follow in verse 58 f.

³ *i.e.* who was a worthy namesake of the ancient Kṛishṇa.

who was the support of scholars (*or of gods*), (*and*) who destroyed the inward pleasure of (*his*) enemies (*or of bees*).¹

(V. 52.) To him was born a chief of Nāyakas, Viśvapa, a moon to the darkness (*which were*) hostile kings. To him was born the brave (*and*) glorious lord Muddukrishṇa, who resembled (*the mountain*) Mēru in firmness.

(V. 53.) He had two sons, the lord Mudduvira and prince Tirumala, who were the receptacles of the continuous stream of the deep compassion of (*the goddess*) Minākshi and (*the god*) Sundarēśa,² who were resplendent with their fame which spread from the Kailāsa mountain to (Rāma's) bridge, and whose respected command (*resembled*) an ornament of splendid jewels in the diadems of kings.

(V. 54.) Then, having been eagerly anointed to the sovereignty over the whole kingdom by many chiefs of ministers, (*and*) having obtained the whole surface of the earth through the great compassion of (*the god*) Sundarēśa, prince Tirumala shines (*like*) an Indra on earth.

(Vv. 55-59.) Sanctioning the request of this glorious prince Tirumala,—the strength of whose arm was hard to be resisted by the enemies, who was a Sutrāman (Indra) on earth in happiness, who was a kalpa tree on earth in liberality, whose enemies ascended high mountains as soon as he ascended (*his*) mighty elephant, who surpassed the enemy of the ocean (*i.e.* the submarine fire) in attacking a town for conquest, who spent the time in gifts of brides, food, gold and land, (*and*) whose beauty surpassed that of Jayanta, the Moon, and Cupid,—the glorious king Vira-Veṅkaṭapati mahārāya joyfully made (*the above*) grant with libations of water (*poured*) over gold.³ (*The names of*) the Brāhmaṇas, deeply versed in the Vēdas, who received shares of this (*grant*), are written (*here*):—

(Vv. 60-118.) List of donees.

| Donee's name. | Relation. | Śākhā. | Gōtra. | Sūtra. | Number of shares. |
|---------------------|-----------------------|---------|-------------------------|------------|-------------------|
| Raghunātha . . . | Son of Veṅkaṭādrī . . | Yajus . | Bhāradvāja. | ... | 1 |
| Lakshminarahari . . | " Lakshminṛisimha . | ... | Śrīvatsa . | ... | 1½ |
| Veṅkaṭādrī . . . | " Timmarasa . . | Yajus . | Haritasa ⁴ . | ... | 1 |
| Īśvara | " Sadāśiva . . | ... | Ātrēya . | Āśvalāyana | ½ |
| Kanakasabhāpati . . | " Śrīraṅgarāja . . | Yajus . | Kauśika . | ... | 2 |
| Ayyabhāṭṭa . . . | " Anantabhāṭṭa . | Rich . | Do. . | ... | 5½ |

¹ The letters *ra* and *la* or *ḷa* are interchangeable in such *alaṅkāras*; see the commentary on Subandhu's *Vāsavadattā*, verse 1:—उदीच्यानां ववयोरभेदी रलयोरभेदश्च.

² These are the names of the god at the Madhurā temple and of his consort.

³ The Hindū Śāstras consider a charity inefficient, if not accompanied by a *dakṣiṇā*; see the *Bhāgavadgītā*, xvii. 13, and the *Chāṇḍakauśika*. Gold is invariably chosen for this purpose; for at every gift the following *anushṭubh* verse is recited:—

हिरण्यगर्भगर्भस्थं हिम बीजं विभावरीः ।

अनन्तपुण्यफलदमतश्चान्तिं प्रयच्छ मे ॥

Accordingly, during the performance of the sixteen great *dānas*, people who can afford it, keep a piece of gold generally a *fanam*, in their hand, pour water over it into the donee's hand, and then offer the piece as *dakṣiṇā*. In the case of poor people, a silver or copper coin takes the place of the gold piece.

⁴ [This erroneous form is developed from the expression *Harita-sagōtra*, 'a member of the *gōtra* of the Hari-
tas.' Similar cases of popular etymology are *sura*, *sapatna*, *Pramōdita* and *Pramōdīcha* (*South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. I. p. 109, note 2), and *gurata* (*ibid.* Vol. II. p. 251, note 3).— E. H.]

List of donees— continued.

| Donee's name. | Relation. | Śākhā. | Gātra. | Sūtra. | Number of shares. |
|-------------------------|--------------------------|---------|--------------|---------------|-------------------|
| Mallubhaṭṭa . . . | Son of Tirumala . . | ... | Kāśyapa . | Āpastamba . | 1 |
| Veṅkaṭādri . . . | " Mārubhaṭṭa . . | Yajus . | Bhāradvāja . | ... | 1 |
| Yallappa . . . | " Aruṇādri . . | Rich . | Do. . | ... | $\frac{1}{2}$ |
| Bhrāntīśvara . . . | " Appalaya . . | Yajus . | Kāśyapa . | ... | $\frac{1}{2}$ |
| Nāgarasa . . . | " Veṅkaṭapati . . | ... | Bhāradvāja . | Āśvalāyana . | 1 |
| Aḷagādri . . . | " Raghupati . . | Yajus . | Do. . | ... | $\frac{1}{2}$ |
| Ghaṭalaya . . . | " Gōvinda . . | Rich . | Śrīvatsa . | ... | $\frac{1}{4}$ |
| Narabari . . . | " Śrīnivāsa . . | Sāman . | Ātrēya . | ... | 2 |
| Sōmanātha . . . | " Narasambhaṭṭa . . | Yajus . | Do. . | ... | $\frac{1}{2}$ |
| Śrīnivāsa . . . | " Anantabhaṭṭa . . | Do. . | Kauśika . | ... | 1 |
| Siddhaya . . . | " Veṅkaṭayya . . | ... | Kāśyapa . | Āpastamba . | 1 |
| Nāgādikshita . . . | " Basavādhānin . . | Rich . | Bhāradvāja . | ... | $\frac{1}{2}$ |
| Aṅgaya . . . | " Kālahasti . . | Yajus . | Haritasa . | ... | $\frac{1}{4}$ |
| Ārūra . . . | " Nallaperumāḷ . . | ... | Vatsa . | Satyāśhāḍha . | 1 |
| Ahōbala . . . | " Narasimha . . | Yajus . | Kāśyapa . | ... | $\frac{1}{2}$ |
| Naṇārbbhaṭṭa . . . | " Brīndāvananātha . . | Rich . | Do. . | ... | $\frac{1}{2}$ |
| Vēṅgaḍattappa . . . | " Siṅgaperumāḷ . . | Do. . | Ātrēya . | ... | 2 |
| Nilakaṇṭha . . . | " Peddibhaṭṭa . . | Yajus . | Bhāradvāja . | ... | $\frac{1}{2}$ |
| Lakshmanasāstrin . . . | " Sōmābhaṭṭa . . | Do. . | Śrīvatsa . | ... | $\frac{1}{2}$ |
| Gōvindadikshita . . . | ... | ... | Kauśika . | Āpastamba . | } $\frac{1}{2}$ |
| Kṛishṇambhaṭṭa . . . | ... | ... | ... | ... | |
| Timmāvadhānin . . . | Son of Perubhaṭṭa . . | Yajus . | Bhāradvāja . | ... | |
| Liṅgāvadhānin . . . | " Mallubhaṭṭa . . | ... | Kauśika . | Āpastamba . | $\frac{1}{2}$ |
| Śēshādri . . . | " Narahari . . | ... | Śālāvata . | Do. . | 2 |
| Nārasimha . . . | " Yallubhaṭṭa . . | Yajus . | Bhāradvāja . | ... | 1 |
| Tirumalabhaṭṭa . . . | " Nāgābhaṭṭa . . | ... | Haritasa . | ... | 1 |
| Kṛishṇabhāgavata . . . | ... | ... | Kauṇḍinya . | ... | $\frac{1}{4}$ |
| Rāmaliṅgāvadhānin . . . | Son of Liṅgāvadhānin . . | Yajus . | Bhāradvāja . | ... | 1 |
| Śrīnivāsaśāstrin . . . | " Gaṅgādharaṇyavan . . | Do. . | Ātrēya . | ... | $\frac{1}{2}$ |
| Timmāvadhānin . . . | " Śēshādri . . | Do. . | Bhāradvāja . | ... | $\frac{1}{2}$ |
| Lakshminarasimha . . . | " Yalluyajvan . . | ... | Ātrēya . | Āpastamba . | 1 |
| Veṅkaṭēśvara . . . | " Alvār . . | Rich . | Do. . | ... | 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ |

List of donees—concluded.

| Donee's name. | Relation. | Śākhā. | Gōtra. | Sūtra. | Number of shares. |
|--------------------------------------|--------------------------------|--------|-------------|------------|-------------------|
| Kaḷapparaṇ. | Son of Īsvara | Rich | Ātrēya | ... | 1 |
| Ayyapa | „ Anantakṛishṇa | Do. | Viśvāmitra. | ... | 1 |
| Periyatiruvaḍi | „ Chokkanāthamakhin | Do. | Dhanamjaya | ... | 2 |
| Rāmabhaṭṭa | „ Nārāyaṇa | Do. | Ātrēya | ... | 1 |
| Nārāyaṇa | „ Śīngiri | ... | Bharadvāja. | Āpastamba | 1 |
| Venkaṭapati | „ Gīriyappa | Rich | Śrīvatsa | ... | 1 |
| Sūryanārāyaṇa | „ Arunagiri | Yajus | Kauṇḍinya. | ... | 1 |
| Vaḍamala | „ Tiruvēṅgaḍa | Do. | Vatsa | ... | 1 |
| Śrīni | } Younger brothers of Vaḍamala | Do. | Do. | ... | 1 |
| Venkaṭa | | | | | |
| Rāmabhaṭṭa | Son of Anantanārāyaṇa | Do. | Kauṇḍinya. | ... | 1 |
| Rāghava | Brother of Rāmabhaṭṭa | Do. | Do. | ... | 1 |
| Yallaya | } ... | ... | ... | ... | 1 |
| Raṅgaya | | | | | |
| Venkaṭādrī. | | | | | |
| Venkaṭa | } ... | ... | ... | ... | 1 |
| Venkaṭādrī. | | | | | |
| Venkaṭādrī. | Son of Gaṇapati | ... | Kauṇḍinya. | Satyāśāṅka | 3 |
| Raḡhunāthamakhin | „ Vyāsārāyabhaṭṭa | Sāman | Bhāradvāja. | ... | 1 |
| Nārāyaṇa | „ Anantabhaṭṭa | ... | Saṁkṛiti | Bōdhāyana | 1 |
| Dharmarāja | ... | ... | Vatsa | ... | 1 |
| Nārāyaṇa | Son of Rāghava | ... | Bhārgava | Jaimini | 1 |
| Sūryanārāyaṇa | „ Bhāskarabhaṭṭa | ... | Bharadvāja. | Āpastamba | 1 |
| Chokkāvadhānin | „ Śīngiri | Yajus | Lōhita | ... | 1 |
| Chidambarāvadhānin | „ Varadabhaṭṭa | ... | Kauśika | Āpastamba | 1 |
| Rāmāvadhānin | „ Jagannātha | Yajus | Ātrēya | ... | 1 |
| Śrīnivāsa | „ Rāmabandrabhaṭṭa | Do. | Kauśika | ... | 1 |
| Agastya | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1 |
| Rāmaliṅga of Konḍaviṭṭi ¹ | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1 |
| Sarvanātha | ... | Rich | Ātrēya | ... | 1 |

[TOTAL : 61½.]

¹ i.e. Konḍaviṭṭu in the Kistnā district; see page 60 above, line 2 from top.² This total, if added to the half of a field mentioned in line 249, agrees with the statement made in verse 45, that the village of Kūniyūr was divided into sixty-two shares.

(V. 119-123.) Let them all be victorious as long as the moon and the stars (*exist*), those chiefs of the twice-born who obtained as a tax-free gift (*sarvamānya*) the above-mentioned excellent village, adorned by trees growing on the bank of the prosperous Kārṇāṭaka canal, excluding the shares of learned Brāhmaṇas (*Bhaṭṭa*), including all the gifts to temples (*dēvadāya*), with the *kapaṭā-jōle*, with the *tiruvuvalaya*, with the *maṭappara*, with the *kīḷekkalippala*, with five and a half *māvu*¹ in Kārūkurchi, with its boundary (*stones*) on all sides marked with (*the image of*) the blessed Vāmana (*avatāra*), situated on the western bank of the canal which flows to the south, and to the east of a small garden which is on the east of Kārūkurchi.

(Line 249.) Half a field (*kshētra*) was purchased and given to the village deity (*grāma-dēvatā*).

(V. 124.) This (*is*) an edict of the best of kings, the famous (*and*) glorious Venkaṭapati-rāya, who is a moon to the lotuses (*which are*) learned men, (*and*) a Mahēndra on earth.

(V. 125.) At the command of Vira-Venkaṭarāya, the poet Rāma, the son of Kāmakōṭi (*and*) grandson of Sabhāpati, composed the text of (*this*) edict.

(V. 126.) The excellent Achyutārya, the son of Gaṇapārya (*and*) grandson of the illustrious (*and*) excellent Viranāchārya, correctly wrote the fine verses of the edict of Venkaṭa, the diadem of kings.

[Verses 127-131 contain the usual imprecations.]

(Line 266.) Śrī-Venkaṭēśa.

No. 35.—DUDIA PLATES OF PRAVARASENA II.

By F. KIELHORN, PH.D., LL.D., C.I.E.; GÖTTINGEN.

These plates were sent to Dr. Hultsch by Mr. H. Cousens, Superintendent of the Archæological Survey of Western India, who had received them from Mr. W. Montgomerie, Settlement Officer, Chhindwara, Central Provinces. They belong to "Bharatsa and others, Gonds, at Dudia in the Aser parganā of the Chhindwara district." I edit the inscription which they contain from excellent impressions, supplied by Mr. Cousens and Dr. Hultsch.

These are four well preserved copper-plates, each of which measures $7\frac{1}{2}$ " long by $3\frac{5}{8}$ " broad. The second and third plates are inscribed on both sides, the first plate is so on one side only, and the fourth is blank and merely serves to protect the writing on the second side of the third plate. The plates are quite smooth, their edges having been neither fashioned thicker nor raised into rims; but the writing, nevertheless, is in an excellent state of preservation throughout. About $1\frac{1}{4}$ " distant from the middle of the proper right margin, each plate has a hole, about $\frac{7}{16}$ " in diameter, for a ring on which the plates were strung. This ring is between $\frac{1}{4}$ " and $\frac{3}{8}$ " thick, and $3\frac{7}{8}$ " in diameter. The two ends of the piece of copper of which it is formed are flattened off, and contain holes for a rivet, which has been lost. On the ring slides a copper band, $\frac{3}{4}$ " broad, which is bent into a ring of $\frac{7}{8}$ " by $1\frac{1}{8}$ " in diameter, and the two ends of which are soldered together. Through the soldered part a hole is drilled, which corresponds to a hole in the centre of a circular seal; and a rivet, which also is lost now, must have held the copper band and the seal together.² Owing to the loss of the two rivets,—the ring, the copper band and the seal are now quite loose. The seal is $3\frac{1}{16}$ " in diameter, and has across its surface a legend in four lines, which will be given below.—The weight of the four plates is $3\frac{1}{2}$ lbs.,

¹ The Tamil word *māvu* or *mā* means 'one twentieth (of the land-measure called *śūti*).'

² Compare Dr. Fleet's description of the Siwani plates; *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 244.

resembled a flag; he who was born in the race of the glorious Śiṣāhāra king Jimūtavāhana; he who resembled (Rāma) the descendant of Raghu in prowess; a sun to the lotus—the Śiṣāhāra race; he who had obtained the excellent favour of Kātyāyana (Pārvatī); he who possessed the scent of musk; the respected chief; he who was beyond the reach of fear and avarice; the sun to the angry; he who was successful (even) on Saturdays;¹ the lion of Dhanaga;² (and) he who was full of daring,—gave to the god Trayipurusha of the hall (śālā) at the agraḥāra of Pavithage in the 36 (villages of) Bāḍaḷe: two hundred mattars, (measured) by the Tambaḷa³ rod, of cultivated land in the rent-free land (koḍige) of that (village); two mattars, (measured) by the mugau (?) rod, of land in Baḷambuge (?); and three mattars, (measured) by the small rod (kiriya-kōḷu), of paddy-fields in Siṅganskatte (near) Makiriyaṇṭi (?). Of these three mattars of paddy-fields, one mattar of paddy-fields (was assigned) for tissaḷaḍaṇṭa (?). Fortune! Great prosperity! Prosperity! Prosperity!

NO. 7.—DATES OF CHOLA KINGS.

By F. KIELHORN, PH.D., LL.D., C.I.E.; GÖTTINGEN.

After the receipt of the large volume of *Inscriptions in the Mysore District*⁴ for which we are indebted to Mr. Lewis Rice, the Director of Archaeological Researches in Mysore, I examined some of the earlier dates in that volume, and my notes on them were ready for publication, when Dr. Hultzsch sent me accurate transcripts and translations of five of the Chōḷa dates in the *Epigraphia Carnataca*, prepared under his orders by his First Assistant, Mr. Venkayya, from inked estampages of the original stones. Dr. Hultzsch at the same time requested me to treat of these dates separately, and to include in my account of them those dates also which have already been published by him in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XXIII. p. 297 ff. In now complying with his request, I would wish to state that in what follows I shall strictly confine myself to the consideration of the dates as I find them, and that I leave others to judge how far the results of my calculations would be acceptable on more general grounds.

A.—RAJARAJA.

1.—Inscription in the Bilvanāthēśvara temple at Tiruvallam in the North Arcot district.⁵

1 Svasti śrt [||*] Kō Rājarāja-Kēsarivammarḱku⁶ yā[n]ḍa 7āvadu
 ivv-āṭṭē Aypṣāsi-t.

2 tiṅṅul 7paunnamāsiyum Irēvadiyum peṇṇa viṣhuvil⁷ sōmagrahaṇatti-nāṇṇu.⁸

"In the 7th year (of the reign) of king Rājarāja-Kēsarivarman,—on the day of an eclipse of the moon at the equinox, which corresponded to (the day of the nakshatra) Rēvatī and to a full-moon tithi in the month of Aipṣāsi of this very year."

¹ See above, Vol. III. p. 269, note 8.

² It may be concluded from this *biruda* that Dhanaga was the name of the father or predecessor of Gōvuraṇṇa; compare *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XV. p. 276 f.

³ According to Mr. Kittel's *Kannada-English Dictionary*, *Tambaḷa* is another form of *Tamiḷa* which is derived from the word *Tamiḷ*.

⁴ *Epigraphia Carnataca*, Part I. Bangalore, 1894.

⁵ From Dr. Hultzsch's transcript; compare *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIX. p. 70, and *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. I. p. 169.

⁶ Read 'varmaṅku or 'varmaṅḱku.

⁷ Read 'paurṇa'.

⁸ Read *viṣhuvattil*.

⁸ i.e. 'grahaṇattin nāṇṇu.

This date falling in the month Aippasi (the solar Kārttika), the equinox spoken of is that of the Tulā-samkrānti, i.e. the autumnal equinox; and, as stated by Dr. Hultzsch,¹ Dr. Fleet has already pointed out that, within the period to which Rājārāja's reign must be allotted, there are only two years in which a lunar eclipse took place at or near the autumnal equinox, A.D. 991 and A.D. 1010. For these two years the details of the date work out as follows:—

In A.D. 991 (Śaka-Samvat 913 expired) the Tulā-samkrānti took place on the 26th September,² by the Sūrya-siddhānta 8h. 3'4m., and by the Ārya-siddhānta 6h. 35'9m. after mean sunrise; and accordingly, by the practice followed in Southern India, the 26th September A.D. 991 was the first day of the month Aippasi. On the same day there was a lunar eclipse, which took place 13h. 48m. after mean sunrise and was therefore visible in India; and the moon was in the nakshatra Rēvatī for 13h. 8m. after mean sunrise.

In A.D. 1010 (Śaka-Samvat 932 expired) the Tulā-samkrānti also took place on the 26th September, by the Sūrya-siddhānta 6h. 3m., and by the Ārya-siddhānta 4h. 33'5m. after mean sunrise; and accordingly the 26th September A.D. 1010 also was the first day of the month Aippasi. And on this day also there was a lunar eclipse, which, since it took place 2h. 54m. after mean sunrise, was not visible in India; and the moon was in Rēvatī for 3h. 17m. after mean sunrise.

Both the 26th September A.D. 991 and the 26th September A.D. 1010 therefore would seem to answer the requirements of the case. But there is the important difference between them that the lunar eclipse of the 26th September A.D. 991 was visible in India, while that of the 26th September A.D. 1010 was not so. And considering that the eclipses quoted in dates, as a rule,³ are visible ones, it is highly probable that this here also is the case, and that the true equivalent of the date therefore is the 26th September A.D. 991 (in Śaka-Samvat 913 expired).

2.—Inscription on a stone built into the roof of the Gōpāla-Krishna temple at the village of Kaliyūr in the Tirumakūṇḍu-Narasipur talukā.⁴

1 Svasti [[*] Śakanripa-kāl-ātita-samvatsara-satanṅga[*] 929nōya Parābhava-samvatsarada Chaitra-māsada bahuḷa-pañchamiyu-

2 m=Ādityavārad=andū.

"On Sunday, the fifth *tithi* of the dark fortnight of the month of Chaitra in the Parābhava year (which corresponded to) the year 929 since the time of the Śaka king."

By the southern luni-solar system Parābhava was Śaka-Samvat 929, the year given by the date, as a current year; but for that year the date is incorrect. For, the fifth *tithi* of the dark half of Chaitra of Śaka-Samvat 929 current ended, by the *amānta* scheme, on Friday, the 22nd March A.D. 1006, and, by the *pūrṇimānta* scheme, on Wednesday, the 12th March A.D. 1007, in neither case on a Sunday. If the year of the date were Śaka-Samvat 929 expired, which was the year Plavaṅga (not Parābhava), the corresponding days would be Thursday, the 10th April

¹ See *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXIII. p. 297.

² According to Dr. Fleet, *ibid.* Vol. XIX. p. 71, the Tulā-samkrānti in A.D. 991 took place on the 25th September, at about 20 *ghaṭṭa* 54 *palas* after mean sunrise (for Bombay); but this is erroneous. By my Tables for the Ārya-siddhānta, published *ibid.* Vol. XVIII. p. 207, the time of the Samkrānti, expressed in days of the Julian period, is 2083 289'2749, i.e. 6h. 35'9m. after mean sunrise of the 26th September, A.D. 991; and by Professor Jacobi's Tables the Samkrānti took place, also according to the Ārya-siddhānta, 16 *ghaṭṭa* 28 *palas*, i.e. 6h. 35'2m., after mean sunrise of the same 26th September.

³ My list of dates from inscriptions contains 39 regular dates which quote lunar eclipses, and 33 regular dates which quote solar eclipses. The 39 lunar eclipses were all without exception visible in India. Of the 33 solar eclipses, 30 were visible, and 3 (of Śaka-Samvat 584 and 589, and of Vikrama-Samvat 1043) were not visible in India.

⁴ From Mr. Rice's transcript, *Ep. Carn.* Part I, p. 149, No. 44. The inscription "consists of praises of Appamāya, a general and minister under Rājārājadeva."

A.D. 1007, and Sunday, the 29th February A.D. 1008. Here the *pūrṇimānta* scheme would indeed yield the desired weekday, but it is quite improbable that the people of Southern India should have used that scheme of the lunar months in connection with the Śaka era in the 11th century A.D. And if I were permitted to alter the reading of the date, I would rather change the year of it to Śaka-Saṁvat 989 (current, the year Parābhava), for which, by the *amānta* scheme, the date would regularly correspond to Sunday, the 19th March A.D. 1066. The result is, that this date, at present, is of no value for historical purposes.

3.—Inscription on a stone standing close to the west wall of the Agastyēśvara temple at Balmuri in the Baḷaguḷa hōbaḷi of the Seringapatam tālukā.¹

26 . . . Saka-varisha 934nēya Paridhāvi-[sa]m[va]t[saraKe] śrī-[Rā]jarāja[dē]-
 27 [va]rge² yāṇḍu irupatt-eintā[vu]
 28 tad-varisha[da Pau]sha-mā[sa]
 29 ³ rāyaṇa-saṁkrāntiye[.]

"In the twenty-eighth year (of the reign) of the glorious Rājarājadēva, (which corresponded) to the Paridhāvin year (and to) the Śaka year 934 at the Uttarāyaṇa-saṁkrānti in the month of Pausa of this year"

This date does not admit of exact verification, and what can be said about it, is that the year Paridhāvin does correspond to the given Śaka year 934, as an expired year, and that the Uttarāyaṇa-saṁkrānti of that year took place 12h. 37.9m. after mean sunrise of the 23rd December A.D. 1012, during the 8th *tithi* of the bright half of the month Pausa, which ended 18h. 51m. after mean sunrise of the same day.

The date, nevertheless, is of great importance, because it definitely proves that the true equivalent of the date No. 1, above, is really, what on general grounds we should expect it to be, the 26th September A.D. 991 (in Śaka-Saṁvat 913), and cannot be the 26th September A.D. 1010 (in Śaka-Saṁvat 932). For, since the 28th year of Rājarāja's reign is here joined with Śaka-Saṁvat 934, the 7th year of his reign, mentioned in the date No. 1, must indeed have coincided with part of Śaka-Saṁvat 913. Assuming that the Uttarāyaṇa-saṁkrānti has been quoted correctly in the date No. 3, and that the years spoken of in the dates are solar years (which certainly is the case in the date No. 1), it follows from the dates No. 1 and No. 3, that the first year of Rājarāja's reign commenced not earlier than the 24th December A.D. 984, and not later than the 26th September A.D. 985 (between the Uttarāyaṇa-saṁkrānti of Śaka-Saṁvat 906 and the Vishuva-Tulā-saṁkrānti of Śaka-Saṁvat 907).

B.—RAJENDRA-CHOLA I.

4.—Inscription on a broken stone lying in front of the Mallēdēva temple at Nandigunda in the Hadināru hōbaḷi of the Nāñjanaguḍi tālukā.⁴

1 [Da]ra (?) Saka-varisham 943nē[ya] Raudra-sak.
 2 vatsarada Phālguna-māsa[da] sukla-[pa]-

¹ No. 5 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for the year 1895; *Ep. Carn.* Part I. p. 78, No. 140.—From Mr. Venkayya's transcript.

² Lines 1-7 of this inscription contain a Kanarese verse which refers to the conquest of the Gaṅga country, Raṭṭavāḍi, Malenāḍu and Ilam (Ceylon), and the Nulamba, Andhra, Kōngu, Kalinga and Pāṇḍya countries, and lines 7 and 8 contain the full name of the king, viz. Rājarājakēsarivarman *alias* Rājarājadēva.

³ i.e. *uttarāyaṇa*.

⁴ No. 2 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for the year 1895; *Ep. Carn.* Part I. p. 204, No. 184.—From the transcript of Mr. Venkayya who furnishes the following note: "The other face of this stone contains, in Kanarese characters, the usual Tamil historical introduction of the inscriptions of Parakēsarivarman *alias* Rājendra-Chōḷadēva. As the last item of conquest in the preserved part of the historical introduction is the victory over Jayasīma, it may be concluded that the date of the inscription is later than the 9th year of the king's reign."

3 ksham Budhavaram pnamme Uttaro-nakshatram sô-
4 magrahanad-andu

"On the day of an eclipse of the moon, (*the day of*) the *Uttarâ nakshatra*, a full-moon *tithi*, a **Wednesday** in the bright fortnight of the month of *Phâlguna* in the **Raudra** year (*which corresponded to*) the *Śaka* year 943"

By the southern luni-solar system **Raudra** was *Śaka-Samvat* 943, as a current year, and for this year the date is correct. For, in *Śaka-Samvat* 943 current the full-moon *tithi* of *Phâlguna* ended 22h. 32m. after mean sunrise of **Wednesday**, the 1st March A.D. 1021, when there was a lunar eclipse which was visible in India, and when the moon nearly the whole day was in the *nakshatra* *Uttara-Phalguni*.¹

5.—Inscription on a stone standing to the north of the *Sômêśvara* temple at *Suttûru* in the *Tâyûru hôbaḷi* of the *Nañjanagudi talukâ*.²

1 [P]ûrvvadêsamu[m] Ga[m]geyu[m] Kaḍâramu[m]³ koṇḍa kô-Pparakô[sa]ripammar=
âna uḍeyâr
2 śrî-Râjendra-Chôḷadâ[vargge] yâṇḍu 31âva[d]u [[*] Svasti [[*]
3 Saka-var[sha] 9[54]nôya Âṅgira-samvatsarada
4 Kârttika-mâsa . . [rṇ]nam[i]⁴ tale-devasam-âge bidj-
5 go Sôma-vâra Rôhiṇi-nakshatradal uḍeyâr śrî-Râjendra-Chô-
6 ĩḍêvar-gurukka]

"In the 31st year (*of the reign*) of king *Parakêsarivarman*, *alias* the lord, the glorious *Râjendra-Chôḷadêva*, who conquered the Eastern country, the *Gaṅgâ*, and *Kaḍâram*.

"Hail! On (*the day of*) the *Rôhiṇi nakshatra*, a **Monday**, the second *tithi* (*of the fortnight* which had) the full-moon *tithi* for its first day (?)⁵ of the month of *Kârttika* in the *Âṅgira* year (*which corresponded to*) the *Śaka* year 9[54]"

In the tenth century of the *Śaka* era the only year *Âṅgira* was *Śaka-Samvat* 954 expired, and for this year the date is correct. For in *Śaka-Samvat* 954 expired the second *tithi* of the *amânta* *Kârttika* ended 7h. 26m. after mean sunrise of **Monday**, the 23rd October A.D. 1032, when the moon was in the *nakshatra* *Rôhiṇi* for about 11h. 10m. after mean sunrise.

As this day is referred to the 31st year of the reign of *Râjendra-Chôḷa I.*, the first year of his reign, according to this date, should have commenced some time between the 24th October A.D. 1001 and the 23rd October A.D. 1002, both days inclusive. I cannot reconcile this result with the fact that, according to the date No. 3, *Râjarâja* was ruling in December A.D. 1012, nor can I say whether there are reasons to prove that the regnal year (31) of the present date is incorrect.

¹ This is the earliest correct date known to me, that admits of exact verification, in which the *Śaka* year quoted is a current year.

² No. 1 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for the year 1895; *Ep. Carn.* Part I. p. 208, No. 164.—From Mr. Venkayya's transcript.

³ This word is entered above the line, with a cross (*hamsapada*) after it.

⁴ Read *paurnami* (?).

⁵ I give this as translated by Mr. Venkayya. The words of the original must be intended to mean 'the second *tithi* after full-moon;' compare Mr. P. Sundarain Pillai's *Some Early Sovereigns of Travancore*, p. 56, where a 5th *tithi* of the bright half is described as 'the 5th *tithi* after new-moon.' The mention of the *nakshatra* *Rôhiṇi* in connection with a second *tithi* of the month *Kârttika* is sufficient to show that the dark fortnight of the month is intended. I had in fact found the proper equivalent of the date already from the *data* in Mr. Rice's mutilated text, long before I saw Mr. Venkayya's transcript.

C.—KULOTTUNGA-CHOLA I.

6.—Inscription on a stone standing close to the north wall of the Śamkarēśvara temple at Sindhuvaḷḷi in the Kaḷale hōbaḷi of the Naḷjanagudī talukā.¹

| | | | | | | |
|---|---------------|-----|-------|----------------------|---------|------------------------------|
| 1 | Sva[sti] | śrī | [\|\|*] | Śakarai | yā[ṇ]ḍu | [Āyira]- |
| 2 | [t]tu-muppadu | | | peṇṇa | | ² Dvaya-sam[va*]- |
| 3 | tsarattu | | | | | śrī-Kolōttumka-Śō- |
| 4 | ḷadēvar | | | ṇṇidhi[vi*]-rāḷyattu | | yāp- |
| 5 | [ḍu] | | | muppati-ḷāḷvadu | | |

"In the Vyaya year which corresponded to the Śaka year one thousand and thirty, (*and*) in the thirty-seventh year of the reign of the glorious Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷadēva"

This date contains no details for exact verification. Moreover, the Jovian year Vyaya put down in it does not correspond to the given Śaka year 1030; for, according to the southern luni-solar system,³ Vyaya was Śaka-Samvat 1028 expired, while Śaka-Samvat 1030 current was Sarvajit and 1030 expired Sarvadhārin. Where there is a similar discrepancy between the Śaka year and the Jovian year of a date, it is generally the Jovian year that is quoted correctly,⁴ and *a priori* it appears reasonable to assume that the same is the case here and that, accordingly, the year intended is really Śaka-Samvat 1028 expired. This year, combined with the 37th year of the reign of Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷa I., would give us for the first year of his reign Śaka-Samvat 992 expired=A.D. 1070-71. It remains to be seen how far this result would agree with the following dates, Nos. 7 and 8.⁵

7.—Inscription in the Naṭarāja temple at Chidambaram in the South Arcot district.

| | | | | | | |
|---|-----------|--------|-----|--------------------|------------------------------|--------------------|
| 1 | \|\| | Svasti | śrī | \|\| | Tiribuvanachchakkaravattigaḷ | śrī-Kulōttuṅga- |
| 2 | Śōḷadēvar | | | tiru-ttaṅgaiyār | Rājarājaṇ | Kundavaiy=Āḷvār |
| 5 | | | | nā-ṇilattai | muḷud=ṇṇḍa | Jaya- |
| 6 | dararṇku | | | nārpattu-nāḷ=ṇṇḍil | ⁶ Miṇa=nigaḷ | nāyarru Vēḷḷi pe . |
| 7 | ṇṇa | | | Urōṣaṇi-nāḷ=Idabam | pōḍāl. | |

"In the forty-fourth year (*of the reign*) of Jayadhara,⁷ who ruled all the four quarters,—at the time (*of the rising of the sign*) Rishabha on the day of (*the nakshatra*) Rōhiṇī, which corresponded to a Friday in the month during which (*the sign*) Mīna was shining,—Kundavaī Āḷvār, (*the daughter of*) Rājarāja (*and*) the royal younger sister of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷadēva, [*gave, etc.*]"

8.—Inscription in the Āpatsahāyēśvara temple at Āḷaṅgudī in the Tanjore district.

| | | | | | | |
|----|-----------|--------|-----|---|---------------------------|------------------|
| 1 | \|\| | Svasti | śrī | \|\| | Pu[ga]ḷ | śūḷṇḍa |
| 30 | | | | kōv= ⁸ Arājakōsaripatmar=āna | Tribhuvanachchakrava[r]tī | śrī-Kulōt- |

¹ No. 3 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for the year 1895; *Ep. Carn.* Part I. p. 191, No. 31.—From Mr. Venkayya's transcript.

² Read *Vyaya-samva*.

³ By the mean-sign system (which is out of the question here) Vyaya would have commenced on the 15th December A.D. 1102, in Śaka-Samvat 1024 expired.

⁴ Compare the dates given in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXIV. p. 4, No. 139 ff.

⁵ These dates have been already published by Dr. Hultzsch in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXIII. pp. 297 and 298.

⁶ Read *Miṇam*.

⁷ This, according to Dr. Hultzsch, was a *viruda* of Kulōttuṅga Chōḷa I.

⁸ Read *Irāja*.

31 tu[ṅga]-Śōladēvaṅku yāṇḍu 45āvadu Tulā-nāyaṅgu pū[r]vva-pakshattu Viyāḷa-kkīḷamaiyumu saptamiyumu per[ṭa]

32 Uttira . . [ti]-nāḷ.¹

"In the 45th year (of the reign) of king Rājakeśarivarman, alias the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷadēva, on the day of (the nakshatra),² which corresponded to a Thursday and to the seventh *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Tulā."

The conclusion arrived at under No. 6 was to the effect that the first year of the reign of Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷa I. probably coincided with part of Śaka-Saṃvat 992 expired. Supposing this to have been the case, the 44th year of his reign ought to have partly coincided with Śaka-Saṃvat 1035 expired, and the 45th year with Śaka-Saṃvat 1036 expired. And, as a matter of fact, the date No. 7 does work out faultlessly for Śaka-Saṃvat 1035 expired, and the date No. 8 does so for Śaka-Saṃvat 1036 expired.

For Śaka-Saṃvat 1035 expired the date No. 7 would correspond to Friday, the 13th March A.D. 1114, which was the 19th day of the month of Mīna (the solar Chaitra). On this day (the 5th *tithi* of the bright half of the lunar Chaitra ended 10h. 16m., and) the moon was in the nakshatra Rōhiṇī (by all systems) for 17h. 4m. after mean sunrise. The sun rose in 19° 1' of the sign Mīna, and the sign Rishabha therefore rose from about 2h. 44m. to about 4h. 44m. after sunrise (while the moon was in Rōhiṇī).

For Śaka-Saṃvat 1036 expired the date No. 8 would correspond to Thursday, the 8th October A.D. 1114, which was the 11th day of the month of Tulā (the solar Kārttika). On this day the 7th *tithi* of the first or bright half (of the lunar Kārttika) ended 3h. 33m., and the moon was in the nakshatra Uttarāśādhā for 13h. 8m. (or, according to the Brahma-siddhānta, 6h. 34m.) after mean sunrise.

As stated by Dr. Hultsch,³ I have some time ago calculated the same dates, Nos. 7 and 8, on the supposition that Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷa I. ascended the throne in A.D. 1063. I then found that both dates work out properly for the year A.D. 1107 (No. 7 for Śaka-Saṃvat 1028 expired, and No. 8 for Śaka-Saṃvat 1029 expired); and, accepting my results, Mr. Dikshit has stated that, with them, the first year of the reign of Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷa I. would have commenced some time between the 2nd March and 24th October (both days inclusive) of A.D. 1063. But I am obliged to point out that the results obtained for A.D. 1107, though perhaps acceptable each by itself, are not so satisfactory as those obtained for A.D. 1114, when compared with each other.

For Śaka-Saṃvat 1028 expired the date No. 7 would correspond to Friday, the 1st March A.D. 1107, which was the 7th day of the month of Mīna (the solar Chaitra). On this day (the 5th *tithi* of the bright half of the lunar Chaitra ended 17h. 53m., and) the moon was in the nakshatra Kṛttikā, by the equal-space system 21h. 40m., by the Brahma-siddhānta 8h. 32m., and according to Garga 9h. 51m. after mean sunrise, and afterwards in Rōhiṇī. The sun rose in 6° 56' of the sign Mīna, and the sign Rishabha therefore rose from about 3h. 32m. to about 5h. 32m. after sunrise (while the moon was in Kṛttikā).

For Śaka-Saṃvat 1029 expired the date No. 8 would correspond to Thursday, the 24th October A.D. 1107, which was the 27th day of the month of Tulā (the solar Kārttika). On this day (which was Kārttika-śudhi 6) the 7th *tithi* of the bright half commenced 0h. 53m. after mean sunrise (ending 2h. 33m. after sunrise of the following day), and the moon was in the

¹ It is not clear if the actual reading is *Uttiraśādhā-nāḷ* or *Uttiraśādhā-nāḷ* (for *Uttiraśādhā-nāḷ*).

² The nakshatra was either Uttara-Bhadrpadā or Uttarāśādhā.

³ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXII. p. 298.

nakshatra Uttarāshādhā (by the Brahma-siddhānta not at all, and) by the equal-space system and according to Garga for 3h. 17m. after mean sunrise, and afterwards in Śravana:

The reason why I regard these results as less satisfactory than those obtained for A.D. 1114, is the different ways in which, supposing the days intended by the dates to be the 1st March and the 24th October A.D. 1107, the *nakshatras* would have been quoted in the two dates. If the day of the first date is called after Rōhini, although the moon entered that *nakshatra* at the earliest 8h. 32m. after sunrise, why is the day of the second date not called after Śravana which the moon entered as early as 3h. 17m. after sunrise? And if the day of the second date is called after Uttarāshādhā in which the moon at the best was only for 3h. 17m. after sunrise, why is the day of the first date not called after Kṛttikā¹ in which the moon was for at least 8h. 32m., and by the equal-space system as much as 21h. 40m. after sunrise? The ordinary rule certainly is, to name the day after that *nakshatra* in which the moon is at sunrise, or which she enters within a few hours after sunrise, and this rule would not have been observed if Friday, the 1st March A.D. 1107, were the true equivalent of the date No. 7.

Besides, if the two dates Nos. 7 and 8 did fall in A.D. 1107, the date No. 6, of the 37th year of the reign of Kulōttuṅga-Chōla I., would be altogether wrong. Considering that date to be in the main correct, and taking the three dates together, the conclusion which I feel bound to draw from them, is that the king's reign began between the 14th March and the 8th October (both days inclusive) of A.D. 1070;² that the date No. 6 of the 37th year fell in the year Vyaya = Śaka-Saṃvat 1028 expired or A.D. 1106-7; and that the date No. 7 of the 44th year really corresponds to the 13th March A.D. 1114, and the date No. 8 of the 45th year to the 8th October A.D. 1114.

9.—Inscription on a stone lying in the ruins of a temple called Sōmēśvara, in the midst of the rice fields of the village of Ēchiganahaḷli near Nañjanaguḍi.³

1 Svasti [[*] Śrī-Kulōttuṅga-Chōladēvaru prituvi-rājyam 'geyye Sak[a-va]risham 1035.

2 nēya Jaya-saṃvatsarada Pālguṇa-māsada apara-pakshaṃ pā[ḍi]va Ādityavārāṃ

3 Hasta-nakshatram

"On (the day of) the *Hasta* *nakshatra*, Sunday, the first *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Pālguṇa in the *Jaya* year (which corresponded to) the Śaka year 1035, while the glorious Kulōttuṅga-Chōladēva was ruling the earth,"

By the southern luni-solar system *Jaya* was Śaka-Saṃvat 1036 expired, while Śaka-Saṃvat 1035 expired would be *Vijaya*; and contrary to what ordinarily is the case in similar dates, the date here works out properly for the given Śaka year, and the word *Jaya* would therefore seem to have been employed by the writer of the date erroneously for *Vijaya*. In Śaka-Saṃvat 1035 expired the first *tithi* of the dark half of Pālguṇa ended 11h. 16m. after mean sunrise of Sunday, the 22nd February A.D. 1114, when the moon entered the *nakshatra* *Hasta*, by the Brahma-siddhānta about 3h. 17m., and by the equal-space system about 6h. 34m. after mean sunrise. This date therefore is of the same year (A.D. 1114) to which the dates Nos. 7 and 8 belong, and the three dates would prove that the reign of Kulōttuṅga-Chōla I. cannot have ended in A.D. 1112.⁵

¹ It must appear even more strange that the day should not have been called after Kṛttikā, when one considers that 'the rising of the sign Rishabha,' mentioned in the date, on the 1st March A.D. 1107 certainly took place (from about 3h. 32m. to about 5h. 32m. after sunrise) while the moon was in Kṛttikā. On the 13th March A.D. 1114, on the other hand, it took place while the moon was in Rōhini.

² [The inscriptions of Kulōttuṅga I. in the Telugu country also presuppose A.D. 1070 as the year of his accession; see my *Annual Report* for 1893-94, p. 5.—E.H.]

³ No. 4 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for the year 1895; *Ep. Carn.* Part I. p. 190, No. 44.—From Mr. Venkayya's transcript.

⁴ The *akshara* *ge* is engraved above the line.

⁵ Compare *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XX. p. 283.

D.—VIKRAMA-CHOLA.

10.—Inscription in the Tyāgarāja temple at Tiruvārūr in the Tanjore district.¹

- 1 Svasti śrī [||*] Pā-mālai miḍaindu
 3 kō=Ppara[k]ēsarivarmmar-āna Tribhūva[na]chakrava-
 [rttiḡa] śrī-Vikrama-Chōla[dē]varkku [y]ā[n]ḍu aiñjā[vadu] Mi[thun]a-nāyargu
 pū[r]vva-pakshattu sapṭamiyum Nā[yi]rṇ-kkiḷamaiyum Attamum-āna nāl
 munuṇṇu-nāḷ[pajdi[n]āl.

"In the fifth year (of the reign) of king Parakēsarivarman, alias the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Vikrama-Chōladēva, on the three-hundred-and-fortieth day, which was (the day of the nakshatra) Hasta, a Sunday, and the seventh *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Mithuna."

Among the sixteen years from A.D. 1110 to A.D. 1125 there are only two, for which this date would work out satisfactorily, A.D. 1113 (Śaka-Saṃvat 1035 expired) and A.D. 1116 (Śaka-Saṃvat 1038 expired).

For Śaka-Saṃvat 1035 expired the date would correspond to **Sunday**, the 22nd June A.D. 1113, which was the 29th day of the month of Mithuna (the solar Āshāḍha). On this day the 7th *tithi* of the bright half of the lunar Āshāḍha ended 9h. 17m., and the moon was in the nakshatra **Hasta**, by the Brahma-siddhānta for 10h. 30m., and by the equal-space system for 13h. 47m. after mean sunrise. If this were the day of the date, the first day of the fifth year of the reign would be the 18th July A.D. 1112=the 23rd day of the month of Karkāṭaka of Śaka-Saṃvat 1034 expired; and the first day of the first year would be the 23rd of the month of Karkāṭaka of Śaka-Saṃvat 1030 expired=**Saturday, the 18th July A.D. 1108**, which was *Śrāvapa-śudī* 9, and on which the moon was in Viśākhā for 5h. 16m. after mean sunrise, and afterwards in Anurādhā.

For Śaka-Saṃvat 1038 expired the date would correspond to **Sunday**, the 18th June A.D. 1116, which was the 25th day of the month of Mithuna. On this day the 7th *tithi* of the bright half ended 20h. 44m., and the moon entered the nakshatra **Hasta**, by the Brahma-siddhānta about 5h. 16m., and by the equal-space system 8h. 32m. after mean sunrise. If this were the day of the date, the first day of the fifth year of the reign would be the 15th July² A.D. 1115=the 20th day of the month of Karkāṭaka of Śaka-Saṃvat 1037 expired; and the first day of the first year would be the 20th of the month of Karkāṭaka of Śaka-Saṃvat 1033 expired=**Saturday, the 15th July A.D. 1111**, which was *Śrāvapa-śudī* 7, and on which the moon was in Svāti for 18h. 24m. after mean sunrise.

Of the two days, thus arrived at as perhaps possible days for the accession of Vikrama-Chōla, the second, the 15th July A.D. 1111 (in Śaka-Saṃvat 1033 expired), certainly comes nearest to the year (A.D. 1112) which has been hitherto regarded as the year of his accession. But, concerned as I am only with the dates before me, I must confess that Sunday, the 22nd June A.D. 1113 (which would make the king's accession fall on the 18th July A.D. 1108), on account of the manner in which it is joined with the nakshatra **Hasta**, appears to me to be a better equivalent of the original date than Sunday, the 18th June A.D. 1116. And whether the day of the accession be the 18th July A.D. 1108 or the 15th July A.D. 1111, it requires to be shown how either result can be reconciled with the fact that the three dates Nos. 7-9 of the reign of Kulōttunga-Chōla I. fall in the year A.D. 1114.

¹ From *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXII. p. 298.

² Mr. Dikshit, who also has calculated this date, *ibid.* p. 299, gives the 14th July; but this is clearly an error.

No. 30—SRIRANGAM INSCRIPTION OF RAJARAJA II, YEAR 11

K. G. KRISHNAN, OOTACAMUND

(Received on 4.3.1958)

The subjoined inscription¹ is engraved to the right of the *Svargavāsāl* on the south wall of the fourth *prākāra* in the Ranganāthasvāmīn temple at **Srīraṅgam**, Tiruchirappalli District, Madras State. The language as well as the script of the inscription is Tamil and it is engraved in characters of the 12th century A.D.

The record registers the gift of a golden lamp-stand with a ruby set in it to the god Raṅganātha and a sum of 68½ *achchu* for lighting the lamp on all the days of the year. The gift was made by Kōdai Ravipaṇmaṇ, 'one of the *Vēṇāṭṭadigaḷ*' of Malaināḍu in the 11th year of the reign of Kō-Parakēsarivarman alias Tribhuvanachakravarttiḡaḷ Rājarājadēva. The record begins with the *Meykkīrtti*: *Pū-muruvīya tirumādum*, etc., and hence the ruler is to be identified with the second king of the said name in the Chōla dynasty. The details of the date, viz., 11th year, *Mirichchika* (*Vṛīschika*) śu. 5, Monday, *Tiruvōṇam*, regularly correspond to November 19, 1156 A.D. The text of the inscription is drafted in the form of an undertaking given by the representatives of the administrative bodies of the temple such as *Śrivaishṇava-vāriyam*, *Śrībhāṇḍāra-vāriyam*, *Por-paṇḍāriḡaḷ*, *Kaṅgāṇiśeyvār* (supervisors) and the temple accountant. It is stated that, having taken charge of the lamp and having deposited the money in the temple treasury (*Śrībhāṇḍāram*), they would arrange for lighting the lamp on all the 365 days of the year with the interest accruing to the money deposited.

The inscription is important because it gives an earlier date for the donor, **Kōdai Ravivarman**, who was a king of **Vēṇāḍu** and is known from some inscriptions from the Travancore region.* The date of our inscription would be equivalent to year 332 of the Kollam era, in which the Travancore records are usually dated. There is, however, no dated record from Travancore mentioning the reigning king between Kollam 325² and 336³ thus leaving a gap of about 12 years in the history of Vēṇāḍu. On the former date the reigning king was Kōdai Kēraḷavarman and it seems to be the latest date available for him. On the latter date, Vira Ravivarman Tiruvaḍi is stated to have been ruling Vēṇāḍu. Of the name Vira Ravivarman Tiruvaḍi, Vira Ravivarman is the name and Tiruvaḍi a well-known designation adopted by the kings of Vēṇāḍu. The expression *Vēṇāṭṭadigaḷ* used in our record enables us to identify the donor Kōdai Ravivarman with Vira Ravivarman Tiruvaḍi of Vēṇāḍu due to the proximity of the dates. The locative suffix *il* in the expression *Vēṇāṭṭadigaḷil* can only indicate that there was at least one other member of the family with a title to the throne. On the date of this record, Kōdai Ravivarman was perhaps the crown-prince while Kōdai Kēraḷavarman or another person not known to us was the ruling king. The institution of the office of the crown-prince is indicated in the inscriptions of Travancore as *ṇāṅṅūru vāḷunnaruḷuḡiṇṇa*.⁴ The name Kōdai Ravivarman suggests that he may have been related to Kōdai Kēraḷavarman. It is likely that Vira-Ravivarman Tiruvaḍi identified with Kōdai Ravi-

¹ A. R. Ep. No. 68 of 1936-37.

² See note 3 below.

³ TAS, Vol. IV, p. 21, No. 6.

⁴ Ibid., Vol. VII, p. 7, No. 4. The opposite year to Kollam 336 is a mistake and hence the correct date would be Kollam 336. The corresponding date as pointed out by Mr. A. S. Ramanatha Ayyar would be Saturday, April 29, 1161 A.D.

⁵ Ibid., Vol. V, p. 78, text line 1. Could it be that the titles Vira and Tiruvaḍi were not applied to Kōdai Ravivarman because he was only a crown-prince and that the record under publication pertains to a grant made to a temple lying in the territories of the Chōlas?

varmaṇ of our record came to the throne sometime after Kollam 332, the date of the present record, and continued to rule till at least Kollam 340, the latest date assigned to him.¹

In connection with the question of the relationship between the king of Vēṇāḍu and the Chōḷa monarch, reference may be made to an inscription of this period from Puravaśēri² near Nāgarkōil in Vēṇāḍu. It states that, in Kollam 340, some members of the Chōḷa military establishment stationed at Kōttāru, which is also near Nāgarkōil in the same territory,³ in association with some members of two other Chōḷa regiments made certain endowments to the god at Puravari-chaturvēdimāṅgalam, the approximate date of the foundation of the colony being Kollam 336.⁴ It is evident that the military cantonments at many places including Kōttāru established by Kulōttuṅga I continued to have their presence felt for all practical purposes.⁵

During the period of Chōḷa suzerainty from the time of Kulōttuṅga I, the kings of Vēṇāḍu appear to have been in close alliance with the contemporary Pāṇḍya kings. A Tirunelvēli inscription⁶ of Māravarmaṇ Sundara-pāṇḍya II, whose date of accession is 1238 A.D., refers to the newly formed village of Iravivarma-chaturvēdimāṅgalam stated to have been named after the [king's] *appāṭṭar* (i.e., father's grandfather). It is not unlikely that the reference here is to Ravivarmaṇ of the present record, though the relationship cannot be exactly worked out at present. The contemporaneity of a Ravivarmaṇ of Vēṇāḍu with Māravarmaṇ Śrīvallabha is, however, established on the basis of a few records from Puravaśēri in the Kanyakumari District of Madras State.⁷ The identity of Ravivarmaṇ of Vēṇāḍu mentioned in the inscription of Māravarmaṇ Sundara-pāṇḍya II with his namesake who is considered to be the contemporary of Māravarmaṇ Śrīvallabha, a predecessor of Māravarmaṇ Sundara-pāṇḍya II, implies a matrimonial connection between the Pāṇḍyas and the Tiruvaḍis of Vēṇāḍu.⁸

The word *varakkāṭṭiṇa* (line 8) in this inscription seems to indicate that the king of Vēṇāḍu was not himself present at Śrīraṅgam but was represented by *Uḷḷiruppu Kaṇḍaṇ Iravi*⁹ who was entrusted with the lamp and the money. *Uḷḷiruppu*¹¹ seems to mean here the secretary for the internal affairs of the king. Kōḍai Ravivarmaṇ like most of the kings of Travancore seems to have had a strong leaning towards Vaishnavism since he had also made a gift of lands to Puravari-Vippagar-ālvār at Puravari-chaturvēdimāṅgalam.

¹ *TAS*, Vol. VII, No. 7. Though Mr. Ramanatha Ayyar's suggestion assigning this record to Vira Ravivarmaṇ Tiruvaḍi is not directly borne out by the record as pointed out by Mr. Velu Pillai (*Travancore State Mus. al.*, Vol. II, p. 78, n. 3), it may be accepted till we get some definite date for Ravivarmaṇ's successor.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. VII, No. 7. Mr. Velu Pillai (*loc. cit.*) has ignored the second of the two documents which is closely connected with the first.

³ Nāgarkōil, Puravaśēri and Kōttāru are situated within a territory called Nāḷji-nāḍu in contemporary Vēṇāḍu inscriptions. This proves that Kōttāru, the military centre, formed part of the territory directly ruled by the king of Vēṇāḍu.

⁴ *Ibid.*, No. 1; cf. also No. 4. It may be noted that Singaṇ Araṅgaṇ, the founder of the Puravari-chaturvēdimāṅgalam colony figures in another record from the same place (*ibid.*, No. 2) which is dated in the reign of Māravarmaṇ Śrīvallabha.

⁵ The general position of the rulers of Vēṇāḍu and the contemporary Pāṇḍya kings in relation to the Chōḷas, the main suzerain power, has been correctly indicated by Mr. Ramanatha Ayyar (*ibid.*, Vol. VI, p. 7).

⁶ *S.I.I.*, Vol. V, No. 446, lines 6 and 13.

⁷ cf. above, Vol. XXV, p. 72, where a different construction has been adopted.

⁸ *A.R. Ep.*, 1896, p. 5, para. 15. See also above, Vol. XXV, p. 84; *supra*, n. 4.

⁹ Māravarmaṇ Sundara-pāṇḍya II was possibly the grandson of Jaṭavarmaṇ Kulāśekhara stated to be a son of Māravarmaṇ Śrīvallabha, whose inscriptions commence with the introduction of the *Pāṭalamaḍandai*, and the great-grandson of Ravivarmaṇ of Vēṇāḍu.

¹⁰ One Kaṇḍaṇ Iravi of Mēlachchēri is mentioned in the Kilimaṇṭir record of Kollam 343 (*TAS*, Vol. V, p. 84).

¹¹ *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, No. 3. Mr. Ramanatha Ayyar has interpreted the term as the name of an office connected with the tax department, while Mr. Sundaram Pillai takes it as the name of a place (*ibid.*, page 17 and note 4).

The endowment at Śrīrangam providing for the lighting of the lamp with ghee and camphor was made in *achchu*, the coinage of the Travancore territory. The corresponding coinage of the Chōla country being the *kāśu*, the rate of exchange is enumerated to be $9\frac{1}{4}$ *kāśu* for one *achchu*. But, while the capital invested, i.e., $68\frac{3}{4}$ *achchu*, would yield at this rate only less than $632\frac{1}{4}$ *kāśu*, the amount required as capital is stated to be 633 *kāśu*. The total money required in a year for both ghee and camphor comes to 118 *kāśu* and hence the rate of interest works out to slightly more than $18\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. per annum. The money was deposited into the treasury since it was felt that, if it was invested on lands, the endowment might suffer in case the lands fail [to yield].

TEXT

- 1 Svasti Śrī [||] Pū²-maruvi[ya Ti]ru-mādum Puvi-mādu[m*] Jeya-mādum [* nā-maruviya Kalai-mādum Puga]-mādu=ṇayandu pulga | aru-maṇai-vidi-ṇeri[y=a]ṇaittu³=taḷaiippa | varu-muṇai-urimai-maṇi-muḍi-sūḍi-t | tiṅga[-veṇ[kuḍai=ttisai-kka]u(li)r-eṭṭun= | taṅgu-tani-kkūḍan=
- 2 tāṇ=ēṇa viḷaṅga-p | poru-Kali-ppaṭṭigai⁴=checheṅgōl turappa | poru-kadir-āli⁵ puvi vaḷa[r*]nd⁷=uḍaṇvara | Villavar yiraṭṭar⁶ Mī[ṇa]var Śiṅgalar[Pallavar Nudaliyar⁸ pā[r]ttivar paṇiya | eṇṇ-arun-karpil¹⁰ maṇṇaga[m*] puṇa[r*]ndadu¹¹ | śempon-
- 3 vīra-śiṇṇāsa[ṇat]tu-ppuvāṇa-[mu]duḍaiyā[loḍum]¹² vīrūnd=aruḷiya Kō-Pparakēsaripa-rmar-āṇa Tribu[va]ṇa-chechak[kara]va[r*]ttiga | śrī-Rājarājadēvarku yāṇḍu paḍiṇonrāvaḍu Mī(Vi)richchika-nāyaṇṇu Pārva-
- 4 pakahattu=Ppaṇcha[mīyu]m Tiṅga[-kilamaiyum [pe]rṇa Tiru[vō]ṇatti[1]nā]¹³ Tiru-vaṇṅam Periya-kōyilil Tiru[va]ḍi-vaḷavaṇ=cheygira Tiruvaṇṅadāsarum Tiruppadiyil Śrī-vaiyishṇavargalil Paṣalai-Pperi-
- 5 ya-kōyil-dāsarum [m Ka]ndāḍai-Ttiruvaṇṅa-Nā[rāya]ṇa-nam[bi]yum Kuravaiśeri-Ttiruva-ṇaṅga-va[ḷa]ḷ[ā]rum śrī-vaiyishṇava-¹⁴vāriyaṇ=cheygira Nālū[ri]r=Śiṅgappirā-nambiyum Vaṅgippurattu Tiruvā[y*]kkulattu Ālvāṇum Viranārāya-
- 6 . . [vaṇḍu]varāpati Ta . . . [Va]ḍamadurai-ppirandē Śrī-baṇ¹⁵ riyaṁ Tiru-vaṇṅattu sabaiyāril Kavunṇiyaṇ Tiruvaṇṅadēvaṇ Ālkkonḍavilli-baṭṭaṇṇum Pāradāyaṇ Kēśavaṇ Puruṣhōttama-baṭṭaṇṇum P[or]ṇ-panḍāriga Pāra-

¹ From impression.

² Several texts of this *prastāvi* have been published in the *South Indian Inscriptions* Series. Important variations from this text are indicated in the foot-notes.

³ A *daṇḍa* has been introduced in lines 1-3 at the end of each metrical line.

⁴ Cf., *SII*, Vol. III, No. 35, where we have *ṇaittu arun-tamūn-taṇi taḷaiippa* in a different metre.

⁵ Loc. cit: *karuṅgali-ppaṭṭiyai*; *SII*, Vol. IV, No. 822: *Karuṅgali paḍimāsaich=cheṅgōl turappa*. The use of the word *kōl* in the next phrase supports the former and *paṭṭi* has accordingly to be translated as 'a stray bull' and not 'a prostitute' (Ibid., Vol. III, p. 81).

⁶ *SII*, Vol. III, No. 35: *vaḷiy-āḷi*.

⁷ Cf. *puli* in *Inscriptions of Pudukkottai State*, No. 136, and *vaḷartt-u* in *SII*, loc. cit.

⁸ *SII*, loc. cit. *Telugur*.

⁹ Loc. cit: *mudaliyar* which yields a better sense.

¹⁰ Loc. cit: *karpā* which is better.

¹¹ Read *puṇaradu*: cf. *Inscriptions of the Pudukkottai State*, No. 136: *purandu* which is better.

¹² Read **uḍaiyāloḍum*.

¹³ Read *Tiruvāṇattu vāḷil*.

¹⁴ Read **vaishṇava*.

¹⁵ This gap may be restored as **ḍāra-vā*.

- 7 [dāya]n Tiruvēṇḡaḍavan A[na]ntaṇārāyaṇanum Pāradā ṅgal Śi-Rāmannum śrī-bāgavata . . . dāriga] . . . ravūr [Śi] . . . ḷḷaṭ-kiramaṇvittanum . . . Kaṅgāṇi śey-vārgaḷil Āri[ya]n śrī-Parāṅkuśanambiyum Ālvānnum Kōyir-kaṇakku Tiruvaraṅgappi-riyanum . .
- 8 . v-aṇaivōm Malai-nāṭṭu Vēl-nāṭṭu Aḍigaḷil śrī ri¹ Kō[dai] . . .² nman vara=kkāṭṭina kalaiyil oru mā[ṇi]kkam-aḷuttina ponṇi[n] tirukkuttiviḷakku 1³ onṇu idu [!]⁴ idu Emberumānār⁵ aru⁶ ḷichcheyalpaḍiyē kaikkonḍu i-ttiruk-
- 9 .⁷ [ḷa]giyamaṇavāḷa-Pperumāḷ tirumubēy tirunund[ā] . . .⁸ ku eriya-kkaḍavad-āga i-ttiruvilakku . .⁹ yum¹⁰=iḍattu Tiruvaraṅgadēvanāl nāl onṇukku naru-ney nāḷiy-āga nāl mun-nūrru-aṇu-pattu aṇjukku ney mun-nūrru aṇu-patt-aiy-ñnāḷiyum nāl onṇukku kaṭpūram iran[ḍu]
- 10 ḍi¹¹ āga nāl mun-nūrru-aṇu-pattu aṇjukku=kkarpūram mu-ppattu aṇu-kalaṇj-araiyum ippaḍi chandr-[ā]dit[ta*]vaṇ=chella-kkaḍavad-āgavum [!]¹² idu sellum=iḍattu nāṭṭilē nilaṇ-goṇḍu viḍum=iḍattu nilaṅgaḷukku aḷivu vandapōdu idu sellādē oliyum=enṇum śrī ri¹³ baṇḍārat-
- 11 tē ponṇ=āga oḍukkiṇāl viruttiyālē śelvad=āgavum pā[r*]jtu Tiruvaraṅgadēva[nā]ḷ naru-ney nāḷikkum kaṭpūram iranḍu maṇjāḍikkum kāsu onṇukku-Tiruvaraṅgadēvanāl ney e-ṇṇāḷi āgavum kāsu onṇukku=kkarpūram arai-kkalaṇj-āgavum ḍr-āṇḍu nāl muṇ-nūrru-arupa-
- 12 ttu aṇjukku vēṇḍuṇ=kāsu 633¹⁴ aṇu-nūrru mu-ppattu mūṇṇum kā[ṣu] onṇadē-kāḷukku acichu onṇ=āga achchu 683¹⁵ aṇu-patt-eṭṭē-kālē-arai-kkālum Śrī-baṇḍāratte i-Kkōdai Iravipaṇmanukk-āga i-pponṇin tirukkuttiviḷakkum ivv-achchum koḍuvan-
- 13 da Paduvāy-amarnda Nārāyaṇanum Śolama . . . vivā-Ttiruvaraṅgadāsanum Iraṇaśiṅga-Maṇavāḷanum Uḷḷiruppu-Kkaṇḍaṇ Iraviyum Aḷagiyamaṇavāḷa-pperumāḷ Tiru-ppaḷli-ttoṅgal-uḍaiyārgaḷil Śi-Kulaśēkhara-Ppiramamārāyanum Aṇi-araṅga-Ppiram-mārāyaṇum iv[v*]-aṇaivaraiym ko-
- 14 ṇḍu i-ttiru-ppadiyil munbu . . . [ivv-aṇaivōm¹⁶mun] [Em]b[le]rumanār aruḷichcheyal-ppaḍiyē¹⁷ i-ppon Śrī-baṇḍāratte oḍukki(ku)vittu=kkonḍu viruttiyālē chandr-āḍittavar i-ttiruvilakkuch=chella-kkaḍavad=āga naḍuvir=tirumadiḷ Nāḍari-pugaḷan-Tiruvāśalilē¹⁸
- 15 Mērk-aḍaiya kal-veṭṭi(tu)vittōm iv[v*]-anaivōm [!]¹⁹ Idū Śrīvashṇava²⁰ rakshai [!]²¹

¹ This letter is superfluous.

² This may be restored as *Iravipa*^o. Cf. line 12.

³ This numeral is given in its Tamil form.

⁴ There is a gap of about five feet of space unengraved here.

⁵ The mention of Emberumānār is obviously in reference to the image of Kāmānuja since he is known to have passed away in Śaka 1059=1137 A.D. according to the chronogram *dharmō nashatah*.

⁶ This letter is superfluous.

⁷ This may be restored as *°kōyil.A*^o.

⁸ The missing letters are *°vīḷat*^o.

⁹ The missing letters are *eri*^o.

¹⁰ This has to be restored as *maṇjāḍi*.

¹¹ This letter is superfluous.

¹² Cf. line 8 above.

¹³ The *naḍuvir-tiru-madiḷ* is evidently so called because, of the seven *prākāras* (*vapt-āvarana*) of this temple, the fourth (where this inscription is engraved) is the central one. Nāḍari-pugaḷan Tiruvāśal is the original name of what is now popularly called Svargavāśal.

¹⁴ Read *°vāśṇava*^o.

here, then Māhimsaka would be the name of a village on the site of Ahmadābād, whose name has been otherwise lost.

TEXT.¹

- 1 . . . [सं]वत् १३०८ वर्षे
- 2 [दि] ११ रवौ अद्यह माहिसके
- 3 महाराजाधिराजश्रीमत्वीस[ष]दे-
- 4 वविजयराज्ये तन्नियुक्तमहाप्रधा[न]
- 5 राणकश्री[व]र्द्धम । तथा मूलराज । वा-
- 6 ई^३ सोढलदेवि^३ [म]सा[ह]णी पेयडे-
- 7 न श्रीउत्तरेखरदेवमंडपे जाली
- 8 का[रा]पिता । उपद्रष्टा रा० म[ह]ा
- 9 सूत्र० सुमण ॥
- 10 वा^५

TRANSLATION.

In Sāhvat 1308, on the 11th day of, on a Sunday, to-day, here in Māhimsaka, during the victorious reign of the *Mahārājādhirāja*, the glorious Visaladēva, while the *Mahāpradhānas* appointed by him (were) *Rāṇaka śrī-[Va]rḍama* and *Mūlarāja*,—a trellis (*jālī*) was caused to be made in the *mandapa* of the god *śrī-Uttarēśvara* by Pēṭhaḍa, the *masāhan*^३ of the lady Sōḍhaladēvi. The overseer (was) *Rā[utla] Ma[ll]ā*, (and) the architect, Sūmaṇa.

No. 13.—FOUR INSCRIPTIONS OF KULOTTUNGA-CHOLA.

By E. HULTZSCH, PH.D.

A.—Undated inscription at Chidambaram.⁷

This Grantha inscription has been already published in *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. I, p. 168 f. As stated on a subsequent occasion,⁸ the conquests recorded in it prove that it was incised in the time of Kulōttuṅga-Chōla I, who ascended the throne in A.D. 1070.⁹ I now subjoin an improved reading and translation of it.

TEXT.¹⁰

- 1 Svasti śrī[h]—Pāṇḍyān=dandē[na] jivā prachura-sara-muchā pañcha pañchānana-
śvīh(śrī=) dagdhvā Kōṭṭāra-durggan=tripam=iva sa yathā

¹ From inked estampages, prepared by myself.

² Read वाई.

³ Read ईषी.

⁴ Read उत्तरै.

⁵ This syllable is engraved at some interval below line 9.

⁶ [This is perhaps a mistake for *maḥādāhāni*. According to Kittel's *Kannada Dictionary*, *sāhāni* means 'a groom.'—E. H.]

⁷ No. 115 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1887-88.

⁸ *Ibid.* Vol. II, p. 291.

⁹ See above, Vol. IV, p. 263.

¹⁰ From fresh inked estampages, prepared by Mr. T. P. Krishnaswami Sastri, M.A.

- 2 Khāṇḍavam Pāṇḍu-sūnnh [1*] piṣṭvā tat Kēraḷānām balam=atibahalam(lam)
 śrī-Kulōttu[ṇ]ga-Chōḷaś=chakrē Śakra-pratāpas=tribhuvana-vijaya-stambham=
 ambhōdhi-tīrē [1] 1*]
- 3 Puṇyē 'Samhyādri-śrīmṅē tribhuvana-vijaya-stambham=ambhōdhi-pārē svachchhandam
 Pārasinān=taruṇa-yuvalibhir-ggīyatē yasya kīrttiḥ [1*]
- 4 sa śrīmān=asta-satruḥ² prabala-bala-bharaiḥ pañcha Pāṇḍyān=vijitya
 kṣuṇbhīyat(t-.)kṣmāpāla-chakram(kram) savidhikam=akarōch=chhri-Kulōttuṅga-
 Chōḷaḥ [1] 2*]

TRANSLATION.

Hail! Prosperity! (Verse 1.) Having subdued the five Pāṇḍyas by an army which discharged numerous arrows, having burnt like straw the fort of Kōṭṭāra,³ just as (Arjuna) the son of Pāṇḍu (*had burnt*) the Khāṇḍava (*forest*), (*and*) having crushed that extremely dense army of the Kēraḷas,—that glorious Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷa, who resembles a lion in majesty (*and*) Śakra (Indra) in valour, placed on the shore of the ocean a pillar (*commemorative of his*) conquest of the three worlds.

(V. 2.) Having subdued the five Pāṇḍyas by masses of powerful armies, that glorious Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷa, who has scattered (*his*) enemies (*and*) whose fame is spontaneously sung on the further shore of the ocean by the young women of the Persians (Pāraśi), duly placed on the holy peak of the Sabyādri (*mountain*) a pillar (*which commemorates his*) conquest of the three worlds (*and*) before which the crowd of kings is trembling.

B.—Inscription of the 39th year at Tiruvenkāḍu.⁵

This inscription is engraved on the south wall of the shrine in the Śvêtāranyasvara temple at Tiruvenkāḍu in the Tanjore district. It is written in the Grantha alphabet and consists of a single Sanskrit verse in the *Sragdhara* metre. It records the gift of a lamp to the temple of Śiva at Śvêtāranya⁶ in the 39th year of Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷa,—perhaps the first king of this name.

TEXT.⁷

- 1 Svast[i] śr[i]ḥ |— Â Sêtor-Â H[i]nâdrêr=avati vasumatim śr[i]-Kulô-
 2 ttuṅga-Chôḷē nissimnas=tan-mahimnô jagati vitatayê ta-
 3 n-navattrimśa-varshê [1*] saṁskṛity=âjy-ârttham=nrvin=dvija-kula-tila-
 4 kô nittya-dīpan=nyadhatta Śvêtāranyê Śivāya kṣhiti-vidita-
 5 Mahâdêva-nâmâ vipāśhit a Maṅgalam=mahâ-śrīḥ a

TRANSLATION.

Hail! Prosperity! While the glorious Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷa was protecting the earth from (Rāma's) Bridge to the Snowy Mountain, in his thirty-ninth year, in order that his boundless power might spread over the world,—a scholar whose name Mahâdêva was renowned on the earth (*and who was*) the ornament of a family of twice-born, dedicated (*a piece of*) land for (*the supply of*) ghee⁸ and granted a perpetual lamp to (*the temple of*) Śiva at Śvêtāranya. Bliss! Great prosperity!

¹ Read *Sahyâdri*. ² The word *-satruḥ* seems to be corrected from *-śastruḥ*.

³ This is a Sanskritised form of Kōṭṭāra near Cape Comorin; see *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. II. pp. 230, 231 and 236.

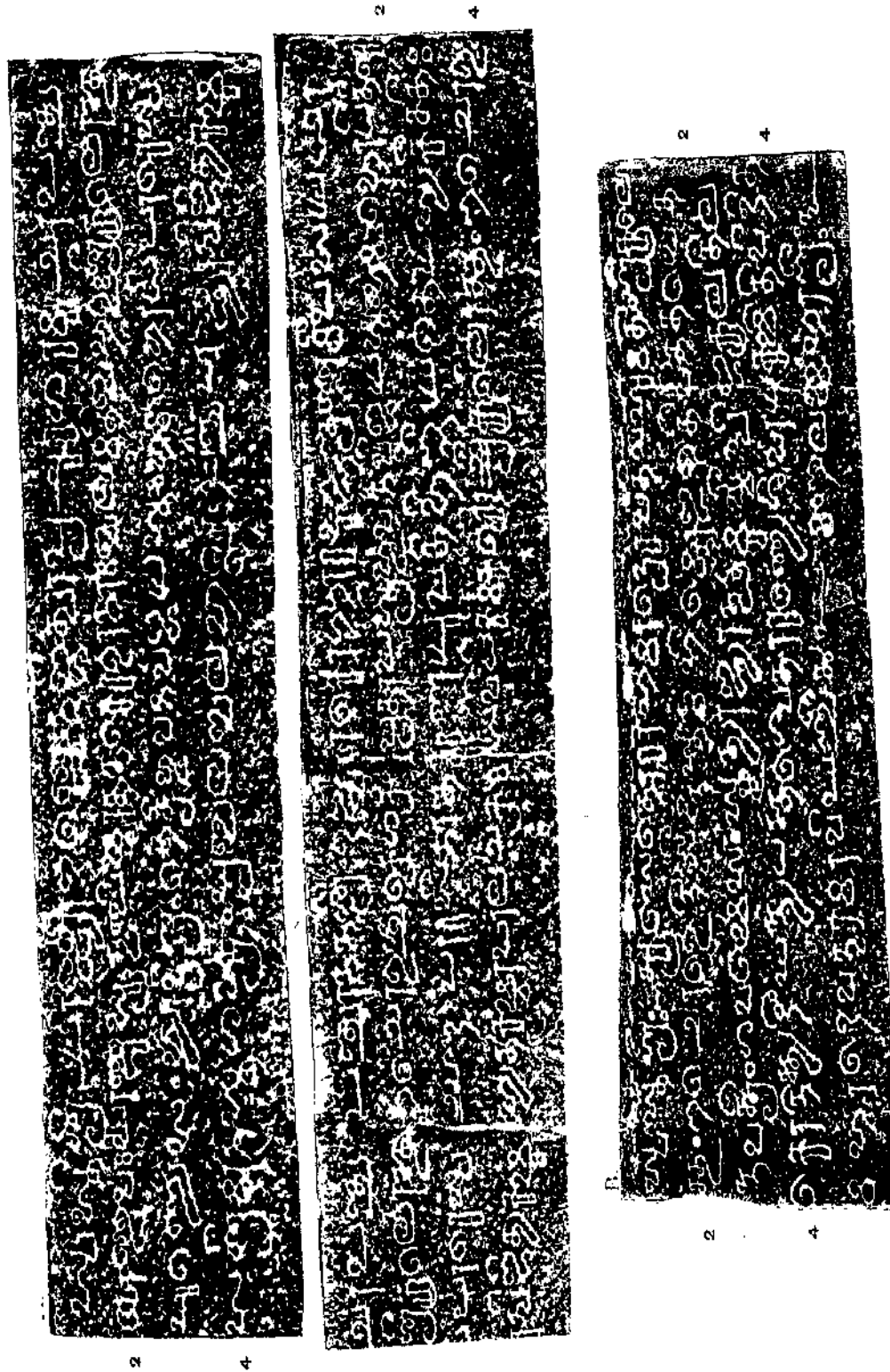
⁴ This word is expressed twice, by *śrīmān* and by *śrī*.

⁵ No. 110 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1896.

⁶ This is the Sanskrit equivalent of the Tamil *Venkāḍu*.

⁷ From inked estampages, prepared by Mr. T. P. Krishnaswami Sastri, M.A.

⁸ The ghee was required for feeding the lamp which is mentioned immediately after.



E. HULTSCH.

SCALE ONE-FIFTH.

W. GRIGGS, PHOTO-LITH

C.—Inscription of the 44th year at Chidambaram.¹

This inscription is engraved on the outside of the north wall of the innermost *prākāra* of the Natarāja temple at Chidambaram. That portion of it which contains the date has been published before in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XXIII, p. 297 f. and above, Vol. IV, p. 70. The alphabet and language are Tamil. Lines 1-5 and 9-14 are in prose, and lines 5-9 contain the verse.

The inscription is dated in the 44th year of Jayadhara (l. 5 f.). From the *Kaliṅgattu-Varaṇi* we know that this was a surname of Kulōttuṅga-Chōla I.,² to whose reign the present record must be assigned accordingly. Professor Kielhorn has calculated the details of the date (l. 6 f.) and has found that it corresponds to Friday, the 13th March A.D. 1114.³

The first portion of the inscription records donations made to the temple at Chidambaram Tillai, ll. 7 and 9, or Tiruchchirrambalam, l. 12) by Kundavai Ālvār, (the daughter of) Rājarāja and younger sister of Kulōttuṅga-Chōla. She presented the god with a golden vessel (l. 3) and a mirror (l. 10) and covered (the roof of) the shrine with gold (l. 8). The second portion (ll. 10-14) states that a stone which the king of Kambōja had given to Rājendra-Chōla was, by order of the latter, inserted into the wall of a hall in front of the shrine.

Of the names mentioned in the preceding paragraph, Kulōttuṅga-Chōla (l. 1 f.) and Rājendra-Chōla (ll. 10 and 11) refer to the reigning king Kulōttuṅga-Chōla I., who is known to have originally borne the name Rājendra-Chōla (II.) and to have subsequently assumed the name Kulōttuṅga.⁴ Rājarāja, the father of Kulōttuṅga's younger sister Kundavai (ll. 2 and 3), is identical with the Eastern Chālukya king Rājarāja I. (A.D. 1022-1063).⁵

TEXT.⁶

| | | | | |
|----|------------------------|----------------------|---------------------------------|--|
| 1 | ௐ Svasti | śrī(śrī) ௐ | Tiribuvanaḥhakkaraṇavattigal | śrī(śrī)-Kulōttuṅga- |
| 2 | Śōḷadēvar | tiru-ttaṅgaiyār | Rājarājan | Kundavaiy-Ālvār |
| 3 | āl-udaiyārkkku | taṇṇi(ṇi)r | amudu | śeyd=aruḷa itta [m]iṇḍam o- |
| 4 | ṇṇiṇāl | kuṇḍi-naṅ-kal | niṇai | Maduraṇḍagan-māḍaiyōḍu okkum |
| 5 | poṇ 50 pa | aip(m)baḍ[i]ṇ | kalā[ṇ]ju ௐ | Nāṇilattai ⁷ mōḷud=āṇḍa Jaya- |
| 6 | dararṅku | nārpattu-nāl=āṇḍil | Mi(mi)ṇa=nigal | nāyarru Velli pe- |
| 7 | ṇṇa | Urōṣaṇi-nāl=Idabam | pōḍāl | tēṇilavu-poliṇ=Ṭillai-nā- |
| 8 | [ya]gar-daṇ=gōyil=elām | śem-boṇ | māyndaḷ=ēṇavarun=doḷud=ē- | |
| 9 | ttam Rājarājan | Kundavai | pū-vindaiyālō ௐ | Tillai-nāyaga-dēvaṅku= |
| 10 | tiru-kkaṇṇāḍiyum | iṭṭār ௐ | [Śrī](śrī)-Rājendra-Śōḷadēvaṅku | Kambōsa- |
| 1 | rājan | kāṭchiy-āga=kkāṭṭiṇa | kallu [—] | idu udaiyār Rājendra-Śōḷa- |
| 2 | dēvar | tiru-vāy | mōḷud=aruḷi | udaiyār Tiruchchirrambalam-udaiyār kō- |
| 3 | yilil | mūṇ | vaittadu ௐ | inda=kkallu tiruv-edir-ambalattu tiru-kka- |
| 4 | l-ārattil | tiru-mūṇ-pattikku | mōlai-ppattiyilō | vaittadu ௐ |

TRANSLATION.

(Line 1.) Hail! Prosperity! Kundavai Ālvār, (the daughter of) Rājarāja (and) the royal younger sister of the emperor of the three worlds, śrī-Kulōttuṅga-Chōladēva, gave to the god,

¹ No. 119 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1887-88.

² See *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. II, p. 230, note 11.

³ Above, Vol. IV, p. 71.

⁴ See *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. II, p. 230 f.

⁵ As I have stated in the *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXIII, p. 293, note 13, Kundavai, the elder sister of the Chōla king Rājarāja I., and his daughter Kūṇḍavā must be distinguished from the present Kundavai. Rājarāja, Rājendra and Kundavai evidently were favourite names with the Chōla dynasty.

⁶ From an inked stampage, prepared in 1888.

⁷ In this verse, *nāṇilattai* rhymes with *Māṇa*, *tēṇilavu* and *t-ēṇavarun*.

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the son of Bhāilla, and is conversant with the Vēdas and their subsidiary treatises, the village named Tālapurumshaka, situated in Nāgapura-Nandivardhana, along with what is set aside, with the appurtenances, with the assessment in grain and gold, with the flaws in measurement and inflictions of fate, with all the produce, up to (its) four previously known boundaries, (and) to be respected (i.e. not to be interfered with) as long as the moon and the sun endure, in the manner of a gift to a Brāhmaṇa."

(L. 55.) To the east of it (is) the village named [Mādāṭaḍhiṇḍhara]; to the south the river [Kanhanā]; to the west the village of [Mōhama]; (and) to the north the village of [Vadhira].

(L. 57.) No one should cause obstruction to Rishiyapayya while he cultivates Tālapurumshaka, defined by these four boundaries, causes (it) to be cultivated, enjoys (it) or causes (it) to be enjoyed. And he who causes obstruction will incur the five great sins; for it is said:—

(V. 30.) "He who takes away land that has been given by himself or others, becomes a worm in ordure and is cooked (in hell) together with (his) ancestors."

(V. 31.) "Rāmaḥadra again and again entreats all future kings that they should from time to time protect this bridge of virtue, (which is) common to (all) kings."

(L. 61.) Engraved by Yō[grāshtya], the brother of [Chē]vāna[nvēra].

No. 21.— DATES OF CHOLA KINGS.

By F. KIELHORN, PH.D., LL.D., C.I.E.; GÖTTINGEN.

(Continued from page 49.)

A.—RAJARAJA.

No. 27.— Inscription in the Vaikunṭha-Perumāḷ temple at Maṇimaṅgalam.¹

1 [Ti*]ru-magaḷ pōl
2 k-iyāṇḍu līvaṇḍu Isha[bha]-nā[ya]iru pūrvva-ba(pa)kshattu [da]śamiyu[m*]
Viyāḷa-kīḷam[ai]yu[m p]eṇṇa [A]ttattiṇṇā nāl.

"In the 15th year (of the reign) of,² on the day of Hasta, which corresponded to a Thursday and to the tenth tithi of the first fortnight of the month of Rishabha."

As Rājārāja's reign has been found to commence between the 24th December A.D. 984 and (approximately) the 29th August A.D. 985 (above, p. 48, No. 25), a date in the month of Rishabha (April-May) of the 15th year of his reign will be expected to fall either in A.D. 999 (in Śaka-Samvat 921 expired) or in A.D. 1000 (in Śaka-Samvat 922 expired).

In A.D. 999 the month of Rishabha lasted from the 23rd April to the 24th May. During that time the 10th tithi of the bright half (of the lunar month Vaiśākha) commenced 0 h. 53 m. after mean sunrise of Thursday, the 27th April, and ended 1 h. 4 m. after mean sunrise of Friday, the 28th April; and the nakṣatras on the two days were—

on the Thursday, by the Brahma-siddhānta and according to Garga, Uttara-Phalgunī the whole day; and by the equal space system, Pūrva-Phalgunī up to 9 h. 12 m., and afterwards Uttara-Phalgunī;

¹ No. 239 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1897.

² The name of the king is lost, but the historical introduction, the whole of which is preserved, makes it certain that the inscription belongs to the time of Rājārāja I.

on the Friday, Uttara-Phalguni, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 10 h. 30 m., and by the Brahma-siddhanta for 7 h. 13 m.; and afterwards Hasta.

In A.D. 1000 the month of Rishabha lasted from the 23rd April to the 23rd May; and during that time the 10th *tithi* of the bright half (of the lunar month Jyaishtṥa) ended 20 h. 53 m. after mean sunrise of Wednesday, the 15th May, when the *nakshatra* was Hasta, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 22 h. 20 m., and by the Brahma-siddhanta for 19 h. 3 m., after mean sunrise.

From this it follows that, if the year of the king's reign is correctly given, either the *nakshatra* (Hasta) has been quoted incorrectly, or the weekday (Thursday). In A.D. 999 the 10th *tithi* of the bright half of the month of Rishabha may undoubtedly be joined with Thursday, the 27th April, because the *tithi* commenced as early as 0 h. 53 m. after mean sunrise of that day;¹ but during no part of the Thursday was the moon in the *nakshatra* Hasta. On the other hand, for A.D. 1000 the day of the date would undoubtedly be the 15th May, when the *nakshatra* was Hasta up to nearly the end of the day; but the 15th May A.D. 1000 was a Wednesday, not a Thursday.

My own opinion is, that the day of the date probably is Thursday, the 27th April A.D. 999, and that the writer, confounding the solar and the lunar months Jyaishtṥa, without verifying his statement, has coupled with that day the *nakshatra* Hasta, because in the great majority of years² Hasta really is the proper *nakshatra* for the 10th *tithi* of the bright half of the lunar Jyaishtṥa.

I may add that I have calculated the date also for the surrounding years A.D. 998 and 1001, as well as for A.D. 1009 and 1010, without any satisfactory results.

B.—KULOTTUNGA-CHOLA I.

No. 28.—Inscription in the Rājagōpāla-Perumāḷ temple at Maṇimaṅgalam.³

- 1 Svasti śrī [||*] Tribhuvanaśchakkaravattigal śrī-Kulōttuṅga-Śōḷadēvarkku yāṇḍu
48avaḍu Kumbha-nāyargu pārvva-[pa]kshattu dvādaś[ī]yūm Veḷ-
2 [ī]i-kkilaṁaiyūm peṇṇa Śadaiya[t]tu nāḷ.

"In the 48th year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷadēva,⁴—on the day of Śatabhishaj, which corresponded to a Friday and to the twelfth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Kumbha."

Since, during the month of Kumbha, a twelfth *tithi* cannot possibly be joined with the *nakshatra* Śatabhishaj, I feel confident that the twelfth is wrongly quoted here instead of the second *tithi* of the bright half, and that the date, therefore, in every respect is the same as No. 20, above, Vol. IV. p. 262.

C.—KULOTTUNGA-CHOLA III.

No. 29.—Inscription in the Dharmēśvara temple at Maṇimaṅgalam.⁵

- 1 Tīru-vā[y*]-kk[ā]vi mu[n]n-āga Tribhuvanaśchakkaravattigal Maduraiyūm ḷḷamum
Pāṇḍiya[n] m[n]ḍi-talaiyūn-gonḍ-aru[ī]ya śrī-Kulōttuṅga-Śōḷadēvarkku yāṇḍu

¹ I could quote very many similar dates from my lists.

² A comparison of twelve native calendars for different years has yielded the following result for the day on which the 10th *tithi* of the bright half of the lunar Jyaishtṥa ended: In nine years the *nakshatra* was Hasta at the commencement of the day, and in two others towards the end of it; and in the remaining year the *nakshatra* at the commencement of the day was Chitrā, which follows immediately upon Hasta.

³ *South-Ind. Assoc.* Vol. III. No. 32.

⁴ The identity of this king with Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷa I. is proved by the fact that three persons mentioned in this inscription are also referred to in another inscription at Maṇimaṅgalam (above, Vol. IV. p. 262, No. 20), which opens with the usual historical introduction of the inscriptions of Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷa I. (*Pugaḷ-māḍu viḷaṅga*).

⁵ No. 282 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1897.

2[9]vadu Mīṇa-nāyarṇu p[ūr]vva-pakshattu sattamiyūm Buda[n]-kilamaiyūm
perṇa Mṛigaśirishattu nāḷ.

"In the 2[9]th year (*of the reign*) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷadēva, who was pleased to take Madurai, ḷḷam, and the crowned head of the Pāṇḍya,—on the day of Mṛigaśirsha, which corresponded to a Wednesday and to the seventh *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Mīna."

As the reign of Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷa III. commenced between the 5th June and the 8th July A.D. 1178 (above, Vol. IV. p. 266), a date in the month of Mīna (February-March) of the 29th year of his reign will be expected to fall in A.D. 1207 (in Śaka-Samvat 1128 expired); and for that year this date is correct.

In A.D. 1207 the month of Mīna lasted from the 23rd February to the 24th March; and during that period the seventh *tithi* of the bright half (of the lunar month Chaitra) ended 20 h. 16 m. after mean sunrise of Wednesday, the 7th March A.D. 1207, when the *nakshatra* was Mṛigaśirsha, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 19 h. 42 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 18 h. 23 m., after mean sunrise.

No. 30.—Inscription in the Vaikunṭha-Perumāḷ temple at Uttaramallūr.¹

- 1 Svasti śrī [||*] Tiru-[v]āy-kkēḷvi muṇṇ-āga Tribhuvanaachchakravatt[i]gaḷ
Maduraiyūm [ḷḷa]muṇ-Garuvūrum Pāṇḍi[ya]ṇ muḍi-ttalsiyūn-gond-a[ru]ḷi
vīrar abhiśhēkam[u]m viśaiyar abhiśhēkannuṁ paṇṇi aru[ḷi]ḷi[ṇa] Tribhuvana-
2 vi(vi)radēvaṅku yāṇḍu 37āvadu Mī[th]uṇa-nāyarṇu pūrva-pakshattu na[va]wiyūm
Nāyarṇu-kkēḷ[mai]yūm² [p]erṇa Atattu nā[ḷ].

"In the 37th year (*of the reign*) of the emperor of the three worlds Tribhuvanaviradēva, who was pleased to take Madurai, ḷḷam, Karuvūr, and the crowned head of the Pāṇḍya, and was pleased to perform the anointment of heroes and the anointment of victors,—on the day of Hasta, which corresponded to a Sunday and to the ninth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Mithuna."

According to what has been stated above, a date in the month of Mithuna (May-June) of the 37th year of the king's reign will be expected to fall either in A.D. 1214 (in Śaka-Samvat 1136 expired) or in A.D. 1215 (in Śaka-Samvat 1137 expired). As a matter of fact, this date is correct for A.D. 1215.

In A.D. 1215 the month of Mithuna lasted from the 27th May to the 26th June; and during that time the 9th *tithi* of the bright half (of the lunar month Āshāḍha) ended 17 h. 17 m. after mean sunrise of Sunday, the 7th June A.D. 1215, when the *nakshatra* was Hasta, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 5 h. 55 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 2 h. 38 m., after mean sunrise.

The date reduces the period during which the reign of Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷa III. must have commenced (by three days, *viz.*) to the time from (approximately) the 8th June to the 8th July A.D. 1178.

No. 31.—Inscription in the Rājagōpāla-Perumāḷ temple at Maṇimaṇḍalam.¹

- 1 Svasti śrī [||*] Tribuvanaśakkaravarttiḷi
2 Madurai[yūm*] [P]āṇḍiyaṇai muḍi-tta-
3 laiyūm koṇḍ-aruliya Kulōt-
4 tuṅga-Sōḷadēvaṅku yāṇḍu 20-

¹ No. 67 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1898.

² The syllable *mai* seems to be entered below the line.

³ No. 276 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1897.

5 āvadn Viṇṣhaba-nāyargu pūrva-pakshattu daśa-
6 miyūm Viyāla-kiḷamaigum perṇa Svāti-nāḷ.

"In the 20th year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷadēva, who was pleased to take Madurai and the crowned head of the Pāṇḍya,—on the day of Svāti, which corresponded to a Thursday and to the tenth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Vṛishabha."

From what has been stated above, this date of the month of Rishabha (April-May) of the 20th year of the king's reign would be expected to fall in A.D. 1198 (in Śaka-Samvat 1120 expired); but for that year the date is quite incorrect.

In A.D. 1198 the month of Rishabha lasted from the 25th April to the 25th May, and during that time the 10th *tithi* of the bright half (of the lunar month Jyaiṣṭha, as a *kṣaya-tithi*) commenced 0 h. 43 m. and ended 22 h. 43 m. after mean sunrise of Sunday, the 17th May, when the *nakṣatras* by the equal space system and according to Garga were Uttara-Phalgunī and Hasta, and by the Brahma-siddhānta Hasta and Chitrā.

Of the many years for which I have calculated the date, only the year A.D. 1200 (the month Rishabha of which would fall in the 22nd year of the king's reign) yields an approximately correct result. In that year the *tithi* of the date ended 7 h. 9 m. after mean sunrise of Thursday, the 25th May, which was the last day of the month of Rishabha, and on which the *nakṣatra* was Svāti, by the equal space system and according to Garga from 19 h. 42 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta from 16 h. 25 m., after mean sunrise.¹ Even this result I cannot regard as satisfactory, because, in my opinion, this Thursday, the 25th May A.D. 1200, would have been described as 'the day of Chitrā.'

No. 22.—VAKKALERI PLATES OF KIRTIVARMAN II; SAKA-SAMVAT 679.

By F. KIELEORN, PH.D., LL.D., C.I.E.; GÖTTINGEN.

These plates were first brought to public notice, about twenty years ago, by Mr. L. Rice, C.I.E., who in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. VIII. p. 23 ff., gave the text and a translation of the inscription which they contain, with photolithographs prepared under Dr. Fleet's supervision. The plates were obtained, and are still, at Vakkalēri, the head-quarters of a *kōbāḷi* in the Kōlār district of the Mysore state. My revised text² is based on excellent impressions, furnished to me by Dr. Hultzsch, for whom the original plates were kindly obtained on loan by Mr. Rice.

These are five copper-plates, the first and last of which are inscribed on one side only, and each of which measures about $9\frac{1}{4}$ " broad by from $4\frac{3}{8}$ " (in the middle) to 5" (at the two ends) high. The plates have raised rims and are strung on a ring, which had been cut already before the impressions were taken. The ring is about $4\frac{1}{4}$ " in diameter and $\frac{1}{2}$ " thick, and has its ends secured in the base of an elliptical seal, which measures about $1\frac{1}{2}$ " by $1\frac{1}{4}$ " and bears, in relief on a countersunk surface, a standing boar which faces to the proper right.—The writing is well engraved and is in an excellent state of preservation, so that almost every

¹ It is easy to prove that during the time, which is actually occupied by the tenth *tithi* of the bright half, the moon cannot possibly be in the *nakṣatra* Svāti during the month of Rishabha.

² A revised text of part of the inscription was given by Dr. Hultzsch, from the published photolithographs, in *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. I. p. 146.—Dr. Hultzsch informs me that he cleaned the plates with diluted nitric acid before taking the fresh impressions, from which the accompanying photolithographs have been prepared under Dr. Fleet's supervision.

- 69 sabitas=Suḷḷiyūr=nnāma grāmō dattas=tad-āgāmibhir=asmad-vamśyair=anyais=cha
rājabhir=ā-
70 yur-aiśvaryy-ādīnām vilasitam=achirāmśu-chañchalam=avagachchadbhir=ā-chandr-ārka-
dhar-ārpa-
71 va-sthiti-sama-kālam yaśas=chicchirshu(shu)bhis=svadatti-nūrvviśēsham=paripālaniyam=¹
Uktañ=cha
72 bhagavatā vēda-vyāsēna Vyāsēna [!]² Bahubhir=vvasudhā bhuktā rājabhis=
Sagar-ā-
73 dibhiḥ [!]³ yasya yasya yadā bhūmis=tasya tasya tadā [pha]⁴lām [!]⁵ Svan=
dāturm
74 samahach-chhakyam duḥkham=anyasya pālanaṁ [!]⁶ dānaṁ vā pālanaṁ v=ētti(ti)
dānāch=chhrēyō=
75 nupālanaṁ [!]⁷ Sva-dattām=para-dattām vā yō harēta vasva(su)ndhanām [!]⁸
shashtim varsha-sa-
76 hasarāṇi viśṭhāyām jāyatē krimir=iti [!]⁹ Mahāsāndhivigrahika-śrīmad-Ari-
77 vārita-Dhanamjaya-puṇyavallabhasya¹⁰ likhitam=ida[m] śāsana[m] [!]¹¹

No. 23.—MINDIGAL INSCRIPTION OF RAJADHIRAJA;
SAKA-SAMVAT 970.

By H. KRISHNA SASTRI, B.A.

Mindigal is a village about eleven miles north-west of Chintāmapī, the head-quarters of the Chintāmapī tāluka of the Kōlār district in the Mysore State. The older form of the name, **Miqdumgallu**, occurs in line 9 of the inscription, which also states that the village belonged to the district of **Koyyakore-nādu**.

The subjoined record was first brought to my notice by a goldsmith of Mindigal, who sent me for examination a pencil-sketch of the writing on the stone, expecting some hidden treasure to be referred to therein. It was, however, found out to be an important inscription of the Chōla king Rājādhirāja, dated both in the Śaka era and in a year of his reign, and I was at once deputed by Dr. Hultzsch to prepare inked estampages of the stone, from which I now edit the inscription. The slab on which the inscription is written measures 5' by 4' 9" and is fixed into the platform of the Sōmēśvara temple in the fields to the north-east of Mindigal. At the top, to the proper right of lines 1 and 2, are engraved the figures of a cow and a calf. The characters are of the old Kanarese type and are neatly engraved between horizontal lines. The language of the inscription is throughout Kanarese, with the exception of the Tamil words *kōv=Irājahēsari padmar=āna uḍeyār* in l. 3, and *yāṇḍu* in l. 4.

As regards the orthography of the inscription, I have to make the following remarks:—

- (1) Except in the case of *ā*, the secondary forms of long vowels do not differ from those for the corresponding short ones. (2) The *anusvāra* is represented by a small dot, which is placed at the right upper corner of the letter to which it belongs. The same symbol is used in l. 1 for the cypher, as in other Kanarese and Telugu inscriptions. (3) The superscribed form of *r* does not occur in the inscription; and where such a form is required, it is indicated by the doubling of the consonant to which it was meant to be prefixed. (4) The *anusvāra* takes the place of other nasals before *ga* (ll. 9 and 13), *gha* (l. 5), *da* (l. 5) and *pa* (l. 8). (5) The *virāma* is

¹ Read 'nṭyam'.

² Metre of this and the following verses: Ślōka (Anuśṭubh).

³ Instead of *pha*, *la* or *lām* seems to have been originally engraved.

⁴ Read 'labbhēna.

represented, as in modern Kanarese and Telugu, by a zigzag line attached to the *talekatṭu*. (6) The consonants *ra* and *ṛa*, *la* and *ḷa* are used in their proper places, except in the cases of *alivāṇ* for *alivāṇ* (l. 11) and *golāṅgaṇ* for *golāṅgaṇ* (l. 14).

In *galḍayuvāṇ* (l. 15 f.) and *Bāṇarāṣṭiyuvāṇ* (l. 17) the accusative termination is, in strict accordance with the rules of grammar, affixed only to the last of the nouns which are the objects of the same verb, while the others remain in the nominative case combined with the copulative conjunction *uṇ*; but in *Sāleyu[ṇ*]* (l. 3) the accusative termination is omitted. The word *saṇvatsaradal* (l. 1 f.), which ought to stand after *muvaṭṭaneya* (l. 4), has been misplaced.

The inscription records the gift of some land and of an oil-mill to the temple of Sōmēśvara at Minḍungallu by the *Daṇḍanāyaka* Appimayya, surnamed Rājendra-Chōla-Brahmamārāya (ll. 4 ff. and 11 f.), who governed the Mārājavāḍi Seven-thousand country from his camp at Vallūru. This grant was made when a certain Bairayya, surnamed Rājendra-Chōla-Pōmpalamārāya,¹ the son of Muddarasa of Muṛuganamale (l. 7 ff.), had repaired the temple of Sōmēśvara. The land granted was irrigated by two tanks,—Pallavakaṭṭu (ll. 9 and 12) and Baḍagaṇa-Pōmpalakāṭṭu (l. 13 f.), the first of which had been built by Bairayya and the second by Appimayya.

The record is dated in the Śaka year 970, which corresponded to the current Sarvajit-samvatsara and to the thirtieth year of the reign of (the Chōla king) Rājakesarivarman, *alias* Rājādhirājadeva, 'who took the head of the glorious Virapāṇḍya and the Sāle of the Chēra king.' This date corresponds to A.D. 1047-48² and has enabled Professor Kielhorn to calculate the dates of four other inscriptions of the same king and to show that his reign commenced between the 15th March and the 3rd December A.D. 1018³ i.e. during the reign of his predecessor Rājendra-Chōla I. whose reign extended from A.D. 1011-12 to at least A.D. 1033.⁴ Consequently Rājādhirāja must have been the co-regent of Rājendra-Chōla I. and did not rule independently before the death of the other.⁵ The *birudas* of the chiefs Appimayya and Bairayya, *viz.* Rājendra-Chōla-Brahmamārāya and Rājendra-Chōla-Pōmpalamārāya, were evidently acquired by them during the reign of Rājādhirāja's predecessor Rājendra-Chōla I. The conquests of Rājādhirāja are described in detail in an inscription of his 29th year at Maṇimaṅgalam. One of his achievements is stated to have been that he routed the Chēra king and followed the example of his ancestor Rājarāja I. in destroying the ships at Kāṇḍalūr-Sālai.⁶ This is the incident alluded to by the *biruda* 'Sēramana Sāleyu[ṇ*] *hoṇḍa*,' which is given to Rājādhirāja in l. 2 f. of the subjoined inscription.⁷ The 'taking of the head of Virapāṇḍya' is not mentioned in the historical introduction of the Maṇimaṅgalam inscription, which refers to three other Pāṇḍya enemies of Rājādhirāja.⁸

Of the proper names contained in this inscription the following admit of identification. The Mārājavāḍi Seven-thousand province (l. 6), over which Appimayya ruled, is mentioned in other inscriptions as Mahārājavāḍi, Mārājavāḍi and Mārjavāḍa-rājya, and Vallūru (l. 6 f.), the residence of Appimayya, has been identified with a village of the same name, about 8 miles north-west of Cuddapah.⁹ Muṛuganamale (l. 7) is identical with Murugamale, a village near Chintāmani. The first of the two tanks mentioned in the inscription, *viz.* Pallavakaṭṭu, appears to have been situated near the Sōmēśvara temple (ll. 9-12). The ruins of it still exist a few yards to the east of the same temple.

¹ [On the Pompala family compare above, p. 171, note 1.—E. H.]

² Compare above, Vol. IV. p. 216.

³ See *ibid.* p. 218.

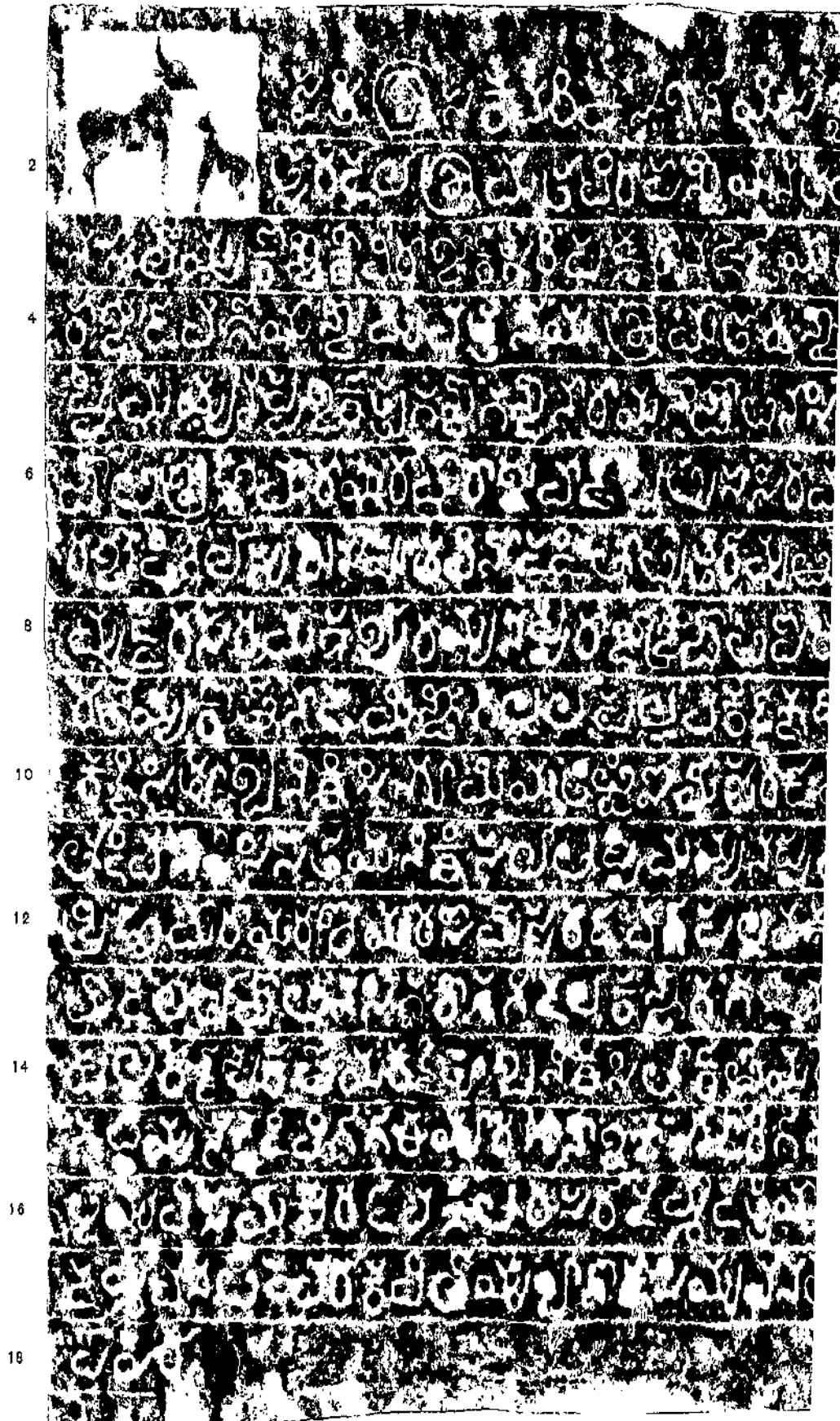
⁴ [This will be shown by Prof. Kielhorn under the Chōla date No. 84.—E. H.]

⁵ *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. III. p. 52.

⁶ *Sāle* is the Kanarese equivalent of *Sālai*, i.e. Kāṇḍalūr-Sālai.

⁷ *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. III. p. 106. In his *Epigraphia Carnatica*, Vol. IV. Introduction, p. 20, Mr. Rice mentions Vallūru as being situated "to the north-east of Mysore and described as the capital of the Rāmarājavāḍi Seven-thousand." This name is perhaps a mistake for Mahārājavāḍi.

Mindigal Inscription of Rajadhiraja.—Saka-Samvat 970.



WIELE & KLEIN, PHOTO.

SCALE 1/2.

TEXT.¹

- 1 Svasti śrī [||*] Saka-varisha 970-nē yī Sabbajitu-samva-
 2 tsaradal śrīmat-Virapāndiyana taleyum Sērama-
 3 na Sāleyu[m*] koṇḍa kōv-Irākēsariṇpadmar-āna² uḍeyār śrī-Rājādhi-
 4 rājadēva[r*]gge yāṇḍu muvattanyea [||*] śrīmat-[Da]ṇḍānyakam A-
 5 ppimayyan=appa o[r*]-kketu-gaṇḍam gaṇḍa-Nārāyaṇa Chōḷana-siṅgam
 Rājendra-
 6 Chōḷa-Brahmamārāyar Mārājavāḍ[ī] Eḷasāsiravan-aḷntta V[a]llā-
 7 ra biḍinal sukha-sa[m]ghāta-vinōdadim³ āḷutt=ire [||*] Muruganamaleya
 8 Muddarasara magam Bairayyan=app[a] Rājendra-Chōḷa-Pōmpalamārāya-
 9 r Koyyakore-nāḍa Miṇḍumgallal Pallavakaṭṭ=endu hose keṇya[m]
 10 kaṭṭisi tūmban=ikkisi bhōmiyam tildi⁴ Sōmēsvaradēvara dēgulava
 11 [a]ḷivam⁵ [sō]ḍisi soteyan=ikkisal Appimayyan=appa Rājendra-Chōḷa-
 12 Brahmamārāyar iyy=ūra Sōmēsvaradēva[r*]gge Pallavagaṭṭina tūbina
 13 modalal Chōḷana-siṅgam ko[ḷ]aḡadal kaṇḍugam gaḷḍ[e]yum Baḍagana-[Pōm]-
 14 paḷaḷkaṭṭ=endu keṇya kaṭṭi[si*] tūmban=ikkisi ā keṇyal ai-golaṅgam⁶
 15 gaḷḍeyum nan[ḍā]-divigege iyy=ūra g[ā]ṇam onḍam bha[ṭ*]tā[ra*]ige pattu
 koḷagam ga-
 16 ḷeyuvam Sōmēsvaradēva[r*]gge arasar-damma-dattiy-āge bi[ṭṭa]r [||*] I⁷
 17 dammavan-aḷidavar kavileyum Bāṇa[r]āsiyuvan=al[i]da pāpakke
 18 pōpar [||*]

TRANSLATION.

(Line 1.) Hail! Prosperity! In the Saka year 970 (*which was*) this (*current*) Sarvajit-samvatsera (*and*) the thirtieth year (*of the reign*) of king Rājakēsariṇvārmān, *alias* the lord śrī-Rājādhirājadēva, who took the head of the glorious Virapāndya and the Sāle of Sērama (*i.e.* the Chēra king);—

(L. 4.) while the glorious *Daṇḍānyaka* Appimayya, *alias* Rājendra-Chōḷa-Brahmamārāya, a chief who alone makes (*his enemies*) tremble, a (*very*) Nārāyaṇa among heroes, the lion of the Chōḷa (*king*), was governing the Mārājavāḍi Seven-thousand (*province*) (*and*) was immersed in the delight of pleasing conversations in (*his*) camp at Vallūru;—

(L. 7.) when Bairayya, *alias* Rājendra-Chōḷa-Pōmpalamārāya, the son of Muddarasara of Muruganamale, having caused to be constructed at Miṇḍumgallu in Koyyakore-nāḍu a new tank called Pallavakaṭṭu and a sluice to be built, having levelled the ground and having examined the cracks in the temple of Sōmēsvaradēva, had (*them*) plastered,— Appimayya, *alias* Rājendra-Chōḷa-Brahmamārāya, gave to (*the temple of*) Sōmēsvaradēva in this village (one) kaṇḍuga of paddy-land, (*measured*) by the koḷaga (named after) Chōḷana-Siṅga,¹⁰ at the base of the sluice of the Pallavakaṭṭu (*tank*);

(L. 14.) and, having caused to be constructed a tank called the Northern Pōmpalakattū and a sluice to be built, (*he gave*) to (*the temple of*) Sōmēsvaradēva, as a gift for the merit of

¹ From four inked estampages.² Read 'varma'.³ Read 'samkathā'. *Samghāta* might be translated by 'crowd' or 'abundance,' but the phrase occurs in many other inscriptions as *sukha-samkathā-vinōdadim*.⁴ Read *tirē* and compare with it the Tamil *tiruttī* which, as Mr. Venkayya informs me, means 'having reclaimed.'⁵ Read *aḷivam*.⁶ Read *Brahma*.⁷ Read *iyy*.⁸ Read *golaṅgam*.⁹ Read *ī*.¹⁰ According to l. 5 this was a *biruda* of the *Daṇḍānyaka* Appimayya.

(L. 20.) Here there are (*the following*) verses sung by Manu:—[Here follow four benedictive and imprecatory verses.]

(L. 26.) He who from greed or infatuation takes away this (*gift*), is guilty of the five great sins. May blessings rest on cows and Brāhmins! ¹

No. 3.— DATES OF CHOLA KINGS.

By F. KIELHORN, PH.D., LL.D., C.I.E.; GÖTTINGEN.

(Continued from Vol. V. page 200.)

Vol. IV. of Mr. Rice's *Epigraphia Carnatica* again contains a number of Chôla inscriptions with Śaka dates. Dr. Hultsch has sent me revised transcripts and translations of six of them (Nos. 32-37), which are all in the Heggaḍadēvankōṭe tālnka of the Mysore district. The transcripts were made from inked estampages, prepared by Mr. H. Krishna Sastri, B.A. The seventh of the new dates (No. 38) is taken from Vol. III. of Dr. Hultsch's *South-Indian Inscriptions*.

I would add here a few words about the commencement of Rājarāja's reign. Above, Vol. V. p. 43. I found that that reign commenced between (approximately) the 24th December A.D. 984 and the 29th August A.D. 985. By the statement of the Śuchindram inscription, *ibid.* p. 44, according to which the tenth year of the king's reign commenced with the month of Karkataka, the previously found period is reduced to the time from the 25th June to the 25th July A.D. 985.

A.— RAJENDRA-CHOLA I.

32.— On a stone at the Bāṇēśvara temple at Bejātūru.²

- 1 Śrī svasti [||*] Saka-varisha ³vombhaynōṅa-nālvatta-mūḡe(ṛa)neya varishada⁴
Raudra-saṁvatsarada Â-
- 2 śhāḍha-māsada puṇṇave Uttarāśhāḍha-nakshatraṁ Maka-
- 3 ra-chandraṁ Brī(bṛi)haspati-vāraṁ śrī-Mudigaṇḍa-Rājendra-Chôlaṁ rājyaṁ [ge]-
- 4 yyutt-ire iyāṇḍu ombhattāvudaga(ro)l.

"Thursday, the moon being in Makara, the *nakshatra* being Uttarāśhāḍhā, during the full-moon *tithi* of the month of Āshāḍha in the Raudra year (*which corresponded*) to the nine-hundred-and-forty-third year of the Śaka years,—in the ninth year of the reign of the glorious Mudigaṇḍa-Rājendra-Chôla."

The Jovian year Raudra by the southern luni-solar system was Śaka-Saṁvat 943 as a current year (= A.D. 1020-21). In that year the month Āshāḍha was intercalary, and the full-moon *tithi* of the second or *nija* Āshāḍha ended 17 h. 55 m. after mean sunrise of Thursday, the 7th July A.D. 1020, when the *nakshatra* was Uttarāśhāḍhā, by the Brahma-siddhānta for 7 h. 13 m., and by the equal-space system and according to Garga for 13 h. 47 m., after mean

¹ Cows and Brāhmins are often mentioned together in this order; compare e.g. line 15 of Rudradāman's inscription referred to above; *Gupta Inscr.* p. 32, l. 10 of the text; *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 7, l. 52, and p. 129, l. 28; *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. I. p. 39, l. 1; *Edmāyana*, Bo. ed., I. 26, 5; III. 23, 28 (*svasti gô-brāhmanābhyasuta*); III. 24, 21 (*svasti gô-brāhmanānām cha*); VI. 107, 49; etc.

² Mr. Rice's *Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV. Hg. 16.

³ The opening words of line 1 as far as *vombōla* are engraved at right angle to the remainder.

⁴ This word is entered below the line and its omission indicated by a cross above *neya*.

sunrise. The ending point of Uttarāshādhā being $276^{\circ} 42' 15''$ or 280° , the moon of course was in the sign Makara ($270^{\circ} - 300^{\circ}$).

According to our date, this Thursday, the 7th July A.D. 1020, fell in the ninth year of the king's reign. How far this statement may agree with other dates of Rājendra-Chōla I. will be considered below, under No. 34.

33.—On a stone lying at the Bāṇēsvara temple at Belatūru.¹

| | | | |
|---|------------------------------------|-------------|----------------------------------|
| 1 | Svasti | śrī [!]* | Pūrvva-dēsamum |
| 2 | Gaṅgeyum | Kaḍāramum | gonḍa kō Pa- |
| 3 | rakēsarivarmmar-āna | | śrī-Rājendra- |
| 4 | Chōladēvargg-iyāṇḍu | | irppatt-erada- |
| 5 | vudu [!]* | svasti [!]* | Saka-nripa-kāl-ātita-samvatsara- |
| 6 | śatamga | 955ya | Śrīmukha-samvatsarada Mārggaśi- |
| 7 | ra-suddha-pādivam-Mūl-Ārkkad-aṇḍu. | | |

"In the twenty-second year (of the reign) of king Parakēsarivarman *alias* the glorious Rājendra-Chōladēva, who conquered the Eastern country, the Gaṅgā, and Kaḍāram,² — on Sunday, (the *nakṣatra* being) Mūla, during the first *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Mārgasira in the Śrīmukha year (which was) the 955th of the hundreds of years passed from the time of the Śaka king."

The Jovian year Śrīmukha by the southern luni-solar system was Śaka-Samvat 955 as an expired year (= A.D. 1033-34). In that year the first *tithi* of the bright half of Mārgasira ended 3 h. 54 m. after mean sunrise of Saturday, the 27th October A.D. 1033, when the *nakṣatra* was Anurādhā. This in no way satisfies the requirements of the case.

I have no doubt that the month intended in the original is really the month Pausa of our Tables³ (which follows immediately upon Mārgasira), because, for that month, the date regularly corresponds to Sunday, the 25th November A.D. 1033,⁴ when the first *tithi* of the bright half ended 21 h. 14 m., and when the *nakṣatra* was Mūla,⁵ by the Brahma-siddhānta for 2 h. 38 m., according to Garga for 7 h. 53 m., and by the equal-space system for 20 h. 21 m., after mean sunrise.

According to our date, this Sunday, the 25th November A.D. 1033, fell in the twenty-second year of the king's reign. This, too, will be considered under the next date.

34.—On a stone in front of the Arkēsvara temple at Aṅkanāthapura.⁶

| | | | | |
|---|----------------------------|--|--------------|------------------------------------|
| 1 | Svasti [!]* | Sha(śa)ka-varisham | 959neya | I(i)śvara-shatsamrada ⁷ |
| 2 | Āṣaḍa-māssada ⁸ | Kālashtavaya | Shāti-naktra | Somma- |
| 3 | varada [a]ṇḍu | śrī-Mmu(mu)ḍigonḍa-Gaṅgegonḍa-Rājhē(jē)ndra-Chō- | | |
| 4 | ladēvarkk-iyā(yā)ṇḍu | ippata-aṇḍu. | | |

¹ Mr. Rice's *Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV. Hg. 17.

² Compare above, Vol. IV. p. 69, date No. 5.

³ I must add that there may be a way of proving the quotation in the original date of the month Mārgasira to be correct. In Śaka-Samvat 955 expired, by the rules of mean intercalation, a month was intercalated before Pausa. That month would ordinarily be called Pausa; but it might be called Mārgasira on the supposition that it was calculated by the Ārya-siddhānta, and named according to Brahmagupta's rule; see my *List of North. Ins.* No. 484. This remark does not affect the correctness of the European equivalent of the date, given above.

⁴ On the immediately preceding day the *Dhanu-samkrānti* took place, 13 h. after mean sunrise.

⁵ That it is correct to translate Mūl-Ārkkad-aṇḍu by 'on Sunday, (the *nakṣatra* being) Mūla,' is proved by a date on p. 17 of the Roman text of *Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV. That date gives us for calculation Śaka-Samvat 1039 (current, the year Durmukha), Jyāishtha-bahula 1, and Mūl-Ārkkad-aṇḍu; and it corresponds to Sunday, the 28th May A.D. 1116, when the first *tithi* of the dark half commenced 4 h. 32 m. after mean sunrise, and when the *nakṣatra* was Mūla by all systems.

⁶ Mr. Rice's *Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV. Hg. 104.

⁷ Read -samvatsarada.

⁸ Read Āṣāḍha-māssada Kālashtamiyam Śrāti-nakṣatram Sōma-vāda-aṇḍu.

⁹ Read ippatt-erada.

"On Monday, the *nakshatra* being *Svāti*, during the *Kālāshṭamī* (*tithi*) of the month of *Āshāḍha* in the *Īśvara* year (*which was*) the 959th Śaka year,—in the twenty-sixth year (*of the reign*) of the glorious *Mudigoṇḍa-Gaṅgegoṇḍa-Rājendra-Chōladēva*."

The Jovian year *Īśvara* by the southern luni-solar system was Śaka-Saṃvat 959 as an expired year (= A.D. 1037-38). *Kāl-āshṭamī* is a name of the 8th *tithi* of the dark half. As this *tithi*, in the month of *Āshāḍha*, can under no circumstances be joined with *Svāti* (the 15th *nakshatra*), the given date cannot be correct.

As a matter of fact, the 8th *tithi* of the dark half of *Āshāḍha* of Śaka-Saṃvat 959 expired ended 17 h. 34 m. after mean sunrise of Friday, the 8th July A.D. 1037, when the *nakshatras* were *Āśvini* and *Bharani* (the first and second *nakshatras*). And the 8th *tithi* of the dark half cannot have been quoted erroneously instead of the 8th *tithi* of the bright half (on which in *Āshāḍha* the *nakshatra* may be *Svāti*), because in the given Śaka year the 8th *tithi* of the bright half of *Āshāḍha* ended on a Thursday (the 23rd June A.D. 1037), not on a Monday. I have calculated the date also for other months of the given year, but without any satisfactory results.

Giving up this date as hopelessly wrong, we have still to consider what *data* are furnished by the two preceding dates for ascertaining the time of the commencement of the reign of *Rājendra-Chōla* I. By No. 32 the 7th July A.D. 1020 fell in the ninth year, and by No. 33 the 25th November A.D. 1033 in the twenty-second year of the king's reign. Accordingly (approximately) the 7th July A.D. 1012 and the 25th November A.D. 1012 must have fallen in the first year; and the reign of *Rājendra-Chōla* I., according to the two new dates, therefore undoubtedly must have commenced some time between (approximately) the 26th November A.D. 1011 and the 7th July A.D. 1012.

I have previously (above, Vol. IV. p. 266) stated that the king's reign commenced between the 24th October A.D. 1001 and the 23rd October A.D. 1002. That statement necessarily was based solely on the date No. 5 (*ibid.* p. 69), which corresponds to the 23rd October A.D. 1032, and which, according to the actual reading of the date, is of the 31st year of the reign of *Rājendra-Chōla* I. With the new dates before me, in which the numbers of the regnal years are given in words, I feel sure that the number 31 in the date No. 5 has been put erroneously for 21, and that the 23rd October A.D. 1032 really fell in the 21st year of the king's reign, which would agree with the new result. This result would also tend to shew that in the incorrect date No. 34 the Śaka year (959 expired), at any rate, is given correctly.

B.—RAJADHIRAJA.

35.—On a stone in front of the Māri temple at Koḷagāla.¹

- 1 Śrī-Rājādbirājadēva[r*]gg-iyāṇḍu [35].²
- 2 āvadu [Sa]kha-va[ri]śam³ 975[ne].
- 3 ya ⁴Vijayōśchaiva-saṃvatsara[da]
- 4 Jēshṭa-māsada sukla-pakshada tra[yô*]-
- 5 daśi Ādityavāradaṇḍu.

¹ Mr. Rice's *Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV. Hg. 114.

² The two figures of the date are damaged, but cannot be read otherwise. Mr. Rice reads *yāṇḍugemīyāḍu*. From this erroneous reading he further concludes that *Rājādbirāja*'s regnal years were reckoned in two different ways; see *Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV. p. 13 of the Introduction.

³ Read *Śaka-varsham*.

⁴ This curious form is derived from certain *versus memoriales* (*Madras Journal of Literature and Science* for 1881, p. 276), in which the year *Vijaya* is introduced by the words *Vijayāśchaiva*. Compare the two similar terms *Pramōdita* and *Pramōdīcha*; *Soukh-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. I. p. 106, note 2.

"In the [35]th year (of the reign) of the glorious Rājādhirājādēva,—on Sunday, the thirteenth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of the month of Jyāishṭha in the Vijaya year (which was) the 975th Śaka year."

The Jovian year Vijaya by the southern luni-solar system was Śaka-Samvat 975 as an expired year (=A.D. 1053-54). For that year the date is incorrect; for the 13th *tithi* of the bright half of Jyāishṭha of the given year corresponds to Tuesday, the 1st June A.D. 1053, which was entirely occupied by the *tithi*.¹

The date would be correct for the third (instead of the 13th) *tithi* of the bright half of Jyāishṭha of the given year, which ended 8 h. 13 m. after mean sunrise of Sunday, the 23rd May A.D. 1053.

From what I have stated above, Vol. IV. p. 266, about the commencement of Rājādhirāja's reign, it is clear that any date of the 35th year of that king's reign must fall between (approximately) the 15th March A.D. 1052 and the 2nd December A.D. 1053.

C.—RAJENDRADEVA.

36.—On a stone near the Binakalamma temple at Bejātūru.²

- 1 Ōm [i*] Svasti śrī-Chōla-rājān sakala-vasudheyaṁ koṇḍu Rājēndradēvaṁ
³dust-āri-vrāta-ghātaṁ negaḷe barisaṁ=āṅ=āge mattaṁ Sak-ābdam [i*]
 vis[ti]ā.
 2 rak[k*]=oṁbhat-ēl-oṁbhatum=ene barisaṁ Hēmalambī-prasiddham svastam māsam
 gaḍam Kā[r*]ttikam=asi[ta]-dinam dvādaśi Sōmavāram [i]

"Hail! When it was six years after the glorious Chōla king Rājēndradēva, renowned as the slayer of crowds of wicked enemies, had taken possession of the whole earth,—and again, in detail, in the Śaka year reckoned as nine, seven and nine (*i.e.* 979), in the year known as Hēmalambin, on Monday, the twelfth *tithi*, a day of the dark (fortnight) of the auspicious month of Kārttika."

The Jovian year Hēmalambin by the southern luni-solar system was Śaka-Samvat 979 as an expired year (=A.D. 1057-58); and for that year the date corresponds to Monday, the 27th October A.D. 1057, when the 12th *tithi* of the dark half of the *amānta* Kārttika ended 22 h. 9 m. after mean sunrise.

Below, under No. 38, it will be seen that the words of the date 'when it was six years after' *etc.*, simply are intended to convey the sense of 'in the sixth year of the reign of.'

37.—On a virakal at Gujjappanahundi.⁴

- | | | | | |
|----|----------------------------|---------------------|----------------------------|---------------|
| 5 | Vira-siṅggaśanattu | viṭre=irind=aruḷina | kōv=īrājakēsari padmar=āna | odeya |
| 6 | śrī-Rājēndradēvargg=iyāṇḍu | pannirāṇḍāvudu | . | . |
| 7 | . | . | . | . |
| 8 | Saka-varisha | . | 11 | Pālguna-mā- |
| 9 | 984 | . | 12 | sada puṇṇave- |
| 10 | saṁvatsarada | . | 13 | y-andu. |

¹ The date would be incorrect also for the current Śaka year 975.

² Mr. Rice's *Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV. Hg. 18.

³ Read *dustā*.

⁴ Mr. Rice's *Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV. Hg. 115. The original is much worn and many *akṣaras* are indistinct, but the figures of the Śaka date in line 9 are clear. The introduction (ll. 1-4) mentions Rājēndra's elder brother (*vis.* Rājādhirāja), the planting of a pillar of victory at Kollāpuram, and the defeat of Ābavamalla at Koppam.

⁵ Here two or three *akṣaras* are lost.

"In the twelfth year (of the reign) of king Rājakēsarivarman¹ alias the lord Śrī-Rājendradēva, who was pleased to be seated on the throne of heroes,—during the full-moon day of the month of Phālguna in the . . . year (which was) the Śaka year 984."

This date does not admit of verification. All that I can say about it, is, that if the Śaka year is Śaka-Samvat 984 expired, the date, which is stated to be of the twelfth year of the king's reign, will ordinarily correspond to the 15th February A.D. 1063. From No. 38, below, it will be seen that this day fell really in the eleventh year of the king's reign.

38.—In the Rājagōpāla-Perumāḷ temple at Maṇimaṅgalam.²

13 kō=Ppara[k]ēśari[panmar]=āna [n]ḍai[y]ār śrī-
Rājendradēva[ku] yāṇḍu nālāva-
14 du [nā*]l 8[2]l ivv-āttai Si[nā*]ba-nāyayru
apara-pakṣa[t]tu aṣṭamiyū Viyāḷa-kkūlamaiyū
15 perṇa Rōja(hi)ṇi-vāl.

"On the 8[2]nd day of the fourth year (of the reign) of king Parakēsarivarman alias the lord Śrī-Rājendradēva,—on the day of Rōhiṇi, which corresponded to a Thursday and to the eighth tithi of the second fortnight of the month of Simha in this year."

Of the years indicated in a general way by the two preceding dates, the one which yields a correct (and a most satisfactory) result for this date, is Śaka-Samvat 977 expired. In that year the month of Simha lasted from the 27th July to the 26th August A.D. 1055; and during that time the 8th tithi of the dark half (which was the 8th tithi of the dark half of the *amānta* (i.e. Śrāvaṇa) commenced 14 h. 29 m. after mean sunrise of Thursday, the 17th August A.D. 1055, when the *nakṣatra* was Rōhiṇi, from sunrise (or, by the equal space system, from about midday) to the end of the day. Although the tithi commenced so late in the day, the result is correct, because the tithi with which we are concerned is the *Janm-aṣṭamī* or *Krishṇ-aṣṭamī*, a tithi which must be joined with that day of which the time of midnight is occupied by it, and which therefore, in the present instance, could have been joined only with the Thursday on which it commenced about four hours before midnight. The occasion was the more auspicious as the *nakṣatra* at midnight was Rōhiṇi.³

The equivalent of this date, then, undoubtedly is Thursday, the 17th August A.D. 1055. As this was the 82nd day of the fourth year of the king's reign, the first day of the fourth year was the 25th May A.D. 1055, and Rājendradēva's reign commenced (approximately) on the 28th May A.D. 1052. The result shows that the equivalent of the date No. 36 (the 27th October A.D. 1057) fell in the sixth year of his reign, while the equivalent suggested for No. 37 (the 15th February A.D. 1063) fell in the eleventh, not in the twelfth year.

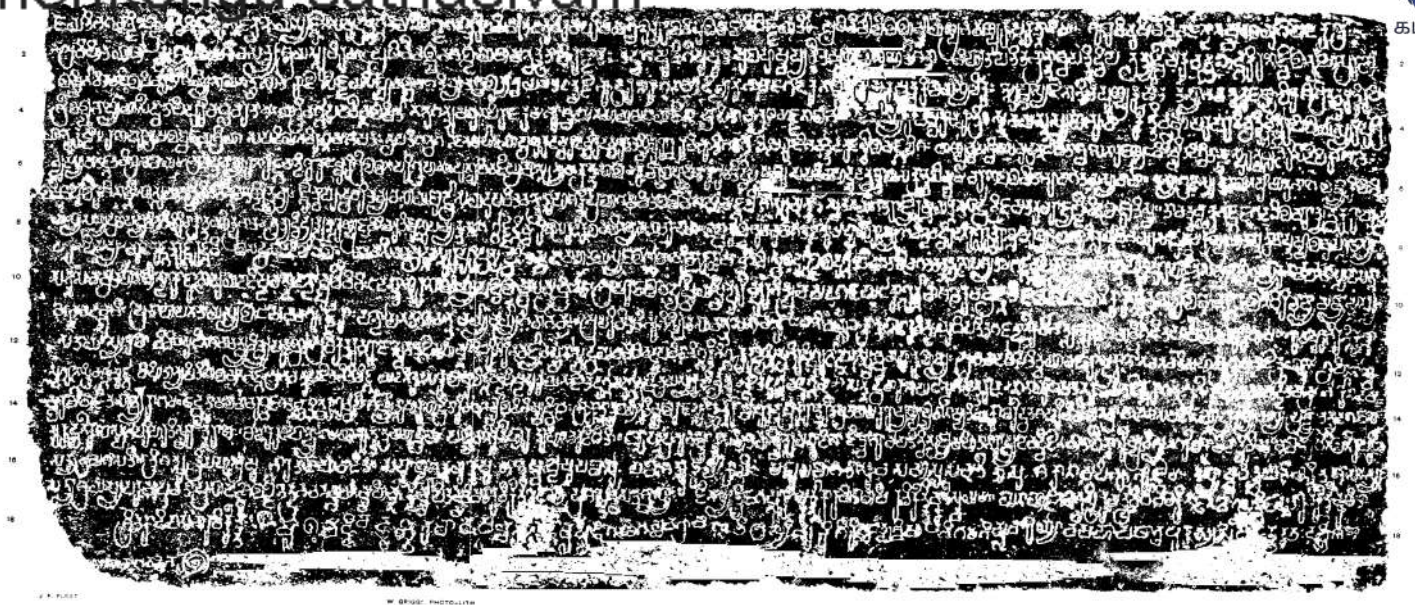
For convenience of reference the commencement of the reigns of the seven Chōḷa kings whose dates have been examined in the preceding, may now be given thus:—

- 1.—Rajarāja: between the 25th June and the 25th July A.D. 985.
- 2.—Rājendra-Chōḷa I.: between the 26th November A.D. 1011, and the 7th July 1012.
- 3.—Rājādhirāja: between the 15th March and the 3rd December A.D. 1018.
- 4.—Rājendradēva: (approximately) the 28th May A.D. 1052.
- 5.—Kulōttunga-Chōḷa I.: between the 14th March and the 8th October A.D. 1070.
- 6.—Vikrama-Chōḷa: (most probably) the 18th July A.D. 1108.
- 7.—Kulōttunga-Chōḷa III.: between the 8th June and the 8th July A.D. 1178.

¹ In all other published inscriptions the king bears the surname Parakēsarivarman.

² *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. III, No. 29, pp. 61 and 63.

³ Compare *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XLVI, p. 182, *Śrīcāṇa-kṛishṇapakṣa* VIII.



for *Perumbālaiyūr* and in *aliāmai* (l. 14) for *aliyāmai*, which is an archaic form of the negative gerund *aliyāmal*. The final *n* of *kiḷavan* (l. 9) is doubled before the following vowel. The Tamil form *mugamaṇḍagam* (l. 14) instead of the Sanskrit *mukhamanḍapa* has been already noticed in the Ukkal inscription of Kṛishṇa III.¹

The inscription is dated in the third year of the reign of Vijaya-Nandivikramavarman, whom I have identified with the father of the Gaṅga-Pallava king Vijaya-Nripataṅgavikramavarman and placed in the ninth century of the Christian era.² This is the earliest known inscription of Vijaya-Nandivikramavarman. Five other records of his at Śaduppēri, Viriñchipuram and Tiruvallam are dated between his 9th and 62nd years.³ Since the publication of the two Āmbūr inscriptions of Vijaya-Nripataṅgavikramavarman,⁴ two inscriptions of his grandfather Vijaya-Dantivikramavarman⁵ and four inscriptions of his own reign⁶ were copied at Uttaramallūr in the Chingleput district. The Śāḍaiyar temple at Tiruchcheṇṇambūḍi near Kōvilāḍi (between Tanjore and Trichinopoly) contains three inscriptions of the same king.⁷ Two of these mention Mārambāvai, "who was the great queen of Nandippōttaraiyar of the Pallavati[ka ?] family."⁸ The same queen is referred to in an inscription at Niyamam in the Tanjore tāluka (No. 16 of 1899), which is unfortunately mutilated, but seems to belong to the reign of the early Chōḷa king Rājakesarivarman. One feels tempted to conclude from this that Rājakesarivarman put an end to the rule of the Gaṅga-Pallavas, and that certain chiefs who claimed connection with the Pallava dynasty were first subordinate to Vijaya-Nripataṅgavikramavarman and afterwards to his conqueror, the Chōḷa king.

The inscription records that the *maṇḍapa* in front of the cave temple was built by a certain Aḍavi with the permission of a Gaṅga chief named Nērguṭṭi, who must have been subordinate to Vijaya-Nandivikramavarman. Aḍavi was the headman of a village near *Perumbālaiyūr* in Ūṟṟukkāṭṭu-kōṭṭam. This district owes its name to Ūṟṟukkāḍu, a village in the Conjeeveram tāluka, and *Perumbālaiyūr* is perhaps the same as *Pālaiyūr* which is mentioned in the Kaśākūḍi plates.⁹

TEXT.¹⁰

- 1 Svasti śrī[||*] Kō Viśai-
- 2 [ya-Na]n[d]i[vi]kki[ramaj-
- 3 paramaṅku yā-
- 4 ṇḍu m[ū]ṇrā-
- 5 vadu [Ū]ṟṟukkā-
- 6 ṭ[ṭu-k]kōṭṭa[t]tu-
- 7 [Pp]erumbālai-
- 8 ūr=¹¹Ttiruppālai-
- 9 yūr kiḷavaṇṇ=Aḍa-
- 10 vi śrī-Gaṅgaraiyar
- 11 Nērguṭṭi Perumāṇā-
- 12 rkku viṇṇappaṇ=jeydu

¹ *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. III. p. 12, note 15; *maṇḍagam* occurs twice in the Kūram plates, *ibid.* Vol. I. No. 151, text lines 61 and 74.

² Above, Vol. IV. p. 181 f.

³ *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. I. Nos. 108, 124 and 125, and Vol. III. Nos. 42 and 43.

⁴ Above, Vol. IV. No. 23.

⁵ No. 51 of 1898: 10th year; and No. 61: [2]1st year. An inscription at Kūram (No. 35 of 1900) is dated in the 12th year.

⁶ No. 63 of 1898: 16th year; No. 81: 25th year; No. 83: 28th year; and No. 82: date lost. Two inscriptions at Kūram (Nos. 33 and 37 of 1900) are dated in the 17th and [21]st years.

⁷ No. 303 of 1901: 18th year; and Nos. 300 and 301: 22nd year.

⁸ *Pallavati-kulattu Nandippōttaraiyar mahādēviyār-āṇa aḍigaḷ Kandan Mārambāvaiyār.*

See *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. II. p. 345.

¹⁰ From two inked estampages.

¹¹ Read *ḍālaiyār*.

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No. 34.—TWO INSCRIPTIONS OF VIDUGADALAGIYA-PERUMAL.

By E. HULTZSCH, Ph.D.

A.—INSCRIPTION AT TIRUMALAI NEAR POLUR.

The first volume of my *South-Indian Inscriptions* contains some records, the full bearing of which could not be made out at the time of their publication through want of experience and in the absence of copies of cognate inscriptions. Several of them have been already republished in this journal.¹ I now re-edit another, which was imperfectly read and rendered before,² from a fresh inked estampage.

The subjoined inscription is engraved on the outer wall of the doorway which leads to the painted cave at Tirumalai near Pôlūr in the North Arcot district. It is somewhat worn and not very easy to read. The alphabet is Tamil and Grantha. The inscription consists of three portions:—a sentence in Tamil prose, a Sanskrit verse in the Śārdūla metre, and a Tamil verse. Each of these three passages records in different words the same fact, viz. the restoration of the images of a Yaksha and a Yakshī, which were set up on the Tirumalai hill. In this connection the names of three kings are mentioned:—(1) Eļiṇi (ll. 1 and 7) or Yavanikā³ (l. 4); (2) Rājarāja (l. 6) or Vagaṇ⁴ (l. 9); and (3) Viḍugāḍaḷagiya-Perumāl (l. 10) or Vyāmukta-śravaṇōjjvala⁵ (l. 6). Eļiṇi is stated to have belonged to the family of the kings of Chēra (l. 1) or Kēraḷa (l. 3), i.e. Malabar, or of Vañji (l. 7), the traditional capital of the Chēra kingdom, which is perhaps identical with the modern village of Chēramān-Perumāl-Kōyilūr near Tiruvañjikulam in the Cochin State.⁶ Both Eļiṇi and Rājarāja receive the title Adigaimāṇ (l. 1), Adhikanṛipa (l. 5 f.) or Adigaṇ⁷ (l. 9), i.e. 'the lord of Adigai,' the modern Tiruvadi near Cuddalore.⁸ The third king is called the lord of Takaṭā (l. 6) or Tagaḍai (l. 10). As noted by Mr. Venkayya, this place is mentioned in the Tamil poem *Puraṇāṇūru* as Tagaḍūr, and Mr. V. Kanakasabhai Pillai has identified it with Dharmapuri, the head-quarters of a tāluka in the Salem district.⁹ This statement is corroborated by two Chōla inscriptions (Nos. 307 and 308 of 1901) in the Mallikārjuna temple at Dharmapuri, according to which Tagaḍūr, the modern Dharmapuri, was the chief town of Tagaḍūr-nāḍu, a subdivision of the Gaṅga country (*Gaṅga-nāḍu*), a district of Nigarili-Śōḷa-maṇḍalam.¹⁰ Viḍugāḍaḷagiya-Perumāl was the son of Vagaṇ (l. 9) or Rājarāja (l. 6), who seems to have been a remote descendant (ll. 5 and 9) of Eļiṇi. Both he and his ancestor Eļiṇi must have been adherents of the Jaina religion, because

¹ Above, Vol. IV. Nos. 9, 22 and 52, and Vol. V. No. 13, A.

² *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. I. No. 75.

³ *Yavanikā* is the Sanskrit equivalent of the Tamil *eļiṇi*, 'a curtain.'

⁴ According to the dictionaries, the Tamil Vagaṇ and the Sanskrit Baka are names of Kubēra, who is also called Rājarāja.

⁵ The Tamil words *eiḍu*, *kāḍu* and *alaḷgiya* correspond to the Sanskrit *mukha*, *śravaṇa* and *ujjvala*. The word looks like a nickname. Perhaps the king had protruding ears.

⁶ See *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. III. p. 31, and my *Annual Report* for 1900-01, paragraph 4.

⁷ For references to Adigaṇ, Adigaimāṇ and Eļiṇi in Tamil literature see *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXII. pp. 66 and 143. Adiyama, who was a feudatory of the Chōla king and was defeated by Gaṅgarāja, a general of the Hoysala king Vishṇuvardhana (*Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I. Part II. Index), may have been one of the chiefs of Adigai.

⁸ The *Kaliṅgattu-Paṇani* (x. verse 68 f.) mentions 'the great city of Adigai,' which Mr. V. Kanakasabhai Pillai has identified with Tiruvadi in the Cuddalore tāluka of the South Arcot district; *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIX. p. 339 f. In the time of the Vijayanagara kingdom this town was the head-quarters of the province (*rājya*) of Tiruvadi; *ibid.* Vol. XIII. p. 153. This province is distinct from Tiruvaḍi-rājya (with the lingual *ḍ*), which was situated in the Tinnevely district; above, Vol. III. p. 240, and Mr. Venkayya's *Annual Report* for 1899-1900, p. 28.

⁹ See the two pages of the *Ind. Ant.* quoted in note 7 above.

¹⁰ There is another village named Tagaḍūru in the Nāṇjanagūḍu tāluka of the Mysore district, which was included in Hiriya-nāḍu; Mr. Rice's *Ep. Carn.* Vol. III. Nj. 117 and 118.

they made grants at Tirumalai, which is referred to in the subjoined inscription as 'the holy mountain of Enguṇavīrai' (l. 8) and 'the holy mountain of the Arhat in the Tuṇḍira-maṇḍala'¹ (l. 4 f.).

TEXT.²

- 1 Svasti śrī [l*] Śēra-vaṇṣattu³ Adigaimā[n] Eḷiṇi śeyda dha[r]mma-
- 2 Yaksha[r]aiyum Yakshiyāriyum eḷund-a[ru*]lūvittu eṇimaṇiyum i-
- 3 tṭu=Kkaḍappēri-kkā[lu]ṇ-gaṇḍu kuḍutt[ā]ṇ || Śrīmat-Kēraḷa-bhūbhṛi-
- 4 tā Yavanikā-nāmnā su-dha[r]mm-ātmanā Tuṇḍir-āhvaya-maṇḍal-Ā[r]ha-su-⁵
- 5 girau Yakshēsvarau kalpitau [l*] paścāt-tat-kula-bhūṣhaṇ-Ādhika-
- 6 nrīpa-śrī-Rājarāj-ātmaja-Vyāmuktaśravaṇō[j*]jvalē[na Takatā-nā]thēna jīrṇ-ō-
- 7 [d]dhṛitau || Vañji[i]yar⁶ kula-pa[ti]y-[E]ḷiṇi vaguttav-Iyakkar-Iyakk[i]yarō-
- 8 ḍ-e[ū]jjiyar-aiḷivu tīruttīy-av-Enguṇavīrai-tiru-malai vai[t]ṭṭāṇ-ṇu-
- 9 ṇji taṇ [va]ḷi [va]ṇṇavaṇ vaḷi-mudali kali Adigaṇ Vagaṇ nūl v[i]ṇṇaiyar
- 10 [ta]lai puṇai Tagaḍaiyar kāvalaṇ Viḍugāḍaḷagiya-[P]erumālēy [l*]

TRANSLATION.

(Line 1.) Hail! Prosperity! He⁸ set up (again) (the images of) a Yaksha and a Yakshi, — meritorious gifts (formerly) made by Eḷiṇi, an Adigaimān of the Chēra family, — presented a gong, and granted a channel (which he) had constructed to (or from ?) the Kkaḍappēri (tank).⁹

(L. 3.) (The images of) two lords of the Yakshas, which had been set up by the glorious (and) very pious-minded Kēraḷa king named Yavanikā on the holy mountain of the Arhat in the province (maṇḍala) called Tuṇḍira, were later on saved from ruin by Vyāmuktaśravaṇōjjvala, the lord of Takatā (and) the son of the glorious Rājarāja — an Ādhika prince (who was) the ornament of his (Yavanikā's) race.

(L. 7.) The ruins which remained (of the images) of a Yaksha together with a Yakshi, that had been set up by Eḷiṇi, the chief of the family (ruling over) the Vañjiyar,¹⁰ were repaired and placed (on) this holy mountain of the god who possesses the eight qualities¹¹ by Viḍugāḍaḷagiya-Perumāl, the protector of the Tagaḍaiyar,¹² the ornament of the heads of those learned in the sciences, (and the son of)¹³ the brave Adigaṇ Vagaṇ — the foremost on the (right) path, who came from his (Eḷiṇi's) family after (the latter) had died.

B.—INSCRIPTION AT KAMBAYANALLUR.

This inscription (No. 8 of 1900) is engraved on the south wall of the central shrine in the Dēśināthēśvara temple at Kambayanallūr in the Ūttaṅgarai tāluka of the Salem district. The alphabet and language are Tamil.

The inscription consists of a Tamil verse, which opens with the date — the 22nd year (in words) of the reign of Kulōttunga-Chōḷadēva. A short prose passage which is prefixed to the verse gives the same date in figures. This is another record of Viḍugāḍaḷagiya-Perumāl, the

¹ This is a Sanskritised form of Tuṇḍai-maṇḍalam.

² From an inked estampage.

³ Read -vaṇṣattu.

⁴ South-Ind. Inscr. Vol. I. No. 76 contains another copy of the same verse.

⁵ For the sake of the metre *Arha* is used instead of *Arhat*.

⁶ In this verse *Vañjiyar* rhymes with *ḍ-eñjiya*, *aruñji* and *viñjaiyar*.

⁷ Read *tīruttīy-av*.

⁸ The subject is Viḍugāḍaḷagiya-Perumāl (l. 10).

⁹ The same tank is mentioned in another Tirumalai inscription; South-Ind. Inscr. Vol. I. No. 77.

¹⁰ I. e. 'the citizens of Vañji.'

¹¹ See South-Ind. Inscr. Vol. I. p. 107, note 1.

¹² I. e. 'the citizens of Tagaḍai.'

¹³ The words in brackets can be supplied with certainty on the strength of the Sanskrit portion (l. 6) and in accordance with the Tamil habit of omitting the word 'son' between the names of the father and the son.

king of Tagadai and (son of) Rājārāja-Adigaṇ. He is said to have ruled over the three rivers Pāli, Pennai and Poṇṇi. The inscription records that he granted a place named Śiruk-kōṭṭai on the bank of the Pennai river to Nāgai-Nāyaka of Kuḷaṇ, and that he built a temple.

The Pāli must be identical with the Pālāru river; the Pennai is the Southern Pennāru; and the Poṇṇi is the Kāvēri. It may be assumed that the Pālāru formed the northern boundary of the king's territories and the Kāvēri the western one, while the Southern Pennāru passes not far north-east from his capital Tagadūr, the modern Dharmapuri.¹ Kuḷaṇ, where the donee came from, is another form of Kuḷam or Kuḷaṇūr, the modern Ellore.² He may have been related to the Nāyakas of Ellore, who are mentioned in inscriptions of the Telugu country.³ His name, Nāgai-Nāyaka, is perhaps connected with Nāgaiyappalli, an ancient name of Kambayanallūr, which occurs in two inscriptions of the Hoysala king Vira-Viśvanāthadēva (Nos. 9 and 10 of 1900).

The donor is mentioned in two inscriptions at Sēṅgama in the Tiruvannāmalai tāluks of the South Arcot district,— in the first of them (No. 115 of 1900), which is dated in the 20th year of Tribhuvanachakravartin śrī-Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷadēva, as “the born Perumāl, alias the son of Rājārāja-Adigaṇ,”⁴ and in the second (No. 107 of 1900), the beginning of which is lost, but which quotes the twenty-first (year of Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷadēva?), as “Rājārājadēvaṇṇi Viḍugādalagiya-Perumāl, alias the son of Rājārāja-Adigaṇ.”⁵ In both inscriptions he is stated to have been a contemporary of Sēṅgēni Ammaiappan Attimallan,⁶ alias Vikrama-Chōḷa-Śambuvarāyaṇ, a chief who seems to have been a subordinate of Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷa III.⁷ Besides, No. 107 of 1900 mentions as his contemporary a certain Śeyyagangar, who is probably identical with Śiyagaṇṇa, a subordinate of Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷa III.⁸ Consequently, the king during whose reign the subjoined inscription of Viḍugādalagiya-Perumāl is dated must be Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷa III., who ascended the throne in A.D. 1178,⁹ and the date of the inscription, the 22nd year, corresponds to A.D. 1199-1200.

TEXT.¹¹

- 1 Svasti śrī [||*] T[ri]buva[na]chchakkaravattiga[ri] śrī-Kulōttuṅga-Śōḷadēvarku yāṇḍu 22 āvadu 6. Urai¹² maru[vu]ḍ-Gulōttuṅga-Śōḷadēvark-ursaitta yāṇḍ-irubadiṇ mēl-iraṇḍiṇ-Pennai-kkarai maruvu[ṇ]-Jiṅukkōṭṭai Ku[ḷa]ṇ Nā[gai]-Nāyagark-aḷittu-kkaṇ-yaḷi taṇ pēri-
- 2 tṭa kār-aṇaiya-kaiyā[ṇ] tirai-maruvuṇ-dadaṇ-gamala-Ttagadai maṇṇaṇ sēlum Pāli [P]ennai Poṇṇi-ttiru-nadi mūṇṇ-udaiya virai-maruvuṇ-dār-mārvaṇ Rāja-r[ā]ja[v-A]digaṇ vilāṅgā-moḷi Viḍugādalagiya-Perumālēy ||¹³ 6.

TRANSLATION.

Hail ! Prosperity ! In the 22nd year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulōttuṅga-Śōḷadēva.

¹ See page 331 above.

² *Ibid.* Vol. II, p. 308.

³ This portion of the title has to be taken as the name of a Chōḷa king to whom Viḍugādalagiya-Perumāl or his ancestors had been tributary. Compare the similar name “Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷa-Takatādhirāja, alias Māra-simhadēva,” in an inscription at Rāyakōta in the Krishnagiri tāluks of the Salem district (No. 3 of 1900).

⁴ The original reads *Irdja[r]āja-A[d]igaimān*, which I correct to *Irdjārāja-Adiga-maṇ* in accordance with No. 115 of 1900; see note 4 above.

⁵ Instead of *Attimallan* (i.e. Hastimalla) two other inscriptions (*South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. I, No. 132, and Vol. III, No. 61) have the title *Kaṇṇuḍaipperumān*.

⁶ *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. III, p. 121.

⁷ *Ibid.* page 122.

⁸ See Professor Kielhorn's Table on p. 24 above.

⁹ From an inked estampage.

¹⁰ In this Tamil verse *urai maruvu* rhymes with *karai maruvu*, *tirai maruvu* and *virai maruvu*.

¹¹ In the original this sign of punctuation is represented by a *visarga*.

In the year called two after twenty of the eminent **Kulōttuṅga-Śōladēva**,—**Viṭṭugādalagiya-Perumāḷ**, who never breaks his word, (*who is the son of*)¹ **Rājarāja-Adigaṇ**, whose chest wears a fragrant garland, the lord of three sacred rivers, (*viz.*) the **Pāli** (*whose banks are*) fertile, the **Pennai** (*and*) the **Ponni**, the king of **Tagadai** where large lotus-flowers are surrounded by the ripples (*of tanks*), he whose hand resembles a cloud (*in showering gifts*), granted (*the village of*) **Śirukkōttai** on the bank of the **Pennai** (*river*) to **Nā[gai]-Nāyaka** of **Ku[is]a** and gave his own name (*to*) a stone temple.

No. 35.—TEKI PLATES OF RAJARAJA-CHODAGANGA;

DATED IN THE SEVENTEENTH YEAR (OF KULOTTUNGA I.).

By E. HULTZSCH, PH.D.

These copper plates were sent to me through the Government of Madras by the Collector of **Gōdāvari**, who in his letter of 30th April 1901 states that they were “found about two months ago by one Kodi Dosigadu of **Tēki**² in the **Rāmachandrapuram** tāluka, while working in his field.”

The plates are five in number and measure about 11½” in breadth and about 6” in height. The first and last plates bear writing only on the inner side, and the three middle ones on both sides. The edges of the inscribed sides are raised into rims for the protection of the writing, which is in a state of very good preservation. On the left of each inscribed side is bored a circular hole, through which passes a copper ring measuring about 6” in diameter and about ½” in thickness. The ring had not yet been cut when I received the plates. Its ends are secured in the base of a four-petalled flower, which is surmounted by a circular seal measuring 4” in diameter. This seal bears the following emblems in high relief on a countersunk surface:—across the centre the legend *Śrī-Tribhuvānāṁkuṣa*; at the top a boar, standing, facing the proper left, flanked by two *chauris*, and surmounted by a crescent, an elephant-goad and the sun; and at the bottom a conch, a drum, a four-petalled flower, a flower-bud and a throne.

The alphabet is Telugu and the language Sanskrit verse and prose. The Telugu letters *r* and *l* occur in a number of Telugu names which are quoted in l. 90 f. Of graphical peculiarities I would note that in *yā* (ll. 54 and 90) and *mā* (l. 95) the vowel *ā* is represented by the marks for *u* and *ā*.

The inscription opens with the same genealogical account of the **Eastern Chālukya** family as the **Chellūr** and **Piṭhāpuram** plates of **Vira-Chōḍa**,³ but begins to differ in the description of the reign of **Kulōttuṅga I.** It does not mention his queen **Madhurāntakī**, but states that he had several queens (v. 11), who bore him several sons⁴ (v. 12). On one of these, **Mummaḍi-Chōḍa**,—whose name is given as **Rājarāja** in the **Chellūr** and **Piṭhāpuram** plates,—he conferred the governorship of **Vēṅgi** after the death of his own paternal uncle **Vijayāditya (VII.)** (vv. 13-16). One year later (v. 17) he bestowed the same appointment on **Mummaḍi-Chōḍa**’s younger brother, **Vira-Chōḍa** (v. 18), who held it for six years (v. 19), when he was recalled (v. 20). Then the eldest son, **Chōḍagaṅga**, surnamed **Rājarāja** (vv. 21-26), ascended the throne of **Vēṅgi** (v. 33) in **Śaka-Samvat 1006** (in numerical words), on Thursday, the full-moon *tithi* of **Jyāishṭha**, in the *nakṣatra* **Jyēshṭhā** and in the *lagna* **Simha** (v. 34). This date

¹ The words in brackets are supplied on the strength of the Sanskrit portion of the **Tirumalai** inscription (A. above).

² No. 122 on the **Madras Survey Map** of the **Rāmachandrapuram** tāluka of the **Gōdāvari** district.

³ *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. I. No. 39, and above, Vol. V. No. 10, respectively.

⁴ According to v. 13 of the **Chellūr** plates and v. 12 of the **Piṭhāpuram** plates **Kulōttuṅga I.** had seven sons by **Madhurāntakī**.

2.—In the Nellaiyappar temple at Tinnevely.¹

- 1 Svasti [śrī] [!]* [Pūvi]ṇ kiḷatti²
 5 śrī-kô=Chohadaiypan[ma].
 6 r=[ā]ṇa Tri[bhuvana]chchakravarttiga! śrī-Kulaśēgarad[ē]vaṅku yāṇḍu
 paṇḍu(mū)ṇṇā[vadi]ṇ edirām=āṇḍu Mīna-nāyaru nālān=diyadiyum apara-pakshattu
 daśa.
 7 [miyum] Viyāla-kkilaṁai[yum] perṇa Pūr[ā]ḍattu nāl.

"In the year opposite to the thirteenth year (of the reign) of the glorious king Jaṭāvarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulaśēkharadēva,— on the day of Pūrvāśādhā, which corresponded to a Thursday, and to the tenth *tithi* of the second fortnight, and to the fourth solar day of the month of Mina."

Under No. 1 we found that a date of the 12th opposite to the 13th year, *i.e.* of the 25th year, of the king's reign fell in November A.D. 1214. If such was really the case, this date No. 2, of the month of Mina of the year opposite to the 13th, *i.e.* of the 14th year, of the same reign, must fall in February-March of either A.D. 1203 or 1204. As a matter of fact, the date is correct for Thursday, the 26th February A.D. 1204. In A.D. 1204 the Mina-samkrānti took place 3 h. 12 m. after mean sunrise of Monday, the 23rd February, which was the first day of the month of Mina. The fourth day of the month of Mina therefore was Thursday, the 26th February; and on this day the 10th *tithi* of the dark half (of the month Phālguna) commenced 3 h. 33 m., and the *nakshatra* was Pūrvāśādhā, by the equal space system for 14 h. 27 m., and according to Garga for 1 h. 58 m., after mean sunrise.

The way in which this date works out proves that the equivalent found for the date No. 1 undoubtedly is the proper equivalent of that date; and the two dates together shew that the reign of Jaṭāvarman Kulaśēkhara commenced between (approximately) the 27th February and the 29th November A.D. 1190.

B.—MARAVARMAN SUNDARA-PANDYA I.³3.—In the Nellaiyappar temple at Tinnevely.⁴

- 1 Svasti śrī [!]* Śrī-kô Mārappaṇmar=āṇa Tribhuvanaachchakkaravattiga! Śōṇāḍu
 koṇḍu Muḍikoṇḍasō-
 2 laṇurattu vi(vi)rābhishēkam paṇṇiy=aruḷiya śrī-Sundara-Pā[n]ḍiyadēvaṅku yāṇḍu
 paṇḍiḷāvadi[ṇ*]
 3 edirām=āṇḍi[ṇ*] edi[r]ām=āṇḍu
 5 yivv-ā[ṭ]-
 6 ṭai=Puraṭṭādi-māsattu ēlān=diyadiyum deśa[m]iyum T[i]ḷ[ga]ṭ-k[i]ḷamaiyu[m]
 perṇa Uttarāḍattu nāl[1].

"In the year opposite to the year opposite to the seventeenth year (of the reign) of the glorious king Māravarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Sundara-Pāṇḍiyadēva who was pleased to take the Chōla country and to perform the anointment of heroes at Muḍikoṇḍasōlapuram,— on the day of Uttarāśādhā, which corresponded to a Monday, and to the tenth *tithi*, and to the seventh solar day of the month of Puraṭṭādi in this year."

Between A.D. 1200 and 1300 the only year for which this date would be correct, is 1234. In this year the Kanyā-samkrānti took place 16 h. 3 m. after mean sunrise of Monday, the 28th

¹ No. 123 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1894.

² See the larger Tiruppāvaṇam grant.

³ I add the numbers 'I.' and 'II.' here and below merely for convenience of reference so far as this list is concerned. There may have been other kings of the same names before those here numbered as I.

⁴ No. 155 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1894.

August. The 7th day of the month of Kanyā (or Purattādi) therefore was **Monday, the 4th September A.D. 1234**; and on this day the 10th *tithi* of the bright half (of the month Bhādra-pada) ended 13 h. 6 m., and the *nakshatra* was **Uttarāshādhā**, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 19 h. 42 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 13 h. 8 m., after mean sunrise.

4.—In the Nellaiyappar temple at Tinnevely.¹

- 1 Śrī-kō [M]āra[va]ṇmar=āṇa Tribhū[va]ṇachchakra[va]rttigal
Śōṇāḍu=gōṇḍu Mudikōṇḍa-
- 2 [v]irābbishēkam paṇṇiy-aruliya śrī-Sundara-Pāṇḍyadēvarku
yāṇḍu 17vadin=edirām=āṇḍin=edirām=āṇ-
- 3 ru iruba[t]t[ā]n=diyadiyu[m] pūrvva-[pa]ksha[t]tu prathamaiyum=
Dīngal-[k]ilamaiyum perṇa Pūrā(va)tt[ā]di-nāl.

"In the year opposite to the year opposite to the 17th year (of the reign) of the glorious king **Māravarman** alias the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious **Sundara-Pāṇḍyadēva** who was pleased to take the Chōla country and to perform the anointment of heroes at Mudikōṇḍa[śōlapuram],—on the day of **Pūrva-Bhādrapadā**, which corresponded to a **Monday**, and to the first *tithi* of the first fortnight, and to the twenty-seventh solar day of . . ."

Although the name of the solar month of this date is broken away or quite illegible, the fact that during that month the first *tithi* of the bright half was joined with the *nakshatra* **Pūrva-Bhādrapadā**, at once suggests the conjecture that the month was that of **Kumbha**; and this conjecture is shewn to be correct by the calculation of the date. The date, which is of the same regnal year as No. 3, corresponds to **Monday, the 19th February A.D. 1235**. In A.D. 1235 the **Kumbha-saṁkrānti** took place 8 h. 16 m. after mean sunrise of Wednesday, the 24th January, which was the first day of the month of **Kumbha**. The 27th day of the month of **Kumbha** therefore was **Monday, the 19th February**; and on this day the first *tithi* of the bright half (of the month **Phālguna**) commenced 0 h. 30 m., and the *nakshatra* was **Pūrva-Bhādrapadā**, by the equal space system for 14 h. 27 m., according to Garga for 2 h. 38 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 3 h. 17 m., after mean sunrise.

5.—In the Raṅganātha temple at Śrirāṅgam.²

- 1 Śrī-kō Mārapaṇmar=āṇa Tiribuvāṇachchakkaravatt[i]ḡal Śōṇāḍu
vaḷāṅgi aruliya śrī-Sundara-Pāṇḍyadēvar[k*]ku yāṇḍu oṇḍāḍavadu
- 2 Mēsha-nāyaru apara-pakshattu tṛtiyaiyum Velli-kkilamaiyum perṇa Viśāgattu
nāl.

"In the ninth year (of the reign) of the glorious king **Māravarman** alias the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious **Sundara-Pāṇḍyadēva** who was pleased to present the Chōla country.³—on the day of **Viśākhā**, which corresponded to a **Friday** and to the third *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of **Mēsha**."

As the two preceding dates Nos. 3 and 4, of the year opposite to the year opposite to the 17th year, i.e. of the 19th year, of the king's reign fell in A.D. 1234 and 1235, this date No. 5, of the 9th year of the same reign, will be expected to fall in A.D. 1224 or 1225. The date actually corresponds to **Friday, the 28th March A.D. 1225**, which was the 4th day of the month of **Mēsha**, and on which the third *tithi* of the dark half (of the month **Chaitra**) ended 22 h. 45 m., and the *nakshatra* was **Viśākhā**, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 11 h. 50 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 7 h. 13 m., after mean sunrise.

¹ No. 133 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1894.

² See *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXI. p. 344.

³ See the smaller Tiruppāṇam grant.

6.—In the Agniśvara temple at Tirukkāṭṭuppalli.¹

- 1 Svasti śrī [||*] Kō Mārappa[r=ā]na Tiribuvānachchakkaravattiga! Śōpāḍu
va[ā]ngiya Śundara-Pāṇḍiyadē[va]rku yāḍu 7āvadu Mīna-nāyarru=ppūrvva-
pakshattu navamiyu[m] [yu]m [pe]rra Pūṣattu nā!
- 2 Rishabham muhūrtattu.

"In the 7th year (of the reign) of king Māravarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, Sundara-Pāṇḍiyadēva who presented the Chōla country,— on the auspicious occasion of the Rishabha (*lagna*) on the day of Pushya, which corresponded to and to the ninth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Mīna."

The three preceding dates Nos. 3-5 shew that a date of the month of Mīna of the 7th year of the king's reign should fall in A.D. 1223, and in my opinion this date No. 6 undoubtedly corresponds to [Monday,] the 13th March A.D. 1223, which was the 19th day of the month of Mīna, and on which the *nakshatra* was Pushya, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 19 h. 42 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 17 h. 44 m., after mean sunrise. There is the difficulty that by our Tables the 9th *tithi* of the bright half had ended 0 h. 21 m. *before* mean sunrise of the 13th March, but it may be reasonably supposed that by other Tables it ended shortly *after* mean sunrise. The name of the weekday which would have removed all doubt unfortunately is illegible or broken away.— On the day found Rishabha was *lagna* from 2 h. 28 m. to about 4 h. 28 m. after mean sunrise.

The four dates Nos. 3-6 together prove that the reign of Māravarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I. commenced between (approximately) the 29th March and the 4th September A.D. 1218.

C.—MARAVARMAN SUNDARA-PANDYA II.

7.—In the Nellaiyappar temple at Tinnevely.²

- 1 Svasti śrī [||*] Śrī-kō Mārappa[ma]r=āṇa Tiribuvānachchakkarava[t]t[i]ga! śrī-
Śundara-Pāṇḍiyadēvarkku yāḍu paḍiṇ-ōṇṇāvad[iṇ]=edir[ā]m=āḍiṇ=edirām=āḍu
Magara-nāyarru [i]rubattunālān=diyadiyum apara-pakshattu daśamiyu[m] Budan-
kilamaiyum perṛa Aṇiḷattu nā-
- 2 1.

"In the year opposite to the year opposite to the eleventh year (of the reign) of the glorious king Māravarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Sundara-Pāṇḍiyadēva,— on the day of Anurādhā, which corresponded to a Wednesday, and to the tenth *tithi* of the second fortnight, and to the twenty-fourth solar day of the month of Makara."

Between A.D. 1150 and 1350 the only year for which this date would be correct, is 1251. The Makara-saṁkrānti took place 0 h. 38 m. after mean sunrise of Monday, the 26th December A.D. 1250, which was the first day of the month of Makara. The 24th day of the month of Makara therefore was Wednesday, the 18th January A.D. 1251; and on this day the 10th *tithi* of the dark half (of the month Pausha) ended 17 h., and the *nakshatra* was Anurādhā by the equal space system and according to Garga for 3 h. 56 m., after mean sunrise.

8.—In the Nellaiyappar temple at Tinnevely.³

- 1 Svasti śrī [||*] Kō Mārappa[r=ā]na Tribuvānachchakkaravattiga! śrī-[Śunda]ra-
[P]āṇḍiyadē[va]rku yāḍu [11]va[d]iṇ edirām=āḍiṇ-
2 ṇ edirām=āḍu Magara-nāyarru irubat[t]unālān=diyadiyum a[pa]ra-paksha[ttu] da-
śamiyum Bu[daṇ]-kilamai[um] perṛa Aṇiḷa[t]tu nā!

¹ No. 52 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1897.

² No. 148 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1894.

³ No. 146 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1894.

"In the year opposite to the year opposite to the [11]th year (*of the reign*) of king **Māravarman** *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious **Sundara-Pāṇḍyadēva**,—on the day of **Anurādhā**, which corresponded to a **Wednesday**, and to the tenth *tithi* of the second fortnight, and to the twenty-fourth solar day of the month of **Makara**."

This date is the same as No. 7, except that in the expression 'opposite to the 11th year' numeral figures are used by the writer.

9.—In the Nellaiyappar temple at Tinnevely.¹

1 Śrī-kō Mārapaṇmar=āṇa Tribh[u]va[ṇa]chchakkaravattiga[1] śr[i]-
Sundara-Pāṇḍiyadēvarkku [y]āṇḍu paḍiṇ-ṇṇāvadīṇ=ediṇām=[ā*]ṇḍiṇ=e[di]rām=ā[ṇ]ḍu
M[i]ṇa-nāyarṇu=ppat[t]ṇ[ba]lān=di[ya]ḍiyudiyum² a[ṇ]ra-ṇa[kshattu navamiyum
Budaṇ-kkilamaiyum peṇṇa Aśvati-nāḷ.

"In the year opposite to the year opposite to the eleventh year (*of the reign*) of the glorious king **Māravarman** *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious **Sundara-Pāṇḍyadēva**,—on the day of **Aśvini**, which corresponded to a **Wednesday**, and to the ninth *tithi* of the second fortnight, and to the nineteenth solar day of the month of **Mina**."

The wording of this date is intrinsically wrong, because during the month of **Mina** a 9th *tithi* of the dark half can never be joined with the *nakṣatra* **Aśvini**. The probability is that the month intended was that of **Mithuna**, and calculation proves that it was that month. The date, which is of the same year as No. 7, corresponds to **Wednesday**, the 14th June A.D. 1251. In A.D. 1251 the **Mithuna-samkrānti** took place 22 h. 56 m. after mean sunrise of Friday, the 26th May. The 19th day of the month of **Mithuna** therefore was **Wednesday**, the 14th June; and on this day the 9th *tithi* of the dark half (*of the month Jyāishṭha*) ended 5 h. 19 m., and the *nakṣatra* was **Aśvini** for 20 h. 21 m., after mean sunrise.

10.—In the Nellaiyappar temple at Tinnevely.³

1 Svasti śrī [11*] Kō Mārapaṇ[ma]r=āṇa Tribh[u]va[ṇa]chchakra[va]t[t]i[ga] śr[i]-
Sundara-Pāṇḍiyadēvarkku yāṇḍu paḍ[i]ṇo-
2 ṇṇāvadū Vaigāśi-[m]āsattu mudar=tiyadi Nāyarṇu-kkilamai peṇṇa Attattu nā[1].

"In the eleventh year (*of the reign*) of king **Māravarman** *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious **Sundara-Pāṇḍyadēva**,—on the day of **Hasta**, which corresponded to **Sunday**, the first solar day of the month of **Vaigāśi**."

As the dates Nos. 7-9, which are of the year opposite to the year opposite to the 11th year, i.e. of the 13th year, of the king's reign, have been found to fall in A.D. 1251, this date No. 10, which is of the 11th year of the same reign, will in the first instance be expected to fall in A.D. 1249. It actually corresponds to **Sunday**, the 25th April A.D. 1249, which was the first day of the month of **Vaigāśi**—the **Vṛishabha-samkrānti** having taken place 0 h. 54 m. after mean sunrise—and on which the *nakṣatra* was **Hasta**, by the equal space system and according to **Garga** for 15 h. 6 m., and by the **Brahma-siddhānta** for 11 h. 50 m., after mean sunrise.

The dates Nos. 7-10 together prove that the reign of **Māravarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya II.** commenced between (approximately) the 15th June A.D. 1238 and the 18th January A.D. 1239.

¹ No. 147 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1894.

² Read =*ḍiyadiyum*.

³ No. 143 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1894.

D.—JATAVARMAN SUNDARA-PANDYA I.

11.—In the Pañchanadaśvara temple at Tiruvaiyāru.¹

1 Svasti śrīḥ [||*] Kō=Chchadapaṇmar=āṇa Ti[r]ibuvapachchakkaravattigaḥ śrī-Sundara-Pāṇḍiyadēvarkku yāṇḍu 2āradu Mēsha-nāyaru apara-pakshattu ēkādaśiyum Vijāla-kkīlamaiyum perṇa Śad[ai]yat[tu nā].

“In the 2nd year (*of the reign*) of king Jaṭavarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Sundara-Pāṇḍiyadēva,—on the day of Śatabhishaj, which corresponded to a Thursday and to the eleventh *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Mēsha.”

To shorten my remarks, I may state here at once that the six dates Nos. 11-16 work out correctly on the assumption (and prove thus) that the reign of Jaṭavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I. commenced between (approximately) the 20th and 28th April A.D. 1251.

This date, No. 11, corresponds to Thursday, the 27th March A.D. 1253, which was the third day of the month of Mēsha, and on which the 11th *tithi* of the dark half (of the month Chaitra) ended 2 h. 20 m., and the *nakshatra* was Śatabhishaj, by the equal space system for 13 h. 47 m., according to Garga for 5 h. 16 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 2 h. 38 m., after mean sunrise.

To ascertain whether this date could possibly be one of the reign of Jaṭavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya II., I have calculated it also for the years A.D. 1277, 1278, and 1279, and have found that it would be incorrect for any one of these years. The same remark applies to the dates Nos. 12 and 13.

12.—In the Vaidyanātha temple at Tirumalavādi.²

1 Svasti śrī [||*] Kō=Chchadaiva[r*]mmar=āṇa Tribhuvapachchakkaravattigaḥ śrī-[Su]ndara-Pāṇḍiyadēvarkku yāṇḍu 2radu Mēsha-nāyaru apara-pakshattu sadu[r]tthiyum Śaṇi-kk[i]lamaiyum perṇa Mu(mū)lattu nā.

“In the 2nd year (*of the reign*) of king Jaṭavarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Sundara-Pāṇḍiyadēva,—on the day of Mūla, which corresponded to a Saturday and to the fourth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Mēsha.”

The date corresponds to Saturday, the 19th April A.D. 1253, which was the 26th day of the month of Mēsha, and on which the 4th *tithi* of the dark half (of the month Vaiśākha) ended 2 h. 59 m., and the *nakshatra* was Mūla by the equal space system for 5 h. 16 m., after mean sunrise.

13.—In the Vaidyanātha temple at Tirumalavādi.³

1 Svasti śrī [||*] Kō=Chchadapa[ṇmar=āṇa] Tiru(ri)bu[va]ṇachchakkaravattigaḥ śrī-Sundara-Pāṇḍiyadēvarkku yā[ṇ]ḍu 3radu Vṛiśchika-nāyaru pūrvva-pakshattu [sha]shthiyum Budan-kīlamaiyum perṇa Uttirāḍattu nā.

“In the 3rd year (*of the reign*) of king Jaṭavarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Sundara-Pāṇḍiyadēva,—on the day of Uttarāśādhā, which corresponded to a Wednesday and to the sixth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Vṛiśchika.”

The date corresponds to Wednesday, the 29th October A.D. 1253, which was the second day of the month of Vṛiśchika, and on which the 6th *tithi* of the bright half (of the month Kārttika) ended 18 h. 4 m., and the *nakshatra* was Uttarāśādhā, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 12 h. 29 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 5 h. 55 m., after mean sunrise.

¹ No. 254 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1894.

² No. 90 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1895.

³ No. 89 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1895.

14.—In the Védagiriśvara temple at Tirukkaḷukkupṇam.¹

- 2 Tribhuvanachakra[r]ttiga[!] śrī-Sundara-Pāṇḍiyādēvaṅku yā[ṇ]ḍu
 9āvadu Ishava-nā[ya]ṅgu pūrvva-pakshattu pañchamiy[u]m Śe[v*]vāy-kkila-
 3 maiyum peṇṇa Puṇarpūsattu nāl.

“In the 9th year (*of the reign*) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Sundara-Pāṇḍiyādēva,— on the day of Punarvasu, which corresponded to a Tuesday and to the fifth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Rishabha.”

The date corresponds to Tuesday, the 29th April A.D. 1259, which was the 4th day of the month of Rishabha, and on which the 5th *tithi* of the bright half (of the month Vaiśākha) ended 6 h. 44 m., and the *nakshatra* was Punarvasu, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 6 h. 34 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 5 h. 53 m., after mean sunrise.

15.—In the Védagiriśvara temple at Tirukkaḷukkupṇam.²

- 1 Śrī-kōṭ-Chaḍaipanmar-āṇa Tiru(ri)buvaṇachchakkaravattiga] emma-
 2 ṇḍalamuṇ-gonḍ-aruliya śrī-Sundara-Pāṇḍi[ya]dēvaṅku y[ā]-
 3 ṇḍu 9āvadu Mīduna-nāyagru apara-pakshattu navamiyum Nāyagru-[k]kilamai-
 4 yum peṇṇa Irēba(va)di-nāl.

“In the 9th year (*of the reign*) of the glorious king Jaṭavarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Sundara-Pāṇḍiyādēva who was pleased to take every country,— on the day of Rēvati, which corresponded to a Sunday and to the ninth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Mithuna.”

The date corresponds to Sunday, the 15th June A.D. 1259, which was the 20th day of the month of Mithuna, and was entirely occupied by the 9th *tithi* of the dark half (of the month Jyāishṭha), and on which the *nakshatra* was Rēvati for 9 h. 51 m. after mean sunrise.

16.—In the Jambukēśvara temple near Śrīraṅgam.³

- 2 Kō=Chēḍaipanmar-āṇa Tribhuvanachchakravattiga] emmaṇḍalamuṇ-
 gonḍ-aruliya śrī-Sundara-Pāṇḍiyādēvaṅ[ku] yāṇḍu 10vadu pātāvadu Rishabha-
 nāyagru apara-[pa]kshattu Budan-kilamaiyum prathamaiyum peṇṇa A[ṇi]-
 3 jattu nāl.

“In the 10th—tenth—year (*of the reign*) of king Jaṭavarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Sundara-Pāṇḍiyādēva who was pleased to take every country,— on the day of Anurādhā, which corresponded to a Wednesday and to the first *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Rishabha.”

The date corresponds to Wednesday, the 28th April A.D. 1260, which was the 4th day of the month of Rishabha, and on which the first *tithi* of the dark half (of the month Vaiśākha) ended 0 h. 4 m.,⁴ and the *nakshatra* was Anurādhā, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 3 h. 56 m., after mean sunrise.

17.—In the Pushpavanēśvara temple at Tiruppandurutti.⁵

- 1 Svasti śr[ī] [i]* Pū-[ma]lar [va]lar
 16 śrī-[k]ō=Chēḍa[ḍa]panmar-āṇa Tirubuvanachcha[k]karavattiga] śrī-
 Śu[n]dara-Pāṇḍiya[d]ē[va]ṅku yāṇḍu

¹ See *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXI. p. 343, and Vol. XXII. p. 221.

² No. 186 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1894.

³ See *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXI. p. 121, and Vol. XXII. p. 221.

⁴ The *tithi* ended later after true sunrise.

⁵ No. 165 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1894. The king took Kaṇṇaṇḍ from the Hoysaṇa king and covered the temple at Śrīraṅgam with gold.

17 7āvaḍu Kanni-nāyarṛu [a]ḡha(pa)-ra-ḡha(pa)kshattu trayōdaśiyum Nāyarṛu-
kk[i]lāmaiyum [p]eṛra Atta[t]tu nāl.

"In the 7th year (of the reign) of the glorious king Jaṭavarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Sundara-Pāṇḍyadēva,— on the day of **Hasta**, which corresponded to a Sunday and to the thirteenth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of **Kanyā**."

The wording of this date, so far as I can see, is intrinsically wrong, because during the month of Kanyā a 13th *tithi* of the dark half can never be actually joined with the *nakshatra* **Hasta**. Judging by the preceding dates Nos. 11-16, a date of the 7th year of the king's reign should fall in A.D. 1257 or 1258; and during these two years the date would be correct only for the month of **Tulā**, which follows immediately upon the month of Kanyā. For the month of Tulā it regularly corresponds to Sunday, the 7th October A.D. 1257, which was the 10th day of the month of Tulā, and on which the 13th *tithi* of the dark half (of the month Āsvina) ended 7 h. 31 m., and the *nakshatra* was **Hasta**, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 22 h. 20 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 19 h. 3 m., after mean sunrise.

18.—In the Vaidyanātha temple at Tirumalavādi.¹

1 Svasti śrī [i] Kō-Chcha[ḍapa]ṇmar Tiribuvanaḥchakkaravattiga! śrī-Sundara-
Pāṇḍiya-
2 dēvaṅku yāṇḍu llāvaḍu Kaṛkaḍaga-nāyarṛu apara-pakshattu sha-
3 shṭhiyum Viyāla-kkilāmaiyum peṛra Āsvati-nāl.

"In the 11th year (of the reign) of king Jaṭavarman (*alias*) the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Sundara-Pāṇḍyadēva,— on the day of **Āsvini**, which corresponded to a Thursday and to the sixth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of **Karkāṭaka**."

As this date is of the month of Karkāṭaka of the 11th year, it should fall in A.D. 1261, if it is a date of Jaṭavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I.; but for that year it does not work out properly. In A.D. 1261 the 6th *tithi* of the dark half in the month of Karkāṭaka ended 7 h. 22 m. after mean sunrise of Tuesday, the 19th July, which was the 23rd day of the month of **Karkāṭaka**, and on which the *nakshatra* was **Āsvini** from 1 h. 58 m. after mean sunrise. As I obtain no really better result for other years of the same reign, and no satisfactory result at all for the 11th year of the reign of Jaṭavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya II., I would take Tuesday, the 19th July A.D. 1261, to be the intended day, and assume that in the original date the weekday has been given incorrectly.

E.—MARAVARMAN KULASEKHARA I.

19.—In the Nellaiyappar temple at Tinnevely.²

2 Śrī-[k]ō Mārappaṇmar=ā[ṇa] Tribhuvanaḥchcha-
3 kravart[t]iga! e[m*]maṇḍalamuṇ-gon-
4 ḍ=aruḷiya śrī-Kulaśēgaradēvaṅku [y]ā[ṇ*]-
5 ḍu 27va[d]u Dhanu-nā[ya]ṛṛu 14 tiyadiyu[m]
6 Velli-kkilāmaiyum apara-paksha[t]tu
7 saptamiyum peṛra U[t]tira-nāl.

"In the 27th year (of the reign) of the glorious king Māravarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulaśēkharadēva who was pleased to take every country,— on the day of **Uttara-Phalguni**, which corresponded to the seventh *tithi* of the second fortnight, and to a Friday, and to the 14th solar day of the month of **Dhanu**."

¹ No. 71 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1896.

² No. 137 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1894.

Between A.D. 1200 and 1350 the only year for which this date would be correct, is 1294. In this year the Dhanuḥ-samkrānti took place 1 h. 23 m. after mean sunrise of Saturday, the 27th November, which was the first day of the month of Dhanuḥ. The 14th day of the month of Dhanuḥ therefore was **Friday, the 10th December A.D. 1294**; and on this day the 7th *tithi* of the dark half (of the month Mārgaśīrṣa) commenced 4 h. 45 m. after mean sunrise, and the *nakṣatra* was **Uttara-Phalguni**, by the equal space system from 7 h. 13 m. after mean sunrise, and by the Brahma-siddhānta and according to Garga during the whole day.

20.—In the Jambukéśvara temple near Śrīraṅgam.¹

- 1 Svasti śrīḥ [I*] Tēri pōl
 4 śr[i]-kō Māra[pa]ṇmā(ma)r-āṇa Tribuva[na]chchakkaravattigal śrī-
 Ku[la]śēgaradēvarkku yāṇḍu pattāvadu [Ma]gara-nā[ya*]ṇṇu pū[r]vva-pakṣattu
 daśamiyūm
 5 yūm² Budan-kiḷamaiy[u]m perṛa [U]rōṣaṇi-nāl.

"In the tenth year (of the reign) of the glorious king Māravarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulaśēkharadēva,— on the day of Rōhiṇi, which corresponded to a Wednesday and to the tenth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Makara."

If the equivalent obtained under No. 19 for the date of the 27th year is the true equivalent of that date, this date No. 20, of the 10th year of the king's reign, will be expected to fall in about A.D. 1277. It actually corresponds to **Wednesday, the 5th January A.D. 1278**. This day was the 11th of the month of Makara; and on it the 10th *tithi* of the bright half (of the month Māgha) ended 7 h. 39 m. after mean sunrise, and the *nakṣatra* was **Rōhiṇi** by the equal space system from 7 h. 13 m. after mean sunrise, and by the Brahma-siddhānta and according to Garga during the whole day.

21.—In the Nellaiyappar temple at Tinnevely.³

- 1 [Sva*]sti śrī [I] Śrī-kō Mārapaṇmar-āṇa Tribhuvanachchakra-
 2 [va*]rttigal emmaṇḍalamu[n]=gu[u]ḍ=aruliya śrī-Kula-
 3 śēgaradēvarkku [y]āṇḍu [2]ḍvadu Vṛiśchika-nā[yaṇ]ru
 4 irubatt[i]ra[u]ḍḍā[n]=diyadiyum [a]para-[pa]kshattu [dv]iti-
 5 yaiyu[m] B[u]dan-kiḷamaiyum p[er]ṛa Puṇa[r]pūṣa-n-
 6 [ā].

"In the [2]8th year (of the reign) of the glorious king Māravarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulaśēkharadēva who was pleased to take every country,— on the day of Punarvasu, which corresponded to a Wednesday, and to the second *tithi* of the second fortnight, and to the twenty-second solar day of the month of Vṛiśchika."

The results obtained under Nos. 19 and 20 shew that this date, of the month of Vṛiśchika of the 28th year of the king's reign, must fall in about A.D. 1293. The date, in my opinion, actually corresponds to **Wednesday, the 18th November A.D. 1293**. In A.D. 1293 the Vṛiśchika-samkrānti took place 6 h. 58 m. after mean sunrise of Wednesday, the 28th October, which was the first day of the month of Vṛiśchika. The 22nd day of the month of Vṛiśchika therefore was **Wednesday, the 18th November**; and on this day the *nakṣatra* was **Punarvasu** by the equal space system and according to Garga for 19 h. 42 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 19 h. 3 m., after mean sunrise. But the *tithi* which ended 8 h. 39 m. after mean sunrise of the same day was the third (not the second) *tithi* of the dark half (of the month Mārgaśīrṣa).— I have no doubt that in the original date the second *tithi* (*dvitīyayum*) has been wrongly quoted instead of the third (*tritīyayum*).

¹ No. 25 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1891.

² Cancel yūm.

³ No. 134 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1394.

22.—In the Śvētāranyēśvara temple at Kaḍappēri.¹

1 Kō Māru(ṛa)paṇmar Tiru(ri)[buva]ṇachchakravattika(ga)l śrī-
Kulaśēgaradēvar[k*][k]u [y]āṇḍu 40 Mi(mi)ṇa-nāyaṇu pūrvva-pakshattu
dvitīyayum Śaṇi-kk[i]lam[ai]yum peṇṇa Rēvati-nāḷ.

“In the 40th year (*of the reign*) of king Māravarman (*alias*) the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulaśēkharadēva,—on the day of Rēvati, which corresponded to a Saturday and to the second *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Mīna.”

The results obtained under the three preceding dates shew that this date, of the month of Mīna of the 40th year of the king's reign, must fall in either A.D. 1307 or A.D. 1308. It actually corresponds to Saturday, the 24th February A.D. 1308. On this day the Mīna-saṁkrānti took place 8 h. 45 m. after mean sunrise, and the day therefore was the first of the month of Mīna; the second *tithi* of the bright half (of the month Phālguna) ended 12 h. 32 m., and the *nakshatra* was Rēvati for 21 h. 40 m., after mean sunrise.

The four dates Nos. 19-22 together prove that the reign of Māravarman Kulaśēkhara I. commenced between (approximately) the 25th February and the 18th November A.D. 1288.

F.—JATAVARMAN SUNDARA-PANDYA II.

23.—In the Ḥamiśvara temple at Tāramaṅgalam.²

1 Svasti śrī [i*] Kōṛ-Chaḍapaṇmar=āṇa Tribhuvanachchakravattigaḷ śrī-Śundara-
Pāṇḍiyadēvar[k]ku yāṇḍu pad[i]mu(mū)ṇṇāvadu Śimha-nāyaṇu
pūrvva-pakshattu trayōlaśiyum Tiṅgal-kiḷamaiyum peṇṇa Uttarāḍattu nāḷ.

“In the thirteenth year (*of the reign*) of king Jaṭavarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Sundara-Pāṇḍyadēva,—on the day of Uttarāśāḍhā, which corresponded to a Monday and to the thirteenth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Śimha.”

24.—In the Ādhipuriśvara temple at Tiruvorriyūr.³

1 Svasti śrī [i*] Kōṛ-Chaḍapaṇmar=āṇa Tribhuvanachchakravattigaḷ śrī-
2 Śundara-Pāṇḍiyadēvar[k]ku yāṇḍu padimnu(mū)ṇṇāvadu Śimha-nāyaṇu
3 a[pa]ra-pakshattu tritīyayum Velli-kk[i]lamaiyum peṇṇa Uttinā-
4 tād[i]-nāḷ.

“In the thirteenth year (*of the reign*) of king Jaṭavarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Sundara-Pāṇḍyadēva,—on the day of Uttara-Bhadrāpadā, which corresponded to a Friday and to the third *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Śimha.”

The two dates Nos. 23 and 24 are both stated to be of the month of Śimha of the 13th year of the king's reign. In No. 23 the 13th *tithi* of the bright half is combined with a Monday and the *nakshatra* Uttarāśāḍhā, in No. 24 the third *tithi* of the dark half with a Friday and the *nakshatra* Uttara-Bhadrāpadā. Of all the years between A.D. 1236 and 1325 there is only a single year that satisfies all the requirements of both dates, *viz.* the year 1259. For that year the date—

No. 23 corresponds to Monday, the 1st August A.D. 1289, which was the 4th day of the month of Śimha, and on which the 13th *tithi* of the bright half (of the month Śrāvaṇa) ended 5 h. 23 m., and the *nakshatra* was Uttarāśāḍhā, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 7 h. 53 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 1 h. 19 m., after mean sunrise; and the date—

¹ No. 134 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1896.

² No. 24 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1900.

³ No. 400 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1896.

No. 24 corresponds to **Friday, the 5th August A.D. 1289**, which was the 8th day of the month of **Siṃha**, and on which the third *tithi* of the dark half (of the month **Śrāvapa**) ended 19 h. 8 m. after mean sunrise, while the *nakṣatra* was **Uttara-Bhadrapadā**, according to Garga and by the Brahma-siddhānta the whole day, and by the equal space system from 1 h. 19 m. after mean sunrise.

I may add that, if these were dates of the reign of Jaṭavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I., they would fall in A.D. 1263, but that either of them would be incorrect both for that year and for A.D. 1264. For A.D. 1262 No. 24 would be correct, but not No. 23.

25.—In the Iṇamiśvara temple at Tāramāṅgalaṃ.¹

- 1 Svasti śiṭṭ [ṇ*] Kōḡ-Chchadapaṇmar-āṇa Tribhuvāṇachchakkaravatt[i]ga[i] śr[i]-
 Śutta(nda)ra-Pāṇḍiyadēvarkku yāṇḍu cāvadu āṇavadu Kaṇḍadaga-nāyarr[u]
 2 pūrvva-pakṣhatta chat[u]rtthiyum Tiṅgaṭ-ki[la]jmaiyum perṇa Uttirattu nāl.

"In the 6th—sixth—year (of the reign) of king Jaṭavarman alias the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Sundara-Pāṇḍyadēva,— on the day of **Uttara-Phalguni**, which corresponded to a **Monday** and to the fourth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of **Karkātaka**."

Considering that the two preceding dates Nos. 23 and 24, which are said to be of the 13th year of the king's reign, fall in A.D. 1289, this date, which is of the 6th year of the reign, would in the first instance be expected to fall in A.D. 1282. But the date apparently corresponds to **Monday, the 21st July A.D. 1281**, which was the 25th day of the month of **Karkātaka**, and on which the 4th *tithi* of the bright half (of the month **Śrāvapa**) ended 9 h. 30 m., and the *nakṣatra* was **Uttara-Phalguni**, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 7 h. 51 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 4 h. 36 m., after mean sunrise.

Here again, if this date belonged to the reign of Jaṭavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I., it would be expected to fall in A.D. 1256; but for that year it would be incorrect.

26.—In the Jayaṅgaṇḍanātha temple at Maṅṇārguḍi.²

- 14 [Ś]ri-kō-Chchadapaṇmar-āṇa Tribhuvāṇachchak-
 15 karavattiga] śri-Sundara-Pāṇḍiyadē-
 16 varkku yāṇḍu paṇṇiṇḍāvadu Kaṇ-
 17 ṇi-[u]jāyarru pūrvva-pakṣhatta trayōdaśiyu[m]
 18 [V]eḷli-[kk]ilamaiyum perṇa Śōḍi-nāl.

"In the twelfth year (of the reign) of the glorious king Jaṭavarman alias the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Sundara-Pāṇḍyadēva,— on the day of **Svāti**, which corresponded to a **Friday** and to the thirteenth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of **Kanyā**."

The wording of this date is intrinsically wrong, because during the month of **Kanyā** a 13th *tithi* of the bright half can never be joined with the *nakṣatra* **Svāti**. Supposing the *nakṣatra* to have been given correctly, the *tithi* in the month of **Kanyā** would in all probability be the third of the bright half. And for this *tithi* the date regularly corresponds to **Friday, the 12th September A.D. 1287**, which was the 15th day of the month of **Kanyā**, and on which the third *tithi* of the bright half (of the month **Āśvina**) ended 4 h. 7 m., and the *nakṣatra* was **Svāti** by the equal space system for 5 h. 55 m., after mean sunrise.

Here too, if the date belonged to the reign of Jaṭavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I., it would be expected to fall in A.D. 1262; but for that year it would be incorrect (also for the third *tithi* of the bright half).

¹ No. 25 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1900.

² No. 90 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1897.

27.—In the Ilamiśvara temple at Tāramaṅgalam.¹

1 Svasti śrī [li*] Kōṟ=Chadapaṇmar-āṇa Tiribuvāṇachchakkaravattiga! śrī-Sundara-Pāṇḍiyadēvarku yāṇḍu paḍiṇālāvaduk-edirāvadu Rishabha-nāyarru [pū] . . . [Tiṇ]gaṭ-kiḷamaiyum peṇṇa Pūśattu nāl.

“(In the year) opposite to the fourteenth year (of the reign) of king Jaṭāvarman alias the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Sundara-Pāṇḍyadēva,—on the day of Pushya, which corresponded to a Monday, . . . [of the first fortnight] of the month of Rishabha.”

Judging by the dates Nos. 25 and 26, this date, which is of the year opposite to the 14th, i.e. of the 15th year, of the king's reign, would in the first instance be expected to fall in A.D. 1290. Though the number of the *tithi* is broken away or illegible, the fact that on the *tithi* in question during the month of Rishabha the *nakshatra* was Pushya, permits us to conjecture that the *tithi* was approximately the fifth *tithi* of the bright half of the month Jyāishṭha, or perhaps the seventh *tithi* of the bright half of the month Vaiśākha. Now the year A.D. 1290 does contain a day which satisfies all the requirements of the date, and which I therefore take to be its proper equivalent. It is Monday, the 15th May A.D. 1290, which was the 20th day of the month of Rishabha, and on which [the 5th *tithi*] of the bright half (of the month Jyāishṭha) ended 4 h. 24 m., and the *nakshatra* was Pushya by the equal space system and according to Garga for 0 h. 39 m., after mean sunrise (and somewhat longer after true sunrise).

If this date were one of the reign of Jaṭāvarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I., it would be expected to fall in A.D. 1265 or 1266. In A.D. 1265 the month of Rishabha contained no Monday on which the *nakshatra* was Pushya. In A.D. 1266, during the month of Rishabha, the *nakshatra* was Pushya from 5 h. 16 m. after mean sunrise of Monday, the 10th May; but the 10th May A.D. 1266 would have belonged to the 16th, not the 15th, year of the reign of Jaṭāvarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I.

The difficulty presented by the five dates Nos. 23-27 is this that, while according to the three dates Nos. 25-27 the reign of Jaṭāvarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya II. would have commenced between approximately the 13th September A.D. 1275 and the 15th May A.D. 1276, by the two dates Nos. 23 and 24, which are both of the 13th year, it could not have commenced before approximately the 6th August A.D. 1276. I can reconcile this discrepancy only by the assumption that in the dates Nos. 23 and 24 the 13th year has been wrongly quoted instead of ‘the year opposite to the 13th,’ i.e. the 14th year, an assumption which would make the king's reign commence between (approximately) the 13th September A.D. 1275 and the 15th May A.D. 1276, as suggested by the dates Nos. 25-27.

G.—MARAVARMAN KULASEKHARA II.

28.—In the Nellaiyappar temple at Tinnevely.²

1 Śrī-kō M[ā]raṇmar-āṇa [Tr]ibhuvāṇachchakkaravattiga! śrī-Kulaśēgaradēvarkku yāṇḍu eṭṭāvadū Vriśchika-nāyarru=ppaḍiṇālān=
2 [diyadiyu]m [apara]-cha(pa)kshatta(ttu) navamiyum [Śa]ṇ[i]-kkiḷamaiyum pe[r]ra Uttirattu nāl.

“In the eighth year (of the reign) of the glorious king Māravarman alias the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulaśēkharadēva,—on the day of Uttara-Phalguni, which corresponded to a Saturday, and to the ninth *tithi* of the second fortnight, and to the seventeenth solar day of the month of Vriśchika.”

¹ No. 23 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1900.

² No. 122 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1894.

Between A.D. 1200 and 1400 the only year for which this date would be correct, is 1321. In this year the *Vṛiśchika-samkrānti* took place 12 h. 48 m. after mean sunrise of Wednesday, the 28th October. The 17th day of the month of *Vṛiśchika* therefore was **Saturday, the 14th November A.D. 1321**; and on this day the 9th *tithi* of the dark half (of the month *Kārttika*) ended 19 h. 50 m., and the *nakshatra* was **Uttara-Phalguni**, by the equal space system from 3 h. 17 m., according to Garga from 8 h. 32 m., and by the *Brahma-siddhānta* from 13 h. 8 m., after mean sunrise.

If this date were one of *Māra*varman *Kulaśekhara* I., it would fall in either A.D. 1275 or 1276; I need hardly say that for both these years it would be incorrect.

29.—In the *Bṛihadiśvara* temple at *Gaṅgaikondaśōlapuram*.¹

- 1 Svasti śrīh [||*] Kō Mā vaṇachchakkaravattiga| śrīh(śrī)-
Kulaśē[gara]dēvaṅku yāṇḍu 4vadu Katka(rka)ṭaka-nāyargu pūrva-pakshattu
chatu[r]ddasiyum Śaṇi-[k]kīlamaiyum [p]eṇṇa
- 2 Uttirāḍattu nāl.

"In the 4th year (of the reign) of king *Mā[ra]varman alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious *Kulaśekhara*dēva,— on the day of *Uttarāshāḍhā*, which corresponded to a **Saturday** and to the fourteenth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of *Karkāṭaka*."

If the equivalent obtained under No. 28 for the date of the 8th year is the true equivalent of that date, this date No. 29, of the 4th year of the king's reign, will in the first instance be expected to fall in A.D. 1317. It actually corresponds to **Saturday, the 23rd July A.D. 1317**. This day was the 26th of the month of *Karkāṭaka*; and on it the 14th *tithi* of the bright half (of the month *Śrāvaṇa*) ended 22 h. 22 m., and the *nakshatra* was *Uttarāshāḍhā*, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 15 h. 6 m., and by the *Brahma-siddhānta* for 8 h. 32 m., after mean sunrise.

I may add that, if this were a date of *Māra*varman *Kulaśekhara* I., it would fall in either A.D. 1271 or 1272, but that for both these years it would be incorrect.

30.—In the *Bṛihadiśvara* temple at *Gaṅgaikondaśōlapuram*.²

- 1 [Kō] Mārapaṇmar Tribhuvanachchakravattiga| śr[i]-Kulaśēgaradēvaṅku
yā[ṇḍu] 5āvadu S[i]mha-nāyargu
- 2 pūrva-pakshattu trayōdasiyum Tiāga yum pēṇṇa Pūsattu nāl.

"In the 5th year (of the reign) of king *Māra*varman (*alias*) the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious *Kulaśekhara*dēva,— on the day of *Pushya*, which corresponded to a **Monday** and to the thirteenth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of *Simha*."

The wording of this date is intrinsically wrong, because during the month of *Simha* the *nakshatra* on the 13th *tithi* of the bright half can never be *Pushya* or any *nakshatra* near *Pushya*. The probability is that the month of the date was *Mina*; and actual calculation shews, not only that it was *Mina*, but also that the word *Pūsattu* of the text should be altered to *Pārattu*, i.e. that the *nakshatra* was *Pūrva-Phalguni*, not *Pushya*.

I have no doubt that the proper equivalent of the date is **Monday, the 5th March A.D. 1319**. This was the 10th day of the month of *Mina*; and on it the 13th *tithi* of the bright half (of the month *Phālguna*) ended 3 h. 54 m. after mean sunrise, and the *nakshatra* was *Pūrva-Phalguni*, by the equal space system during the whole day, according to Garga for 12 h. 29 m., and by the *Brahma-siddhānta* for 7 h. 53 m., after mean sunrise.

¹ No. 75 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1892.

² No. 78 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1892.

The three dates Nos. 28-30 together prove that the reign of **Māravarman Kulāśekhara II.** commenced between (approximately) the 6th March and the 23rd July A.D. 1314.

For convenience of reference I now give a list of the above thirty dates, in the order of the results obtained, with the approximate commencement of the reign of each king put in brackets after his name.

A.—Jaṭavarman Kulāśekhara (February 27—November 29, A.D. 1190).

No. 2. Year opp.¹ to 13 (i.e. 14th year) : February 26, A.D. 1204.

No. 1. Year 12 opp. to 13, or 25th year : November 29, A.D. 1214.

B.—Māravarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I. (March 29—September 4, A.D. 1216).

No. 6. 7th year : March 13, A.D. 1223.

No. 5. 9th year : March 28, A.D. 1225.

No. 3. Year opp. to year opp. to 17 (i.e. 19th year) : September 4, A.D. 1234.

No. 4. Year opp. to year opp. to 17 (i.e. 19th year) : February 19, A.D. 1235.

C.—Māravarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya II. (June 15, A.D. 1238—January 18, A.D. 1239).

No. 10. 11th year : April 25, A.D. 1249.

Nos. 7 and 8. Year opp. to year opp. to 11 (i.e. 13th year) : January 18, A.D. 1251.

No. 9. Year opp. to year opp. to 11 (i.e. 13th year) : June 14, A.D. 1251.

D.—Jaṭavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I. (April 20—28, A.D. 1251).

No. 11. 2nd year : March 27, A.D. 1253.

No. 12. 2nd year : April 19, A.D. 1253.

No. 13. 3rd year : October 29, A.D. 1253.

No. 17. 7th year : October 7, A.D. 1257.

No. 14. 9th year : April 29, A.D. 1259.

No. 15. 9th year : June 15, A.D. 1259.

No. 16. 10th year : April 28, A.D. 1260.

No. 18. 11th year : July 19, A.D. 1261.

E.—Māravarman Kulāśekhara I. (February 25—November 18, A.D. 1268).

No. 20. 10th year : January 5, A.D. 1278.

No. 21. 26th year : November 18, A.D. 1293.

No. 19. 27th year : December 10, A.D. 1294.

No. 22. 40th year : February 24, A.D. 1308.

F.—Jaṭavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya II. (September 13, A.D. 1275—May 15, A.D. 1276).

No. 25. 6th year : July 21, A.D. 1281.

No. 26. 12th year : September 12, A.D. 1287.

No. 23. 13th [for 14th] year : August 1, A.D. 1289.

No. 24. 13th [for 14th] year : August 5, A.D. 1289.

No. 27. [Year] opp. to 14 (i.e. 15th year) : May 15, A.D. 1290.

¹ I.e. 'opposite.'

G.—*Māvarman Kulāśākhara II.* (March 6—July 23, A.D. 1314).

No. 29. 4th year: July 23, A.D. 1317.

No. 30. 5th year: March 5, A.D. 1319.

No. 28. 8th year: November 14, A.D. 1321.

(To be continued.)

No. 31.—KONDAMUDI PLATES OF JAYAVARMAN.

By E. HULTSCH, Ph.D.

The copper plates which bear the subjoined inscription were received in June 1901 from Mr. R. Morris, I.C.S., Collector of the Kistna district, along with an abstract of their contents by Mr. J. Ramayya, B.A., B.L. They had been recently discovered in a mound in the village of Kondamudi in the Tenali taluka of the Kistna district and will be deposited in the Madras Museum.

The copper plates are eight in number, and measure about 7" in breadth and about 3½" in height. Their edges are not raised into rims. In the upper left corner of the first side of each plate is cut a hole for the ring on which they were strung. The ring measures about 3½" in diameter and about ¼" in thickness, and its ends are soldered into the base of a circular seal of about 1½" diameter. The ring had not yet been cut when the plates came into my hands. In the centre of the seal is, in relief, a trident the handle of which seems to end in an arrow, a bow (?), the crescent of the moon, and an indistinct symbol of roughly triangular shape. Round the margin of the seal runs a Sanskrit legend in archaic characters which differ totally from those employed on the plates.¹ The preservation of the plates is tolerably good; but the first side of the first plate is so much corroded that it can be read only with great difficulty. Besides, two corners of the first plate are broken off, and it has in this way become detached from the ring.

The alphabet of this inscription closely resembles that of the Mayidavolu plates of Śivaskandavarman (No. 8 above). It shows the same peculiar *s*, *m*, *j*, and *e*. The group *jā* (ll. 5, 11 and 34) has a different shape, the vowel-mark being attached on the right, and not at the top of the letter as in the Mayidavolu plates (ll. 18 and 24). The *n* (or *ṇ*) is identical in shape with the lingual *ṇ*, but the dental *ṇ* is represented by a separate character, while in the Mayidavolu plates no distinction is made between all the four letters. Initial *o* occurs twice (ll. 19 and 27), and *ph* (l. 4), *qh* (l. 17), *gh* (l. 19), *th* (l. 37) and initial *ṭ* (l. 18) once.

The language is Prākṛit, with the exception of the two Sanskrit words *Mahēśvara* (l. 3) and *Bṛhatphaladyana* (l. 4) and the Telugu village name *Pūmṭūra* (ll. 24 and 29). As in the Mayidavolu plates, the orthography follows the practice of the cave inscriptions, where a single consonant does duty for a double letter.² Double *n* and double *m* are expressed by *anusvāra* and *n* (ll. 15 and 19) and *m* (ll. 5 and 44), respectively; a superfluous *anusvāra* occurs before the groups *mh* and *nh* (ll. 7, 8, 10, 16, 17, 24, 26 and 29). The instrumental *eteḥi nam* (l. 35) is known from the Andhra inscriptions and from the Jaina Prākṛit.³ The curious phrases *etasa chasa* (l. 28) and *etam chasim* (l. 36) also have their parallels in the Andhra inscriptions.⁴ A peculiar word is *asi* (ll. 13, 14, 15 and 18), *amsi* (ll. 17, 20 and 22) or *amsikā* (l. 21), 'a share,' which seems to be derived from the Sanskrit *amśa*. *Divāḍha* (l. 17) represents the Ardhamāgadhi *divaḍḍha*, 'one and a half.'⁵

¹ Just as here two different alphabets are employed for Sanskrit and Prākṛit, the inscriptions of the Tamil country use the Vatteḷuttu and the Tamil alphabets for Tamil words and the Grantha alphabet for Sanskrit words.

² The only exception would be *amsik=dddḍ* (l. 21), if this reading is correct.

³ *A. S. W. J.* Vol. IV, p. 104, note 9. Prof. Fiechel (*Grammatik der Prākṛit-Sprachen*, p. 114) derives the particle *nam* or *nam* from the Sanskrit *nam*.

⁴ *Loc. cit.* text line 8; p. 106, text line 5; p. 106, text line 11; and p. 113, text line 3.

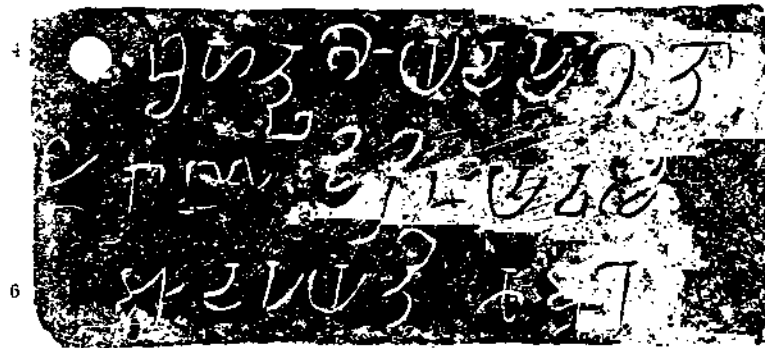
⁵ Prof. Fiechel's *Grammatik der Prākṛit-Sprachen*, p. 320.

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2b



2a



2c



2d

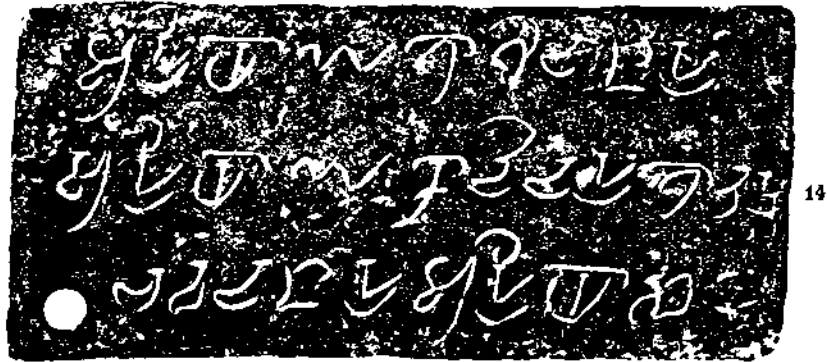


E. HULTZSCH.

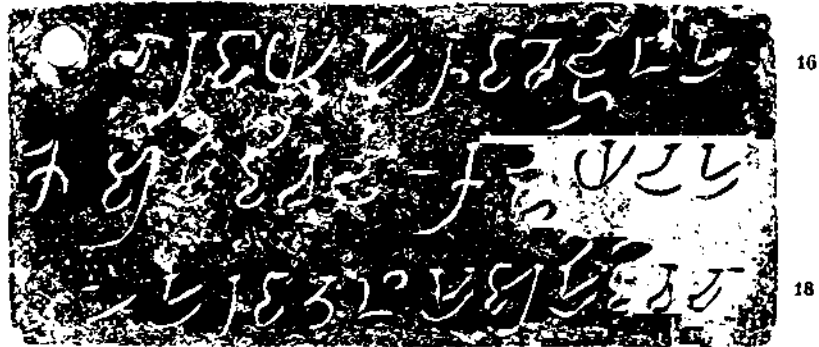
SCALE FOUR-SEVENTHS.

WIELE & KLEIN, PHOTO-ZINCO

iii b



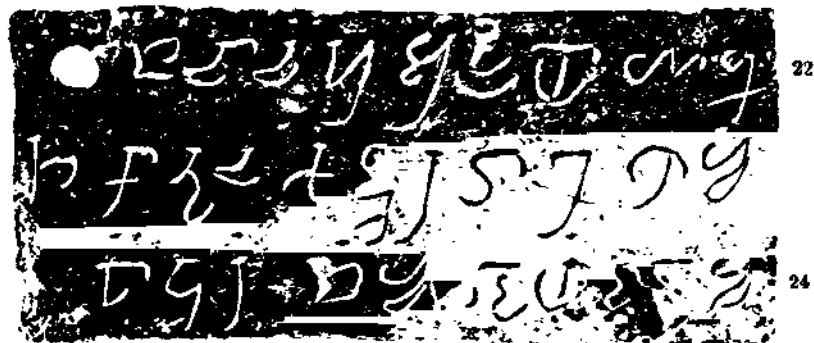
iv a.



iv b



v a



Second Plate ; Second Side.

- 7 vâpatam [1*] am̃mhe dâni
 8 am̃mha-vejayike —
 9 âyu-vadhanike cha —

Third Plate ; First Side.

- 10 baṃmhanânam Gotama-sagota-
 11 jâyâparasa Savagutajasa
 12 8 Tânavasa Savigijasa —

Third Plate ; Second Side.

- 13 asiyo 3 Goginajasa
 14 asiyo 3 Koḍina-sagotasa
 15 Bhavam̃najasa asiyo be 2

Fourth Plate ; First Side.

- 16 Bhâradâyasa Rudaver̃mhuja —
 17 aṃsi divadhâ — Kar̃mhâyanasa
 18 Îsaradatajasa asi diva[ḍâ'] —

Fourth Plate ; Second Side.

- 19 Opam̃navasa Rudaghosajasa
 20 aṃsi 1 Kosika-sagotasa
 21 Khar̃darudajasa aṃsikâ[ddhâ] cham²

Fifth Plate ; First Side.

- 22 janânam 8 aṃsiyo 20 4
 23 kâtuna³ Kûdûrahâre gâmam
 24 Pâmtûram — baṃmhadeyam da[d]âma [1*]

Fifth Plate ; Second Side.

- 25 etamsi tam gâma —
 26 Pâmtûra — baṃmhadeyam
 27 kâtûna oyapâpehi [1*]

Sixth Plate ; First Side.

- 28 etasa chasa gâmasa
 29 Pâmtûrasa baṃmhadeyam
 30 kâtuna³ parihâre vitarâma [1*]

Sixth Plate ; Second Side.

- 31 apâpesam̃ anomasam̃
 32 alonakhâdakaṃ —
 33 arathasam̃vinayikaṃ —

¹ Read ḍâḍ.² Read cha.³ Read kâtûna.

Seventh Plate; First Side.

- 34 savajātapārihārikam cha [I*]
 35 etehi nam parihārehi
 36 pariharāhi [I*] etam chasim gāma[m]

Seventh Plate; Second Side.

- 37 Pāṭūra[m] ba[m]mhadeya[m kâ]tuna¹ etha
 38 nibamdhāpehi [I*] aviyena ānatam [I*]
 39 sayam chhato [I*] siri-aṭha-satā.

Eighth Plate; First Side.

- 40 vijayo dato [I*] paṭikā —
 41 samva 10 he pa 1 diva 1
 42 Mahātagi-varena —

Eighth Plate; Second Side.

- 43 mahādāmaṇḍanāyakena
 44 Bhāpabhānavammēna —
 45 kaṭati —

First Plate; First Side.²

- 1 Bamhanānam Savagutaja-mahā-
 2 janānam janānam 8 Kūdūrahāre
 3 Pāṇṭūrasa bamhadeyasa [II*]

Seal.

Bṛihatphalāyana-sagōtrasya mahārāja-śrī-Jayavarmanṇaḥ [II*]

TRANSLATION.

(Line 1.) From the camp of victory, the town Kūdūra,— the fortunate³ king, the glorious Jayavarman, who is favoured by the feet of Mahēśvara (and) who belongs to the gōtra of the Bṛihatphalāyanas, orders (his) official (vyōpyita) at Kūdūra (as follows):—

(L. 7.) “For conferring on ourselves victory (in war) and for increasing (our) length of life, we have now given the village Pāṇṭūra in the district of Kūdūra (Kūdūrahāra) (as) a brahmadēya, assigning 24 shares⁴ to 8 people, (viz) to (the following) Brāhmaṇas:— to Savagutaja (Śarvaguptārya), a householder⁵ of the Gautama gōtra, 8 (shares); to Savigija of the Tānavya (gōtra) 3 shares; to Goginaja 3 shares; to Bhavannaja of the Kauṇḍinya gōtra two—2— shares; to Rudavennhuja (Rudravishṇuvārya) of the Bhāradvāja (gōtra) one and a half share; to Īsaradataja (Īśvaradattārya) of the Kārshāpāyana (gōtra) one and a half share; to Rudaghosaja (Rudraghōshārya) of the Anpamanyava (gōtra) 1 share; and to Khandarudaja (Skandarudrārya) of the Kauśika gōtra half a share.

¹ Read *kātūna*.

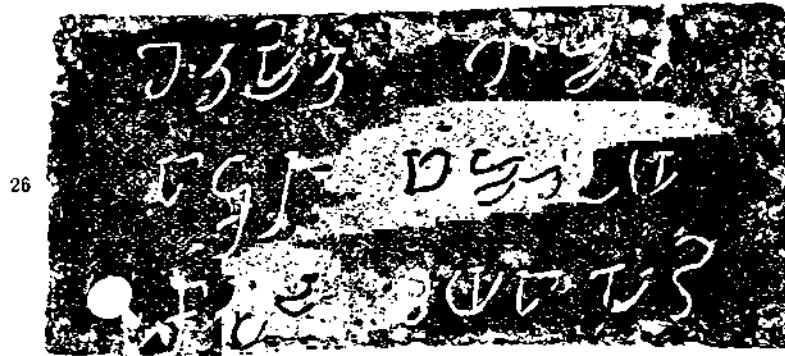
² This side of the plate is much corroded, and most of the letters are indistinct.

³ With *sicapato* compare *sukhappatto*, ‘happy,’ which Childers (s. v. *patto*) quotes from the *Dhammapada*.

⁴ If the shares assigned to each donee are added up, the result is only 20½. Perhaps the remaining 3½ shares were set aside for communal purposes or for the village temple.

⁵ *Jdyāpara* is perhaps synonymous with *grihastha*.

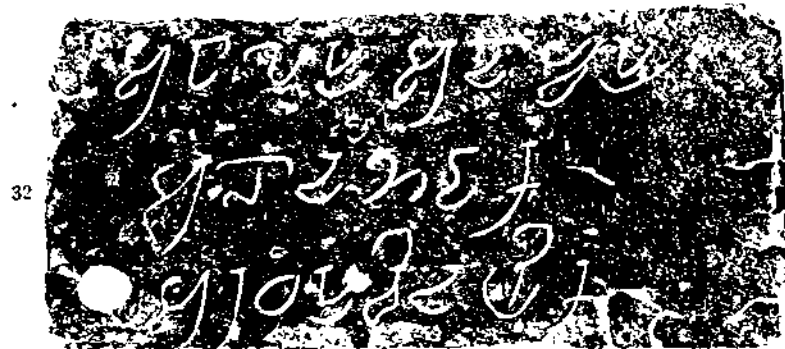
ri b.



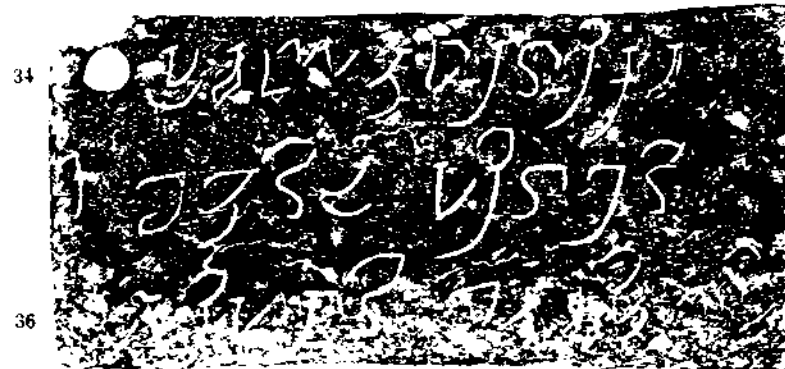
ri a.



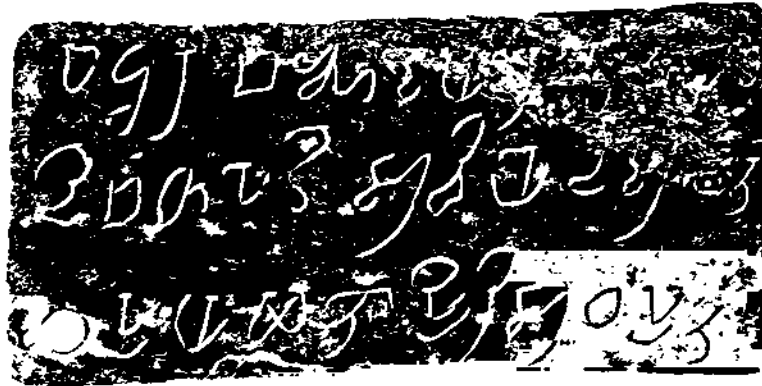
ri b.



ri a.

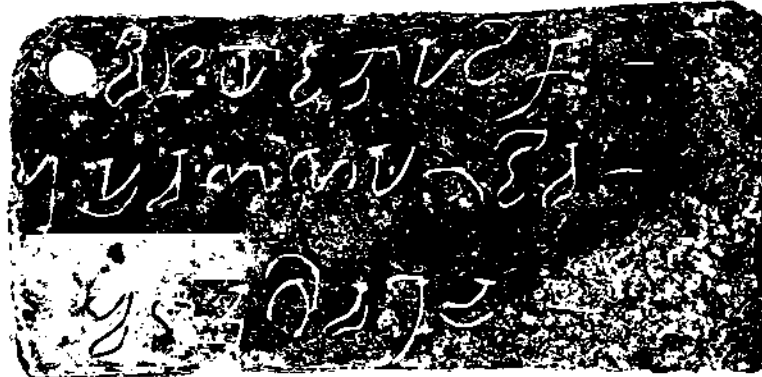


ru b.



33

viii a.



40

42

cii b.



44

i a.



2

(L. 25.) "Parcel off¹ that village Pā[n]tūra from this (*district*), having made (*it*) a *brahmadēya*.

(L. 28.) "And to this village Pāntūra we grant (*all*) immunities, having made (*it*) a *brahmadēya*.

(L. 31.) "(*Let it be*) free from being entered, free from being meddled with, free from diggings for salt, *araṭṭhasamvīṇayika*, and endowed with immunities of all kinds.

(L. 35.) "Exempt² (*it*) with (*all*) these immunities.

(L. 36.) "And having made this village Pā[n]tūra a *brahmadēya*, cause a charter to be drawn up³ to this effect."

(L. 38.) The order was issued by word of mouth.⁴

(L. 39.) (*The charter*) was signed⁵ by (*the king*) himself. Fortune, wealth, power⁶ and victory⁷ were given (*by the donees to the king as a reward for the grant*).

(L. 40.) (*This*) set of plates was prepared on the 1st day of the 1st fortnight of winter of the 10th year by the *Mahādāṇḍanāyaka* Bhāpahanavarman, the best of the *Mahātāgi* (*family*?).

(First plate, first side.) (*Order referring*) to the *brahmadēya* Pāntūra in Kūdūrahāra, (*granted*) to 8 people, to Brāhmaṇas, to the *Mahājanas* (headed by) Savagutaja.⁸

(On the seal.) (*The seal*) of the *Mahārāja*, the glorious Jayavarman, who belongs to the *gōtra* of the *Bṛhatphalāyanas*.

No. 32.—TWO CAVE INSCRIPTIONS AT SIYAMANGALAM.

By E. HULTZSCH, Ph.D.

The village of Siyamangalam near Dēśūr in the Wandiwash (Vandavāsi) tāluka of the North Arcot district contains a Siva temple named Stambhēśvara or (in Tamil) Tāṇ-Āṇḍār,⁹ which consists of a rock-cut shrine, two *maṇḍapas* in front of it, and a stone enclosure.¹⁰ The two rock-cut pillars of the gate by which the shrine is entered bear the two subjoined inscriptions. Besides, there are several Chōḷa inscriptions on the walls of the enclosure and on the rock in the

¹ The second singular imperative is addressed to the official at Kūdūra. The verb *oyapḍepeti* is probably derived from *acayana*, the *v* having been hardened into *p* as in *apḍepa* (l. 31). In the Kārlē inscription No. 19 read also *oyapḍepeti* instead of *deya papahi* (*A. S. W. I.* Vol. IV. p. 112, text line 3).

² See note 1 above. I believe that the second singular imperative is also intended in *A. S. W. I.* Vol. IV. p. 112, text line 4 (*parihariha*), p. 104, text line 4, and p. 111, text line 14 (*pariharhi*); and the second plural imperative *ibid.* p. 106, text line 11 (*pariherejha*).

³ The second singular imperative *siḍamdhēpeti*, which is quite clear on the copper plate, has been misread in various ways in *A. S. W. I.* Vol. IV. p. 106, text line 5, p. 111, text line 14, and p. 112, text line 5. The second plural imperative (*siḍamdhēpetha*) is meant *ibid.* p. 106, text line 11.

⁴ On *aciyana* see *A. S. W. I.* Vol. IV. p. 105, note 2.

⁵ In his valuable paper on the Kārlē inscriptions, which will appear in Vol. VII. of this journal, Dr. Senart derives *cāḥata* from *kāḥa*, 'to hurt' and hence 'to write.' The king cannot have written the order himself, because the inscription expressly states that he issued it by word of mouth. Hence I propose to translate *cāḥata* by 'signed.' The king's signature may have been affixed to the original document, which was deposited in the royal secretariat, and from which the copper-plates were copied. In the latter the royal signature is represented by the seal on which they are strung.

⁶ On *saṭṭa* see *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIV. p. 332.

⁷ Compare the Kārlē inscription No. 19, where Dr. Senart (see note 5 above) reads *riṇayathasatṭa* or **satṭkha*. If the second alternative is accepted, the compound would mean "victory, wealth, power and fame."

⁸ This passage is a kind of docket, stating the contents of the whole document.

⁹ *I.e.*, 'the lord of pillars.' This name seems to refer to the two pillars in front of the cave.

¹⁰ Compare Mr. Sewall's *Lists*, Vol. I. p. 170, and the *Manual of the North Arcot District*, new edition, Vol. II. p. 445.

north-east corner of the temple, from which we learn that Śīyamaṅgalam belonged to **Tēppārrūr-nādu**,¹ a subdivision of **Palaguppa-kōṭṭam**,² a district of **Jayaṅgonḍa-Chōḷa-maṇḍalam**. The temple itself was then called **Tirukkarrali**, i.e. 'the sacred stone temple' (Nos. 60 and 69 of 1900), and **Tūp-Āṇḍār** (Nos. 61, 62, 63 and 65 of 1900).

A.—Inscription of Lalitāṅkura.

This inscription (No. 67 of 1900) is engraved on the right pillar of the gate. It consists of a single **Sanskrit** verse in the **Āryā** metre and is written in the same archaic alphabet as the cave inscriptions at Trichinopoly³ and Mahēndravāḍi.⁴ It records that "this (temple) named **Avanibhājana-Pallavēśvara**" was caused to be made by king **Lalitāṅkura**. From the cave inscription at Vallam⁵ we know that **Lalitāṅkura** was a surname of **Mahēndrapōtarāja**, who, according to Mr. Venkayya's researches,⁶ is probably identical with the **Pallava** king **Mahēndravarman I**. Two other surnames of the same king were **Śatrumalla** and **Guṇabhara**, of which the first occurs at Trichinopoly and Vallam, and the second at Trichinopoly, Vallam and Mahēndravāḍi. Thus the **Pallava** king **Mahēndravarman I**, who reigned about the beginning of the seventh century of the Christian era, is now known to have excavated four rock-cut shrines, of which that at Mahēndravāḍi was dedicated to **Vishṇu**, and the three others to **Śiva**. The name of the Śīyamaṅgalam cave, **Avanibhājana-Pallavēśvara**, means 'the Īśvara (i.e. Śiva temple) of the **Pallava** (king) **Avanibhājana**.' Hence **Avanibhājana**,⁷ i.e. 'the possessor of the earth,' must have been another surname of **Mahēndravarman I**.

TEXT.⁸

- 1 Lalitā[ū]kurēṇa rājū-Āva-
- 2 nibhāja[na]-Pallavēśvaran-nāma [i*]
- 3 kārītam-ētat=svē[dh]ā(chchhā)-karaṇḍa-
- 4 m-iva punya-ratnānām [i*]

TRANSLATION.

By king **Lalitāṅkura** was caused to be made this (temple) named **Avanibhājana-Pallavēśvara**—a casket, as it were, (worked at) his will (and enclosing) jewels, (viz.) good deeds.⁹

B.—Inscription of Vijaya-Nandivikramavarman.

This inscription (No. 68 of 1900) is engraved on the left pillar of the gate. Its alphabet is **Tamiḷ**, with the exception of the **Grantha** words *svastī śrī* at the beginning and *śrī* in line 10, and resembles that of the **Tiruvallam** rock inscription of **Vijaya-Nandivikramavarman**; but the letter *ṇ* has throughout its archaic form, while in the **Tiruvallam** inscription the modern form with fully developed central loop occurs twice.¹⁰—The language is **Tamiḷ**. As in the **Madras Museum** plates of **Jatīlavarman**,¹¹ the rules of *saṁdhi* are not observed in *Perumbūlavūr* (l. 7 f.)

¹ This subdivision was named after **Tēppāttūr**, No. 127 on the *Madras Survey Map* of the **Wandiwash tāluks**.

² The same district is mentioned in two inscriptions at **Tirumalai** near **Pōḷūr** (*South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. I. Nos. 72 and 74), in a **Tiruvallam** inscription (*ibid.* Vol. III. No. 58), and in the **Ālampūṇḍi** plate (above, Vol. III. p. 226).

³ *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. I. Nos. 33 and 34, and Vol. II. Plate x.

⁴ Above, Vol. IV. No. 19.

⁵ *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. II. No. 72.

⁶ *Madras Christian College Magazine* of November 1893, and above, Vol. III. p. 278.

⁷ The synonymous *bhūda* **Bhuvanabhājana** occurs in the inscriptions of the **Pallava** kings **Narasimha** and **Rājasimha** at **Māmallapuram** and **Kāñchi**; *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. I. Nos. 3, 7, and 25, 23rd niche.

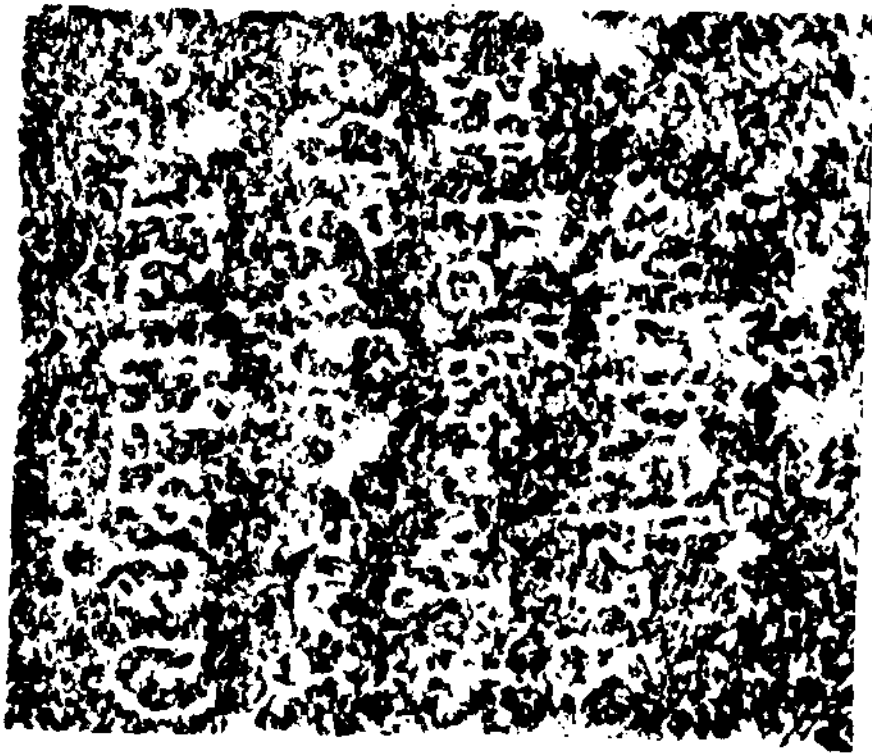
⁸ From inked estampages prepared by Mr. G. Venkoba Rao in 1900 and 1901.

⁹ By this *simile* the king suggests that he built the temple in order to obtain merit in the future life.

¹⁰ *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. III. p. 90 and note 6.

¹¹ See Mr. Venkayya's remarks in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXII. p. 63 f.

A.



SCALE ONE-THIRD.

E. MUIZICH.

B.



SCALE ONE-FIFTH.

WIELE & KLEIN, PHOTO-ZINCO.

for *Perumbālaiyūr* and in *aliāmai* (l. 14) for *aḷiyāmai*, which is an archaic form of the negative gerund *aḷiyāmal*. The final *ṇ* of *kiḷavaṇ* (l. 9) is doubled before the following vowel. The Tamil form *mugamaṇḍagam* (l. 14) instead of the Sanskrit *mukhamanḍapa* has been already noticed in the Ukkal inscription of Kṛṣṇa III.¹

The inscription is dated in the third year of the reign of Vijaya-Nandivikramavarman, whom I have identified with the father of the Gaṅga-Pallava king Vijaya-Nripatūṅgavikramavarman and placed in the ninth century of the Christian era.² This is the earliest known inscription of Vijaya-Nandivikramavarman. Five other records of his at Śaduppēri, Viriūchipuram and Tiruvallam are dated between his 9th and 62nd years.³ Since the publication of the two Āmbūr inscriptions of Vijaya-Nripatūṅgavikramavarman,⁴ two inscriptions of his grandfather Vijaya-Dantivikramavarman⁵ and four inscriptions of his own reign⁶ were copied at Uttaramallūr in the Chingleput district. The Śaḍaiyar temple at Tiruchcheṇṇambūḍi near Kōvilāḍi (between Tanjore and Trichinopoly) contains three inscriptions of the same king.⁷ Two of these mention Mārambāvai, "who was the great queen of Nandippōttaraiyar of the Pallavati[ka?] family."⁸ The same queen is referred to in an inscription at Niyamam in the Tanjore tāluka (No. 16 of 1899), which is unfortunately mutilated, but seems to belong to the reign of the early Chōḷa king Rājakesarivarman. One feels tempted to conclude from this that Rājakesarivarman put an end to the rule of the Gaṅga-Pallavas, and that certain chiefs who claimed connection with the Pallava dynasty were first subordinate to Vijaya-Nripatūṅgavikramavarman and afterwards to his conqueror, the Chōḷa king.

The inscription records that the *maṇḍapa* in front of the cave temple was built by a certain Aḍavi with the permission of a Gaṅga chief named Nērguṭṭi, who must have been subordinate to Vijaya-Nandivikramavarman. Aḍavi was the headman of a village near *Perumbālaiyūr* in *Ūrukkāṭṭu-kōṭṭam*. This district owes its name to *Ūrukkāḍu*, a village in the Conjeeveram tāluka, and *Perumbālaiyūr* is perhaps the same as *Pālaiyūr* which is mentioned in the *Kaṣākūḍi* plates.⁹

TEXT.¹⁰

- 1 Svasti śrī [||*] Kō Viśai-
- 2 [ya-Na]n[d]i[vi]kki[rama]-
- 3 parumaṅku yā-
- 4 ṇḍu m[ū]ḷṇā-
- 5 vadu [Ū]rukkā-
- 6 ṭṭu-k]kōṭṭa[t]tu-
- 7 [Pp]erumbālai-
- 8 ūr-¹¹Ttiruppālai-
- 9 yūr kiḷavaṇṇ=Aḍa-
- 10 vi śrī-Gaṅgaraiyar
- 11 Nērguṭṭi Perumāṇā-
- 12 rkku viṇṇappaṇ=jeydu

¹ *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. III. p. 12, note 15; *maṇḍagam* occurs twice in the Kūram plates, *ibid.* Vol. I. No. 151, text lines 61 and 74.

² Above, Vol. IV. p. 181 f.

³ *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. I. Nos. 108, 124 and 125, and Vol. III. Nos. 42 and 48.

⁴ Above, Vol. IV. No. 23.

⁵ No. 51 of 1898: 10th year; and No. 61: [2]1st year. An inscription at Kūram (No. 35 of 1900) is dated in the 12th year.

⁶ No. 63 of 1898: 16th year; No. 81: 25th year; No. 83: 26th year; and No. 82: date lost. Two inscriptions at Kūram (Nos. 33 and 37 of 1900) are dated in the 17th and [21]st years.

⁷ No. 303 of 1901: 18th year; and Nos. 300 and 301: 22nd year.

⁸ *Pallavati-kulattu Nandippōttaraiyar mahādēciyār-ḍṇa aḍigaḷ Kaṇḍaṇ Mārambāciyār.*

See *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. II. p. 345.

¹⁰ From two inked estampages.

¹¹ Read ⁹*ḍālaiyūr*.

- 13 Aḍavi taṇ-ṛāyār Naṅga[ṇ]i Naṅgaiyārkk-āga=chche-
 14 yda mugamaṇḍagam [i*] id=aḷiāmai=kkāttāṇ=a-
 15 ḍi eṇ muḍi mē-
 16 la [i*]

TRANSLATION.

(Line 1.) Hail! Prosperity! In the third year (of the reign) of king Vijaya-Nandivikramavarman,—Aḍavi, the headman of Tiruppālaiyūr (near) Perumbālaiyūr in Ūṇṛukkāṭṭu-kōṭṭam, having made a request to (i.e. having obtained the sanction of) the glorious Gaṅga king Nērguṭṭi Perumāṇ,—(this) Aḍavi made the maṇḍapa in front (of the shrine) for (the merit of) his mother Naṅga[ṇ]i Naṅgai.

(L. 14.) The feet of him who protects this (gift) without destroying (it), (shall be) on my head.³

No. 33.—RANGANATHA INSCRIPTION OF GOPPANA;
 SAKA-SAMVAT 1293.

By E. HULTZSCH, Ph.D.

In the *Guruparamparāprabhāva*, a modern Tamil work which professes to be based on a Sanskrit poem in 3,000 verses by Ṭṛiṭiya-Brahmatantrasvatanttrasvāmin, we are told that, when the Musalmāns³ had captured Tiruchchirāppalli (Trichinopoly), the authorities of the Raṅganātha temple on the island of Śrīraṅgam near Trichinopoly secretly removed the image of Aḷagiyamaṇavāḷaṇ (Vishṇu) to Tirumalai (Tirupati).⁴ Subsequently a certain Gōpapaṛāyār is stated to have brought the image from Tirumalai to Śīṅgapuram near Śēṇji, and thence back to Śrīraṅgam, where he reconsecrated the god and his two wives (Lakshmi and the Earth).⁵ On this occasion he was praised by the Vaishṇava preceptor Vēdāntadēsika in the following verse: “—

शानीयानीलशृङ्गयुतिरचितजगद्रञ्जनादञ्जनादे-

श्चक्षामाराध्य कंचित्समयमथ निहत्योदनुष्कान्⁷ तुरुष्कान् ।

लक्ष्मीस्त्राभ्यासुभाभ्यां सह निजनिलये स्थापयन्नङ्गनाथं⁸

सम्यङ्कर्त्तुं सपर्यामकृतं भुवि यशःप्रापणो गोपणार्थः ॥

Mr. Venkayya has drawn my attention to another Tamil work, entitled *Kōyilōḷugu*, i.e. “Benefactions to the Temple,” which registers the donations made to the Raṅganātha temple at Śrīraṅgam from the earliest times. The authorities on which the statements of this book are based are not mentioned by the author. Among other facts it chronicles the same events which have been quoted from the *Guruparamparā*, with fuller details. It states that in Śaka-Samvat 1149 expired,⁹ the Akshaya-samvatsara, the Muḥammadans (*Tulukkār*) occupied the Tondai-maṇḍalam. When news reached the temple authorities at Śrīraṅgam that the enemies had passed Samayapuram (9 miles north-north-east of Trichinopoly), they removed the image of Aḷagiyamaṇavāḷa-Perumāḷ to Tirunārāyaṇapuram (Mēlukōṭe in the Mysore State)

¹ Read =aḷiydmai.

² *Turushka-Yavan-Adigaḷ*.

³ Madras edition of Kaliyuga 4960, the Virōdhi-samvatsara, p. 124 f.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 127 f.

⁵ Read °नाथं.

⁶ *Ibid.* p. 129.

⁷ This must be an error for 1249.

⁸ Read °तुरुष्कान्.

⁹ See *South-Ind. Ins.* Vol. III. p. 92 and note 1.

by way of Jētishkuḍi, Tirumālirunjōlai, Kōlikkūdu (Calicut) and Puṇṇaṇūr (in the North Arcot district). The image was kept for "many days" at Mēlukōṭe and then removed to Tirumalai (Tirupati in the North Arcot district), where it was worshipped for "a long time." In the meanwhile the Muhammadans had conquered the Pāṇḍya country and, through the influence of Vidyāranya, the kingdom of Āṇaikkondi (Vijayanagara) had been established. Its king, Harihararāyar (II.), reconquered the Tōṇḍai-maṇḍalam. One of his officers, Gōpaṇa-Uḍaiyār, who resided at Śēṇji, took the above-mentioned image from Tirumalai to Śiṅṅapuram (near Śēṇji),¹ where it was duly worshipped. He advanced with a strong force and defeated the Muhammadans completely. In Śaka-Saṁvat 1293, the Paridhāvi-saṁvatsara, on the 17th solar day of the month Vaigāsi, he brought back the image of Perumāḷ to Śrīraṅgam and reconsecrated the god and his two consorts. He engraved on the outer portion of the east side of the temple wall (built by) Dharmavarman² the same verse which has been quoted from the *Guruparamparā*, and which reads here as follows:—

आनीयानीलशृङ्गद्युतिरचितजगद्रक्षनादक्षनाद्रे-

खेष्टामामाराध्य कंचित्समयमय निहत्विहनुष्कांसुलुष्कान् ।

लक्ष्मीस्त्राभ्यासुभाभ्यां सह निजनिलये स्थापयद्वङ्गनाथं

सम्यन्वयं सपर्यां³ कुरुत निजयशोदर्पणो गोपणार्यः ॥

The *Kōyilōḷugu* further states that Gōpaṇa-Uḍaiyār granted fifty-two villages to the Raṅganātha temple, and that both his sovereign, Harihararāyar (II.), and Viruppaṇa-Uḍaiyār, the son of the latter, performed the *tulāpurnsha* ceremony at the same temple.⁴

The verse quoted above and another, similar verse make up the subjoined Grantha inscription (No. 55 of 1892), which is engraved on the east wall of the second *prākāra* of the Raṅganātha temple at Śrīraṅgam. The two verses are preceded by a chronogram representing Śaka-Saṁvat 1293⁵ (= A.D. 1371-72). This date implies that the *Guruparamparāprabhāva* either must be wrong in making Gōpaṇarāyar a contemporary of Vēdāntadēśika, or—what is more probable—that the alleged birthday of Vēdāntadēśika in Kaliyuga 4370, the Śukla-saṁvatsara⁶ (= A.D. 1269-70), is a pure invention. Gōpaṇarāyar is referred to in the inscription as Goppa-nārya (verse 1) and Gōpaṇa (v. 2). His residence (*rājadhāni*, v. 2) was Cheṇchi (v. 1), which is the Sanskrit form of the Tamil Śēṇji, *vulgo* Gingee, in the South Arcot district.⁷ Añjanādri⁸ (v. 1) and Vṛishabhagiri (v. 2) are two names of Tirumalai, the hill of Tirupati in the North Arcot district.

Goppaṇa or Goppaṇṇa is known as an officer of Kampaṇa-Uḍaiyār or Kampaṇa-Uḍaiyār, the son of Vira-Bokkaṇa-Uḍaiyār, from an inscription at Achcharapākkam (No. 250 of 1901)

¹ See above, Vol. III. p. 226.

² This mythical king is reported to have built large portions of the Raṅganātha temple round the central shrine, which existed from times immemorial.

³ Read 'यमकृत.

⁴ It is interesting to note that this Tamil work refers to the donations of Sundara-Pāṇḍya, which are described in one of the Raṅganātha inscriptions (above, Vol. III. p. 7 ff.). The king is said to have defeated the Chēra, the Chōla and Vallā[ā]dēva (i.e. the Hoysala king) and to have assumed the title *Emmaṇḍalan-ṇōṇḍa-Perumāl*, i.e. "the king who conquered every country." Having covered a large portion of the temple with gold, he assumed the further title *Pōṇ-māyṇḍa-Perumāl*, i.e. "the king who covered (the temple) with gold," and set up an image of Viṣṇu called after this surname. His gifts of gold and jewels are also enumerated. He is said to have spent altogether 18 *lakṣas* of gold coins (*poṇ*) in covering the temple with gold, and the same amount in gifts.

⁵ The same year is quoted in the *Kōyilōḷugu*; see above.

⁶ *Op. cit.* p. 94.

⁷ Above, Vol. III. p. 226.

⁸ Dr. Kittel's *Kannada-English Dictionary*, s. v.

and from three inscriptions at Kāñchi.¹ Aiyanpa, the son of Anpa Goppappa, is mentioned in another Kāñchi inscription of Vira-Kampapa-Udaiyar, the son of Bukka-Udaiyar (No. 33 of 1890). The same inscription shows that Goppapa was a Brāhmaṇa, as it states that he belonged to the *Āpastamba-sūtra* and *Bhāradvāja-gōtra*.

It appears from the last paragraph that Goppapa's sovereign, **Kampapa-Udaiyar**, was the son of **Bukka-Udaiyar** or **Vira-Bukka-Udaiyar**. I feel no hesitation in identifying this **Bukka-Udaiyar** with king **Bukka I. of Vijayanagara**, whose name appears as 'Vira-Bukka-Udaiyar' in a Kanarese inscription of Śaka-Saṃvat 1293, the Virōdhikrit year, at Bhatkal.² and in identifying **Kampapa-Udaiyar** with **Chikka-Kampappa-Udaiyar**, the son of **Bukka I.**³ The word *Chikka* or *Kumāra*, which is prefixed to the name of **Kampapa-Udaiyar** in some of his inscriptions, is evidently employed to distinguish him from his uncle **Kampapa**.⁴ In the pedigree of the first Vijayanagara dynasty **Kampapa-Udaiyar** will henceforth appear as **Kampapa II.**, and his uncle as **Kampapa I.** Mr. Taylor⁵ calls **Kampapa-Udaiyar** the "general or agent" of **Bukkarāya** of Vijayanagara and states that he repaired the temple at Śrīrangam in Śaka-Saṃvat 1293—the date of the subjoined inscription—and that he expelled the Muḥammadan invaders from the Pāṇḍya country. Here we have a grain of truth among heaps of chaff. The existence, in the fourteenth century, of a dynasty of Musalmān chiefs of Madhurā is testified to by chronicles and coins,⁶ and **Kampapa-Udaiyar's** conquest of the Pāṇḍya country is corroborated by an inscription of Śaka-Saṃvat 1287, the Viśvāvasu year, at Tirupukkuli (No. 18 of 1899), which states that, "having taken possession of the kingdom of Rājagambhira, he was pleased to conduct the rule of the earth on a permanent throne."⁷ Rājagambhira is known to have been a surname of the Pāṇḍya king Jaṭavarman *alias* Kulasēkhara,⁸ whose Tiruppūvaṇam plates are dated, according to Professor Kielhorn, in A.D. 1214.⁹ Hence 'the kingdom of Rājagambhira' seems to denote the Pāṇḍya kingdom, and it may be accepted as a historical fact that **Kampapa II.**, the son of **Bukka I. of Vijayanagara**, expelled the Muḥammadans from Madhurā. Two inscriptions at Tiruppullāṇi¹⁰ show him in possession of a portion of the Rāmnād Zamindārī in Śaka-Saṃvat 1293 and 1296. The fact that he claimed to be 'conducting the rule of the earth' proves that he did not remain a subordinate of his father, but considered himself an independent ruler. His prime-minister (*mahāpradhāni*) **Sōmappa** is mentioned in two of his inscriptions at Mēlpāḍi (No. 89 of 1889) and Achcharapākkam (No. 250 of 1901). To return to **Goppapa**, he seems to have taken part

¹ *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. I. Nos. 86-88. When publishing these three inscriptions (*op. cit.* p. 117 f.), I represented **Kampapa-Udaiyar** as the son of **Vira-Kampapa-Udaiyar** on the strength of a Tirumalai inscription (*ibid.* No. 72). But, in the light of other records, I believe now that, in l. 2 f. of this record, *śrī-Vira-Kampapa-Udaiyar Kumāra-śrī-Kampapa-Udaiyar kumdrar śrī-Ommaṇa-Udaiyar* has to be translated by "Ommaṇa-Udaiyar, the son of Vira-Kampapa-Udaiyar (*alias*) Kumāra-Kampapa-Udaiyar."

² Above, Vol. III. p. 36, note 1. An inscription of **Vira-Bukka-Udaiyar** at Vēppūr (No. 20 of 1890) is dated in the Rākshasa year (*i.e.* Śaka-Saṃvat 1297); another at Tirukkalukkonram (*Madras Christian College Magazine* of March 1892) in the Nala year (*i.e.* Śaka-Saṃvat 1298); and one at Achcharapākkam (No. 255 of 1901) in Śaka-Saṃvat 1298, the Nala year. See also Mr. Rice's *Ep. Carn.* Vol. III., Md. 90, Ml. 23 and 76; Vol. IV., Ch. 113 and 117.

³ *Ep. Carn.* Vol. III., Nj. 117; Vol. IV., Yl. 64 and Gu. 32.

⁴ Above, Vol. III. p. 36.

⁵ *Catalogue*, Vol. III. p. 438 f.

⁶ See e.g. Dr. Caldwell's *History of Tinnevely*, p. 42; Mr. Sewell's *Lists of Antiquities*, Vol. II. p. 222 f.; Captain Tufnell's *Hints to Coin-collectors in Southern India*, p. 32 f. and p. 66 ff.; and the late Mr. Rodgers' valuable paper in *Jour. As. Soc. Bengal*, Vol. LXIV. Part I. p. 49 ff. No complete reading has yet been published of a silver coin which was figured on Tufnell's Plate vi. No. 2, and of which I possess a specimen; the obverse reads *Aḥsan Shāh 738* (of the Hijra, *i.e.* A.D. 1337-38), and the reverse *Al-Hussainiyyu*.

⁷ *Iṛḍyagambhira-irḍiyam kai-kkonḍu sti(athira-simhdsanattil pr[i](pri)thivi-irḍiyam paṇṇi aruḍ-ṇ[i]ṇra*. This passage and its bearing were first pointed out by Mr. Venkayya in one of the two *Annual Reports* which he drew up during my absence on furlough.

⁸ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XX. p. 289.

⁹ See page 301 above.

¹⁰ Mr. Sewell's *Lists of Antiquities*, Vol. I. p. 301 f.

in his master's wars against the Musalmān chiefs of Madhurā, as the Raṅganātha inscription alludes to his conquest of the Tulushkas.

The subjoined list of inscriptions of **Kampana II.** shows that his influence extended from Mysore in the north to Rāmnād in the south, and that he was in power **between A.D. 1361-62 and A.D. 1374.** The Tirumalai inscription of his son **Ommaṇa-Uḍaiyar**¹ is dated on the 11th December A.D. 1374.² Of his father **Bukka I.** we have inscriptions of still later date, viz. A.D. 1375-76 and 1376-77.³ To Professor Kielhorn my best thanks are due for the calculation of those among the following dates which contain astronomical details.

1.—No. 250 of 1901; at Achcharapākkam. **Kampana-Uḍaiyar**, the son of **Vīra-Bokkapa-Uḍaiyar**. Śaka-Saṃvat 12[83], Plava.

2.—No. 89 of 1889; at Mēlpādi. **Vīra-Kampana-Uḍaiyar**. Plava.

3.—*South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. I. No. 86; at Kāñchī. **Kampana-Uḍaiyar**. Śaka-Saṃvat 1286 (for 1287), Viśvāvasu.

4.—*South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. I. No. 87; at Kāñchī. **Vīra-Kumāra-Kampana-Uḍaiyar**. Śaka-Saṃvat 1286 (for 1287), Viśvādi (i.e. Viśvāvasu).

5.—No. 18 of 1899; at Tiruppukkuḷi. **Kampana-Uḍaiyar**, the son of **Vīra-Bukkapa-Uḍaiyar**. Śaka-Saṃvat 1287, Viśvāvasu. *Śakābdam āyirattu-irunūrru-eṇbattu-ēḷiṇ mēḷ sellānīṇṇa varttamā[na]-Viśvāvasu-saṃvatsarattu Vṛiśchika-nā[ya]ru pūrva-pakshattu shashṭi[shṭi]yum Arittamum perṇa Budan-kīḷamai-nāḷ.*

"For Śaka-Saṃvat 1287 expired = Viśvāvasu the date regularly corresponds to **Wednesday, the 19th November A.D. 1365**, when the 6th *tithi* of the bright half ended 13 h. 38 m., and the *nakshatra* was **Dhanishṭhā**, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 18 h. 24 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 19 h. 3 m., after mean sunrise."—F. K.

6.—No. 163 of 1892; at Bhussanahalli. **Vīra-Kumāra-Kampana-Oḍeyaru**, the son of **Vīra-Buk[k]apa-Oḍeyaru**. Śaka-Saṃvat 12[8]8, Parābhava.

7.—No. 21 of 1890; at Vēppūr. **Vīra-Kampana-Uḍaiyar**. *Parāba[va]-varuṣham Aṭvika-nāyarru pūrva-pakshshattu pañchamiyum Nā[ya]rru-kkīḷamaiyum perṇa Pūṣattu nāḷ.*

"For Śaka-Saṃvat 1288 expired = Parābhava the date, as recorded above, is quite irregular. All that I can suggest regarding it is, that the [in Tamil] strange word for the solar month, *Aṭvika*, may be intended for *Āṇi*, and that *Pūṣattu* may be a mistake for *Pūrattu* (Pūrva-Phalguni). If these two alterations were adopted, the date would regularly correspond to **Sunday, the 14th June A.D. 1366**, when the 5th *tithi* of the bright half ended 4 h. 19 m., and the *nakshatra* was **Pūrva-Phalguni**, by the equal space system for 22 h. 20 m., according to Garga for 10 h. 30 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 5 h. 55 m., after mean sunrise."—F. K.

8.—No. 33 of 1890; at Kāñchī. **Vī[ra]-Kampana-Uḍaiyar**, the son of **Bukkapa-Uḍaiya[r]**. *Śakābdam 12[8]8 l mēḷ Parābha[va]-saṃvatsarattu Kumbha-nā[ya]rru pūrva-pakshattu ēkādaśiyum V[ṛi]yāḷa-kk[ī]ḷamaiyum perṇa Pu[ṇa]pūṣattu [nā]ḷ.*

"For Śaka-Saṃvat 1288 expired = Parābhava the date regularly corresponds to **Thursday, the 11th February A.D. 1367**, when the 11th *tithi* of the bright half ended 6 h. 44 m., and the *nakshatra* was **Punarvasu**, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 14 h. 27 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 13 h. 47 m., after mean sunrise."—F. K.

¹ See above, p. 324, note 1. In a local chronicle this name has been misspelt or misread 'Embana Udeiyār'; see Mr. Nelson's *Madura Country*, Part III, p. 82. Another son of Vīra-Kampana-Oḍeyaru, named **Nāḷjappa-Oḍeyaru**, is mentioned in an inscription at Dodḍa-Kaulande (Mr. Rice's *Ep. Carn.* Vol. III., Nj. 108), which is dated *Śaka-varuṣha saṃda 1296 neva Ananda-saṃvatsarada Vaisāka-su 15 Gu[rudra]* 'sōmagrahaṇadallī'. Professor Kielhorn considers this date worthless, because "in Śaka-Saṃvat 1296 expired = Ananda the full-moon *tithi* of Vaisāka ended 23 h. 17 m. after mean sunrise of *Wednesday, the 26th April A. D. 1374*, and there was no lunar eclipse on that day."

² *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXIV. p. 3, No. 135.

³ See above, p. 324, note 2.

9.—Mr. Venkayya in *Madras Christian College Magazine* of March 1892; at Tiruvannāmalai. Kampana-Udaiyar, the son of Vira-Bokkapa-Udaiyar. Plavaṅga.

10.—*Ep. Carn.* Vol. III., Nj. 117; at Tagadūru. Chikka-Kampana-Odeyaru, the son of Vira-Bukkapa-Odeyaru. Śaka-Saṁvat 1290, Kīlaka.

11.—*South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. I. No. 88; at Kāñchi. Vira-Kampana-Udaiyar. *Kīlaka-varushattu Makara-pāyaru apara-pashakshattu¹ saptamiyu[m*] Śevvāy-kkīlalaṁaiyumu² perra [T]ēr-pāl.³*

"This date is in every respect irregular, and intrinsically wrong, because the moon cannot be in the *nakshatra* Rōhiṇī on a 7th *tithi* of the dark half in the month of Makara."—F. K.

12.—*Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV., Yl. 64; at Māmbaḷli. Kampana-Odeyaru, the son of Vira-Bukkapa-Odeyaru. Kaliyuga-Saṁvat 4470, Saumya.

13.—No. 293 of 1895; from Kārapai near Kaḍambattūr, now in the Madras Museum. Vira-Kampana-[U][daiyar*], the son of Vī Udaiyar. Kaliyuga-Saṁvat 447[2*], Śaka-Saṁvat 1293, Virōdhikṛit. [*Kali**]yuga-varusham nāḷayirattu-n[ā]nūrru-[e]lu[ba]ttu āgiya Śakābdam āyirattu-irunūrru-t[on]nūrr[u]-mūn sellāni[n*]ra Virōdhikṛit-varshattu [M]ithuna apara-pakshattu [pañcha]miyum Budan-kīlamai ra Avittattu nāl.

"For Kaliyuga-Saṁvat 4472 expired = Śaka-Saṁvat 1293 expired = Virōdhakṛit the date regularly corresponds to Wednesday, the 4th June A.D. 1371, when the 5th *tithi* of the dark half ended 8 h. 13 m., and the *nakshatra* was Dhanishṭhā, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 7 h. 13 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 7 h. 53 m., after mean sunrise."—F. K.

14.—Mr. Sewell's *Lists*, Vol. I. p. 301; at Tiruppullāni. Kampana-Udaiyar. Śaka-Saṁvat 1293.

15.—*Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV., Gu. 32; at Guṇḍlupēte. Chikka-Kampana-Odeyaru, the son of Vira-Bukkapa-Odeyaru. *Śaka-varusha 1294 saṁda varttamāna-Paridhāvi-saṁvatsarada Chaitra-sū 2 A.⁴*

"In Śaka-Saṁvat 1294 expired = Paridhāvin the second *tithi* of the bright half of the month Chaitra commenced 2 h. 29 m. after mean sunrise of Sunday, the 7th March A.D. 1372."—F. K.

16.—Mr. Sewell's *Lists*, Vol. I. p. 302; at Tiruppullāni. Kampana-Udaiyar. Śaka-Saṁvat 1296.

17.—No. 28 of 1890; at Kāñchi. Kampana-Udaiyar, the son of Vira-Bokkapa-Udaiyar. *Ānanda-va[r*]sham Ādi-mādu[m] 10 [tēdi] Āshāḍa-baḡuḷa-chatu[r*]ddati Śukravāramum perra n[āl].*

"In Śaka-Saṁvat 1296 expired = Ānanda the Karkāṭa-saṁkrānti took place 9 h. 9 m. after mean sunrise of Wednesday, the 28th June A.D. 1374, which was the first day of the month of Karkāṭa or Ādi. The 10th day of the month of Ādi therefore was Friday, the 7th July A.D. 1374; but the *tithi* which ended on this day, 6 h. 23 m. after mean sunrise, was the 12th (not the 14th) *tithi* of the dark half of the month of Āshāḍha. In my opinion, there can be no doubt that the number of the *tithi* has been wrongly quoted in the original date."—F. K.

18.—No. 185 of 1894; at Tirukkalukkuṅgam. Vira-Kumāra-Kampana-Udaiyar. *Ānanda-[va]rushattu Kaṇ[n]i-nāyarru a[pa]ra-[pa]kshattu [da]śa[miyu]m [V]eḷ[ī]i-kkīlalaṁaiyumu perra [Punar]pū[śa]ttu n[āl].*

"In Śaka-Saṁvat 1296 expired = Ānanda the 10th *tithi* of the dark half in the month of Kanyā commenced 7 h. 5 m. after mean sunrise of Friday, the 1st September A.D. 1374, when

¹ Read -pakshattu.

² See *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXII. p. 138, No. 9.

³ Read -kkīlalaṁaiyumu.

⁴ I.e. *Ādityasāradalu*.

the *nakshatra* was **Punarvasu**, by the equal space system from 6 h. 34 m. after mean sunrise, and by the *Brahma-siddhānta* and according to Garga during the whole day.— Since on Saturday, the 2nd September A.D. 1374, the 10th *tithi* of the dark half ended 7 h. 1 m., and the *nakshatra* was **Punarvasu** for 7 h. 13 m. or 6 h. 34 m., after mean sunrise, I have some doubts whether that day is not really the intended day, and whether therefore Friday has not been wrongly quoted in the original date instead of Saturday. Supposing the weekday to have been given correctly, I should have expected the writer to quote the 9th *tithi*.— F. K.

From a Kanarese inscription at Penakonḍa (No. 339 of 1901), which was first noticed by Mr. Sewell,¹ we learn that **Vira-Bukkanna-Oḍeyaru** (i.e. Bukka I.) had another son, named **Vira-Virupanna-Oḍeyaru** (I.), by his queen **Jommādēvi**. While Bukka I. was ruling the territory of the Hoysala kings at **Hosapattana**, and while his son **Virupanna I.** was governing the province (*rājya*) of **Penugonḍe**, which had been entrusted to him by his father,²— the minister (*mahāpradhāna*) **Ananta[ra]sa-Oḍeyaru** built the fort of **Penugonḍe** in Śaka-Saṃvat 1276, the *Jaya-saṃvatsara*, on Tuesday, the 1st (*tithi*) of the bright (fortnight) of **Chaitra**,³ i.e. on the 25th March A.D. 1354.

A copper-plate grant at **Narasipura** mentions a third son of Bukka I., named **Mallinātha** or **Mallapp-Oḍeyaru**, whose son was **Nārāyanadēv-Oḍeyaru**.⁴ It is dated on Sunday, the 29th July A.D. 1397.⁵

The successor of **Bukka I.** on the throne of **Vijayanagara** was his son by **Gauri**,⁶ **Harihara II.**, whose name is given as **Vira-Hariyappa-Oḍeyaru** in Kanarese inscriptions (Nos. 3, 4, 6-8 of the following list). As will appear from Nos. 2, 5 and 9 of the same list, the Tamil form of his name was **Hariyappa-** or **Ariyappa-Uḍaiyar**.

1.—No. 57 of 1900; at **Puttūr** near **Ārapi**. **Harihara-Uḍaiya[r*]**. Śakābdam 1299 *n mēl tellānira Piṅgala-varuṣham Āḍi-mādam* [80] *tēdi Tiṅgal-kilamai*.

"In Śaka-Saṃvat 1299 expired = **Piṅgala** the **Karkata-saṃkrānti** took place 3 h. 46 m. after mean sunrise of Sunday, the 28th June A.D. 1377, which was the first day of the month of **Karkata** or **Āḍi**. The 30th day of the month of **Āḍi** therefore was **Monday**, the 27th July A.D. 1377."— F. K.

2.—Mr. **Venkayya** in *Madras Christian College Magazine* of March 1892; at **Tiruvannāmalai**. **Ariyappa-Uḍaiyar**. Śaka 1299, **Piṅgala**.

3.—No. 126 of 1901; at **Bārūkūr**. **Vira-Hariyappa-Oḍeyaru**. *Saṃvaruṣa* 1301 *nye(ne)ya K[ā*]layukta-saṃvatsarada* [d] *viṭiya-Jy[e*]shṭa-su* 15 *Śukravāradalu* *sōmōpardga-puṇṇ[y]ukāladulu*.

"Śaka-Saṃvat 1301 current = **Kālayukta**: **Friday**, the 11th June A.D. 1378 (the full-moon day of the second **Jyāishṭha**); a total eclipse of the moon from 12 h. 1 m. to 15 h. 41 m. after mean sunrise, and therefore visible in India."— F. K.

4.—No. 155 of 1901; at **Bārūkūr**. **Vira-Hariyappa-Oḍeyaru**, the son of **Vira-Bukkanna-Oḍeyaru**. *Śaka-varuṣha* 130[1] *neya ma(va)rttamāna-Kālayuklākshi-saṃvachha(tsa)rada Mārggasira-su* 1 *Sōmavārad=amdu*.

¹ *Lists of Antiquities*, Vol. I. p. 119.

² *Śrīman-mahāmāndalēvara ari-ḍya-vibhāḍa bhāṣhege-tappuṭa-ḍyara-gaṇḍa Hindarḍga-suraṭrāna pūrva-paśchima-saṃudr-dhīpati* *śrī-Vira-Bukkanna-Oḍeyaru* *Hoṣaṭ-āwaya-mahipālara mēdint-maṇḍalavānu ni[ja]-bhūja-maṇḍanav-ḍgi pḍlisu[ta]* *Hosapattanaḍali sukha-saṃkathā-vinōḍadim roḍyam geyyutta tanna paṭṭaḍ-aravi Jomm[ā]dēviyara kāmāra* *śrī-Vira-Virupanna-Oḍeyarig[e]* *Penugon-ḍeya* *rājyavānu kōṭṭu ā paṭṭanaḍali sukhadim rājyara pḍlisutta*.

³ *Śaka-varuṣha* 1276 *neya Jaya-saṃvachha(tsa)rada Chaitra-su* [1] *Mam[galaviradalu*]*. Professor Kielhorn kindly informs me that "in Śaka-Saṃvat 1276 expired = **Jaya** the first *tithi* of the bright half of **Chaitra** commenced 7 h. 35 m. after mean sunrise of Tuesday, the 25th March A. D. 1354."

⁴ Mr. Rice's *Ep. Carn.* Vol. III, TN. 64.

⁵ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXVI, p. 331, No. 10.

⁶ See above, Vol. III. p. 115 and note 12.

⁷ Read *Śaka-varuṣha*.

"Śaka-Saṃvat 1301 *current* = Kālayukta. The date is incorrect; it would correspond to Sunday, the 21st November A.D. 1378, when the first *tithi* of the bright half of Mārgaśīra ended 21 h. 10 m. after mean sunrise. If the figure for the *tithi* were 2, the date would regularly correspond to Monday, the 22nd November A.D. 1378."—F. K.

5.—No. 32 of 1890; at Kāñchi. Vira-Hariyapa-Uḍaiyar. *Śakābdam 1300 n mēl sellāninra K[ā]layukta-varshattu Mārga[śi]-mā[sa]m 2 tēdi pūrbva(rva)-pakshattu sapta-[miyu]=Nāyarru-kkilaṃaiyum perra Śadayattu nāl.*

"This date is irregular. In Śaka-Saṃvat 1300 expired = Kālayukta the Dhanuḥ-saṃkrānti took place 18 h. 53 m. after mean sunrise of Saturday, the 27th November A.D. 1378. The second day of the month of Dhanuḥ or Mārgaśīra therefore was Monday, the 29th November A.D. 1378, and on this day the 9th *tithi* of the bright half ended 11 h. 33 m. after mean sunrise, and the *nakshatras* were Uttara-Bhādrapadā and Rēvatī. The 7th *tithi* of the bright half ended 16 h. 5 m., and the *nakshatra* was Śatabhishaj, by the equal space system for 9 h. 12 m., and according to Garga for 0 h. 39 m., after mean sunrise of the 27th November A.D. 1378, but that day, as stated already, was a Saturday, and was the last day of the month of Vriśchika (Kārttigai)."—F. K.

6.—No. 59 of 1901; at Kāntāvara. Vira-Hariyappa-O[de]yaru. *Sa(śa)ka-varuśa(śa) 1301 nevi(ya) Siddhā(ādhā)rtthi-saṃvatsarada 1 Vayisākha-su 1 Sōmavā[ra*]da[lu].*

"Śaka-Saṃvat 1301 expired = Siddhārthin: Monday, the 18th April A.D. 1379; the first *tithi* of the bright half of Vaisākha ended 6 h. 1 m. after mean sunrise."—F. K.

7.—*Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV., Ch. 64; at Homma. Harihara II. or Vira-Hariyappa-Oḍeyaru of Vijayanagara. *Śaka-varuśa 1302 neya Raudri-saṃvatsarada Śrāvāṇa-śu 5 Ādirāradalu.*

"The date is irregular. In Śaka-Saṃvat 1302 expired = Raudra the 5th *tithi* of the bright half of Śrāvāṇa ended 14 h. 56 m. after mean sunrise of Saturday, the 7th July A.D. 1380."—F. K.

8.—No. 174 of 1901; at Bārūkūr. Vira-Hariyappa-Oḍeyaru. *Śaka-varuśa(śa) 1304 Duṃdubhi-saṃ[va]tsarada 1 Vayisākha-su 15 Śō.²*

"Śaka-Saṃvat 1304 expired = Duṃdubhi: Monday, the 28th April A.D. 1382; the full-moon *tithi* of Vaisākha ended 9 h. after mean sunrise."—F. K.

9.—No. 31 of 1890; at Kāñchi. Hariyappa-Uḍaiyar. *Śakābdam 1307 mēl śe[l*]lān[ā]nra Krōdhana-varsham Āni-mādam [12 tēdi] amāvāsaiyum Guru[v]āram Mṛigaśīrshattu³ nāl.*

"In Śaka-Saṃvat 1307 expired = Krōdhana the Mithuna-saṃkrānti took place 14 h. 51 m. after mean sunrise of Saturday, the 27th May A.D. 1385. The 12th day of the month of Mithuna or Āṇi therefore was Thursday, the 8th June A.D. 1385; and on this day the new-moon *tithi* (of the month Jyāishṭha) ended 9 h. 55 m., and the *nakshatra* was Mṛigaśīrsha, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 1 h. 19 m., after mean sunrise."—F. K.

Harihara II. had three sons: Virūpāksha I., Bukka II. and Dēvarāya I. The first of them is known from the Ālampūṇḍi plate (No. 2 below) and from the *Nārāyaṇavilāsa*⁴ and has to be identified with Viruppanṇa-Uḍaiyar (II.), the son of Hariyappa- or Hariyanna-Uḍaiyar (Nos. 1 and 3-5 below).⁵

1.—Mr. Venkayya in *Madras Christian College Magazine* of March 1892; at Tiruvannāmalai. Vira-Viruppanṇa-Uḍaiyar, the son of Hariyappa-Uḍaiyar. Śaka-Saṃvat 1301.

2.—*Ep. Ind.* Vol. III. p. 225; Ālampūṇḍi plate. Virūpāksha, the son of Harihara II. Śaka-Saṃvat 1305, Raktākshin.

¹ Read *Vaisākha*.

² I. e. *Sōmavāradalu*.

³ Read *śīrshattu*.

⁴ Above, Vol. V. Add. and Corr. p. v.

⁵ The *Kōyilōḷu* also mentions "Viruppanṇa-Uḍaiyar, the son of Harihararāyar;" see page 323 above.

No. 34.—TWO INSCRIPTIONS OF VIDUGADALAGIYA-PERUMAL.

By E. HULTZSCH, Ph.D.

A.—INSCRIPTION AT TIRUMALAI NEAR POLUR.

The first volume of my *South-Indian Inscriptions* contains some records, the full bearing of which could not be made out at the time of their publication through want of experience and in the absence of copies of cognate inscriptions. Several of them have been already republished in this journal.¹ I now re-edit another, which was imperfectly read and rendered before,² from a fresh inked estampage.

The subjoined inscription is engraved on the outer wall of the doorway which leads to the painted cave at Tirumalai near Pôlûr in the North Arcot district. It is somewhat worn and not very easy to read. The alphabet is Tamil and Grantha. The inscription consists of three portions:—a sentence in Tamil prose, a Sanskrit verse in the Śārdûla metre, and a Tamil verse. Each of these three passages records in different words the same fact, viz. the restoration of the images of a Yaksha and a Yakshî, which were set up on the Tirumalai hill. In this connection the names of three kings are mentioned:—(1) Eļiṇi (ll. 1 and 7) or Yavanikā³ (l. 4); (2) Rājarāja (l. 6) or Vagaṇ⁴ (l. 9); and (3) Viḍugādalagiya-Perumāl (l. 10) or Vyāmukta-śravaṇôjjvala⁵ (l. 6). Eļiṇi is stated to have belonged to the family of the kings of Chêra (l. 1) or Kêraḷa (l. 3), i.e. Malabar, or of Vañji (l. 7), the traditional capital of the Chêra kingdom, which is perhaps identical with the modern village of Chêramân-Perumâl-Kôylûr near Tiruvāṇjikulam in the Cochin State.⁶ Both Eļiṇi and Rājarāja receive the title Adigaimaṇ (l. 1), Adhikanripa (l. 5 f.) or Adigaṇ⁷ (l. 9), i.e. 'the lord of Adigai,' the modern Tiruvadi near Cuddalore.⁸ The third king is called the lord of Takatâ (l. 6) or Tagaḍai (l. 10). As noted by Mr. Venkayya, this place is mentioned in the Tamil poem *Puranânûru* as Tagaḍûr, and Mr. V. Kanakasabhai Pillai has identified it with Dharmapuri, the head-quarters of a taluka in the Salem district.⁹ This statement is corroborated by two Chôḷa inscriptions (Nos. 307 and 308 of 1901) in the Mallikārjuna temple at Dharmapuri, according to which Tagaḍûr, the modern Dharmapuri, was the chief town of Tagaḍûr-nāḍu, a subdivision of the Gaṅga country (*Gaṅga-nāḍu*), a district of Nigarili-Śôḷa-maṇḍalam.¹⁰ Viḍugādalagiya-Perumāl was the son of Vagaṇ (l. 9) or Rājarāja (l. 6), who seems to have been a remote descendant (ll. 5 and 9) of Eļiṇi. Both he and his ancestor Eļiṇi must have been adherents of the Jaina religion, because

¹ Above, Vol. IV. Nos. 9, 22 and 52, and Vol. V. No. 13, A.

² *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. I. No. 75.

³ *Yavanikā* is the Sanskrit equivalent of the Tamil *eļiṇi*, 'a curtain.'

⁴ According to the dictionaries, the Tamil Vagaṇ and the Sanskrit Baka are names of Kubêra, who is also called Rājarāja.

⁵ The Tamil words *vidu*, *kāḍu* and *aḷagiya* correspond to the Sanskrit *much*, *śravaṇa* and *ujjvala*. The word looks like a nickname. Perhaps the king had protruding ears.

⁶ See *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. III. p. 31, and my *Annual Report* for 1900-01, paragraph 4.

⁷ For references to Adigaṇ, Adigaimaṇ and Eļiṇi in Tamil literature see *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXII. pp. 66 and 143. Adiyama, who was a feudatory of the Chôḷa king and was defeated by Gaṅgarāja, a general of the Hoysala king Viṣṇuvardhana (*Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I. Part II. Index), may have been one of the chiefs of Adigai.

⁸ The *Kalīṅgattu-Paṇani* (x. verse 68 f.) mentions 'the great city of Adigai,' which Mr. V. Kanakasabhai Pillai has identified with Tiruvadi in the Cuddalore taluka of the South Arcot district; *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIX. p. 339 f. In the time of the Vijayanagara kingdom this town was the head-quarters of the province (*rājya*) of Tiruvadi; *ibid.* Vol. XIII. p. 153. This province is distinct from Tiruvadi-rājya (with the lingual ḍ), which was situated in the Tinnevely district; above, Vol. III. p. 240, and Mr. Venkayya's *Annual Report* for 1899-1900, p. 28.

⁹ See the two pages of the *Ind. Ant.* quoted in note 7 above.

¹⁰ There is another village named Tagaḍûr in the Nañjanagūḍu taluka of the Mysore district, which was included in Hiriya-nāḍu; Mr. Rice's *Ep. Carn.* Vol. III. Nj. 117 and 118.

they made grants at Tirumalai, which is referred to in the subjoined inscription as 'the holy mountain of Enguṇaviṇai' (l. 8) and 'the holy mountain of the Arhat in the Tuṇḍira-maṇḍala'¹ (l. 4 f.).

TEXT.²

- 1 Svasti śrī [||*] Śēra-vaṇṣattu³ Adigaimā[ṇ] Eḷiṇi śeyda dha[r]mma-
- 2 Yaksha[r]aiyum Yakshiyāriyum eḷund-a[ru*]lūvittu eṇimaṇiyum i-
- 3 tṭu=Kkaḍappēri-kkā[lu]ḥ-gaṇḍu kuḍutt[ā]ṇ || 'Śrīmat-Kēraḷa-bhūbhṛi-
- 4 tā Yavanikā-nāmnā su-dha[r]mm-ātmanā Tuṇḍir-āhvaya-maṇḍal-Ā[r]ha-su-⁵
- 5 girau Yakshēśvaraṇ kalpitau [||*] paśchāt-tat-kula-bhūshaṇ-Ādhika-
- 6 nripa-śrī-Rājarāj-ātmaja-Vyāmuktaśravaṇō[j*]jvalē[na Takatā-nā]thēna jīrṇ-ō-
- 7 [d]dhritau || Vañji[ṇ]iyar⁶ kula-pa[ti]y=[E]ḷiṇ[ṇ]i vaguttav-Iyakkar-Iyakk[i]yarō-
- 8 ḍe[ṇ]jiyav-aḷivu ⁷tiruttīy-av-Enguṇaviṇai-tiru-malai vai[t]ṭṭāṇ-ru-
- 9 ṇji taṇ [va]ḷi [va]rumavaṇ vaḷi-mudali kali Adigaṇ Vagaṇ nūl v[i]ṇjaiyar
- 10 [ta]ḷai puṇai Tagaḍaiyar kāvalaṇ Viḍugāḍaḷagiya-[P]erumālēy [||*]

TRANSLATION.

(Line 1.) Hail! Prosperity! He⁸ set up (again) (the images of) a Yaksha and a Yakshī,—meritorious gifts (formerly) made by Eḷiṇi, an Adigaimāṇ of the Chēra family,—presented a gong, and granted a channel (which he) had constructed to (or from?) the Kkaḍappēri (tank).⁹

(L. 3.) (The images of) two lords of the Yakshas, which had been set up by the glorious (and) very pious-minded Kēraḷa king named Yavanikā on the holy mountain of the Arhat in the province (maṇḍala) called Tuṇḍira, were later on saved from ruin by Vyāmuktaśravaṇōjjvala, the lord of Takatā (and) the son of the glorious Rājarāja—an Ādhika prince (who was) the ornament of his (Yavanikā's) race.

(L. 7.) The ruins which remained (of the images) of a Yaksha together with a Yakshī, that had been set up by Eḷiṇi, the chief of the family (ruling over) the Vañjiyar,¹⁰ were repaired and placed (on) this holy mountain of the god who possesses the eight qualities¹¹ by Viḍugāḍaḷagiya-Perumāḷ, the protector of the Tagaḍaiyar,¹² the ornament of the heads of those learned in the sciences, (and the son of)¹³ the brave Adigaṇ Vagaṇ—the foremost on the (right) path, who came from his (Eḷiṇi's) family after (the latter) had died.

B.—INSCRIPTION AT KAMBAYANALLUR.

This inscription (No. 3 of 1900) is engraved on the south wall of the central shrine in the Dēśināthēśvara temple at Kambayanallūr in the Ūttaṅgarai tāluks of the Salem district. The alphabet and language are Tamiḷ.

The inscription consists of a Tamiḷ verse, which opens with the date—the 22nd year (in words) of the reign of Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷadēva. A short prose passage which is prefixed to the verse gives the same date in figures. This is another record of Viḍugāḍaḷagiya-Perumāḷ, the

¹ This is a Sanskritised form of Tuṇḍai-maṇḍalam.

² From an inked estampage.

³ Read -vaṇṣattu.

⁴ South-Ind. Inscr. Vol. I. No. 76 contains another copy of the same verse.

⁵ For the sake of the metre Arha is used instead of Arhat.

⁶ In this verse Vañjiyar rhymes with ḍeṇjiya, vañji and viñjaiyar.

⁷ Read tiruttīy-iev.

⁸ The subject is Viḍugāḍaḷagiya-Perumāḷ (l. 10).

⁹ The same tank is mentioned in another Tirumalai inscription; South-Ind. Inscr. Vol. I. No. 77.

¹⁰ I. e. 'the citizens of Vañji.'

¹¹ See South-Ind. Inscr. Vol. I. p. 107, note 1.

¹² I. e. 'the citizens of Tagadai.'

¹³ The words in brackets can be supplied with certainty on the strength of the Sanskrit portion (l. 6) and in accordance with the Tamiḷ habit of omitting the word 'son' between the names of the father and the son.

king of Tagadai and (son of) Rājarāja-Adigaṇ. He is said to have ruled over the three rivers Pāli, Pennai and Ponṇi. The inscription records that he granted a place named Śiruk-kōṭṭai on the bank of the Pennai river to Nāgai-Nāyaka of Kuḷaṇ, and that he built a temple.

The Pāli must be identical with the Pālāru river; the Pennai is the Southern Pennāru; and the Ponṇi is the Kāvēri. It may be assumed that the Pālāru formed the northern boundary of the king's territories and the Kāvēri the western one, while the Southern Pennāru passes not far north-east from his capital Tagadūr, the modern Dharmapuri.¹ Kuḷaṇ, where the donee came from, is another form of Kuḷam or Kuḷaṇūr, the modern Ellore.² He may have been related to the Nāyakas of Ellore, who are mentioned in inscriptions of the Telugu country.³ His name, Nāgai-Nāyaka, is perhaps connected with Nāgaiyappalli, an ancient name of Kambayanallūr, which occurs in two inscriptions of the Hoysala king Vira-Viśvanāthadēva (Nos. 9 and 10 of 1900).

The donor is mentioned in two inscriptions at Śēngama in the Tiruvannāmalai tāluca of the South Arcot district, — in the first of them (No. 115 of 1900), which is dated in the 20th year of Tribhuvanaśakravartin Śrī-Kulōttuṅga-Chōladēva, as “the born Perumāḷ, alias the son of Rājarāja-Adigaṇ,”⁴ and in the second (No. 107 of 1900), the beginning of which is lost, but which quotes the twenty-first (year of Kulōttuṅga-Chōladēva?), as “Rājarājadēva⁵ Viḍugādalagiya-Perumāḷ, alias the son of Rājarāja-Adigaṇ.”⁶ In both inscriptions he is stated to have been a contemporary of Śēngēni Ammaiyaṇṇ Attimallaṇ,⁷ alias Vikrama-Chōla-Sambuvarāyaṇ, a chief who seems to have been a subordinate of Kulōttuṅga-Chōla III.⁸ Besides, No. 107 of 1900 mentions as his contemporary a certain Śeyyagaṇṇar, who is probably identical with Śiyagaṇṇar, a subordinate of Kulōttuṅga-Chōla III.⁹ Consequently, the king during whose reign the subjoined inscription of Viḍugādalagiya-Perumāḷ is dated must be Kulōttuṅga-Chōla III., who ascended the throne in A.D. 1178,¹⁰ and the date of the inscription, the 22nd year, corresponds to A.D. 1199-1200.

TEXT.¹¹

- 1 Svasti śrī [||*] T[i]ribuva[na]chchakkaravattiga[1] śrī-Kulōttuṅga-Śōladēvarku yāṇḍu 22 āvadu ௨ Urai¹² maru[vu]ō=Gulōttuṅga-Śōladēvar-k-uraitta yāṇḍ-irubadiṇ mēl-irandir-Pennai-kkarai maruvu[ū]=Jirukkōṭṭai Ku[la]ṇ Nā[gai]-Nāyagaṇ-k-aḷittu-kkaṇ-ṭaḷi taṇ pēr-i-
- 2 ṭṭa kār-aṇaiya-kaiyā[ṇ] tirai-maruvun-daḍaṇ-gamala-Ttagadai maṇṇaṇ śeḷum Pāli [P]ennai Ponṇi-ttiru-nadi mūṇṇ-udaiya virai-maruvun-dār-mārvaṇ Rāja-r[ā]ja[v-A]digaṇ vīlaṅgā-moḷi Viḍugādalagiya-Perumāḷēy ||¹³ ௨

TRANSLATION.

Hail ! Prosperity ! In the 22nd year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulōttuṅga-Śōladēva.

¹ See page 331 above.

² *Ibid.* Vol. II. p. 308.

³ This portion of the title has to be taken as the name of a Chōla king to whom Viḍugādalagiya-Perumāḷ or his ancestors had been tributary. Compare the similar name “Kulōttuṅga-Chōla-Takatādhirāja, alias Māra-simhadēva,” in an inscription at Rāyakōta in the Kriehagiri tāluca of the Salem district (No. 3 of 1900).

⁴ The original reads *Irāja[r]āja-Adigaṇ*, which I correct to *Irājardja-Adiga-magaṇ* in accordance with No. 115 of 1900; see note 4 above.

⁵ Instead of *Attimallaṇ* (i.e. Hastimalla) two other inscriptions (*South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. I. No. 132, and Vol. III. No. 61) have the title *Kaṇṇaḍaipperumāṇ*.

⁶ *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. III. p. 121.

⁷ *Ibid.* page 122.

⁸ See Professor Kielhorn's Table on p. 24 above.

⁹ From an inked estampage.

¹⁰ In this Tamil verse *urai maruvu* rhymes with *kārai maruvu*, *tirai-maruvu* and *virai-maruvu*.

¹¹ In the original this sign of punctuation is represented by a *visarga*.

In the year called two after twenty of the eminent Kulōttuṅga-Śōladēva,—Viḍugādaḷagiya-Perumāḷ, who never breaks his word, (*who is the son of*)¹ Rājarāja-Adigaṇ, whose chest wears a fragrant garland, the lord of three sacred rivers, (*viz.*) the Pāli (*whose banks are*) fertile, the Peṇṇai (*and*) the Poṇṇi, the king of Tagadai where large lotus-flowers are surrounded by the ripples (*of tanks*), he whose hand resembles a cloud (*in showering gifts*), granted (*the village of*) Śirukkōṭṭai on the bank of the Peṇṇai (*river*) to Nā[gai]-Nāyaka of Ku[la]ṇ and gave his own name (*to*) a stone temple.

No. 35.—TEKI PLATES OF RAJARAJA-CHODAGANGA;

DATED IN THE SEVENTEENTH YEAR (OF KULOTTUNGA I.).

By E. HULTZSCH, Ph.D.

These copper plates were sent to me through the Government of Madras by the Collector of Gōdāvari, who in his letter of 30th April 1901 states that they were “found about two months ago by one Kodi Dosigadu of Tēki² in the Rāmachandrapuram tāluka, while working in his field.”

The plates are five in number and measure about 11½” in breadth and about 6” in height. The first and last plates bear writing only on the inner side, and the three middle ones on both sides. The edges of the inscribed sides are raised into rims for the protection of the writing, which is in a state of very good preservation. On the left of each inscribed side is bored a circular hole, through which passes a copper ring measuring about 6” in diameter and about ⅜” in thickness. The ring had not yet been cut when I received the plates. Its ends are secured in the base of a four-petalled flower, which is surmounted by a circular seal measuring 4” in diameter. This seal bears the following emblems in high relief on a countersunk surface:—across the centre the legend *śrī-Tribhuvandhkuṣa*; at the top a boar, standing, facing the proper left, flanked by two *chauris*, and surmounted by a crescent, an elephant-goad and the sun; and at the bottom a conch, a drum, a four-petalled flower, a flower-bud and a throne.

The alphabet is Telugu and the language Sanskrit verse and prose. The Telugu letters *r* and *ḷ* occur in a number of Telugu names which are quoted in l. 90 f. Of graphical peculiarities I would note that in *yū* (ll. 54 and 90) and *mū* (l. 95) the vowel *ū* is represented by the marks for *u* and *ā*.

The inscription opens with the same genealogical account of the Eastern Chālukya family as the Chellūr and Piṭhāpuram plates of Vira-Chōḍa,³ but begins to differ in the description of the reign of Kulōttuṅga I. It does not mention his queen Madhurāntaki, but states that he had several queens (v. 11), who bore him several sons⁴ (v. 12). On one of these, Mummaḍi-Chōḍa,—whose name is given as Rājarāja in the Chellūr and Piṭhāpuram plates,—he conferred the governorship of Vēṅgi after the death of his own paternal uncle Vijayāditya (VII.) (vv. 13-16). One year later (v. 17) he bestowed the same appointment on Mummaḍi-Chōḍa's younger brother, Vira-Chōḍa (v. 18), who held it for six years (v. 19), when he was recalled (v. 20). Then the eldest son, Chōḍagaṅga, surnamed Rājarāja (vv. 21-26), ascended the throne of Vēṅgi (v. 33) in Śaka-Samvat 1006 (in numerical words), on Thursday, the full-moon *tithi* of Jyāishṭha, in the *nakshatra* Jyēshṭhā and in the *lagna* Simha (v. 34). This date

¹ The words in brackets are supplied on the strength of the Sanskrit portion of the Tirumalai inscription (A. above).

² No. 122 on the *Madras Survey Map* of the Rāmachandrapuram tāluka of the Gōdāvari district.

³ *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. I. No. 39, and above, Vol. V. No. 10, respectively.

⁴ According to v. 13 of the Chellūr plates and v. 12 of the Piṭhāpuram plates Kulōttuṅga I. had seven sons by Madhurāntaki.

EPIGRAPHIA INDICA.

VOLUME VII.

No. 1.— DATES OF CHOLA KINGS.

By F. KIELHORN, PH.D., LL.D., C.I.E.; GÖTTINGEN.

(Continued from Vol. VI. page 285.)

A.—PARANTAKA I.

55.— In the Kēśava-Perumāḷ temple at Kūram.¹

- 1 Svast[i] śr[i] [||*] [Ma]d[irai ko]pā=ī[lam] pu[gun]da [kô]=Pparakkē[sa]ri[pan]-
ma[r*]k[ku] yāṇḍu nāṇḍāḍu
2 i[✓*]v-āt[t]ai . . . [ḍa]ga-²nāya[r]ru
nava[m]iyum perṇa Urōyaṇi-nāḷ irātri.

“In the fortieth year (of the reign) of king Parakēsarivarman who took Maḍirai and entered ḷam,— at night on the day of Rōhiṇi, which corresponded to a Saturday and to the ninth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of [Karkatā]ka in this year.”

Although I am unable to give with confidence the actual equivalent of this date, I may state that between A.D. 900 and 985 the only years for which the date would be quite regular are A.D. 919 and 946.

For A.D. 919 the date would correspond to Saturday, the 24th July, which was the 30th day of the month of Karkatāka, and on which the 9th *tithi* of the dark half (of the month Śrāvaṇa) ended 4 h. 41 m.; and the *nakṣatra* was Rōhiṇi for 17 h. 44 m., after mean sunrise.

And for A.D. 946 it would correspond to Saturday, the 25th July, which was the last day of the month of Karkatāka, and on which the 9th *tithi* of the dark half (of the month Śrāvaṇa) ended 13 h. 11 m. after mean sunrise, and the *nakṣatra* was Rōhiṇi the whole day.

B.—KULOTTUNGA-CHOLA I.

56.— In the Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa temple at Kāvāntaṇḍalam.³

- 1 Svasti śrī [||*] Tiru ma[ṇi] viḷaṅga

¹ No. 34 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1900.

² Read perhaps *Karkatāga*.

³ No. 206 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1901; *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. III. No. 77.

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would work out, if the date No. 42 were really, as it is stated to be, a date of the 9th year of Vikrama-Chôla's reign. Supposing this to be the case, the king's reign would have commenced some time between approximately the 28th May A.D. 1118 and the 27th May A.D. 1119, and with such a commencement of the reign the dates Nos. 21, 22 and 41 would yield the following equivalents:—

No. 21, of the 4th year, would correspond to Monday, the 1st May A.D. 1122. This was the 7th day of the month of Vṛishabha, and on it the 8th *tithi* of the dark half (of the month Vaiśākha) ended 13 h. 28 m., while the *nakshatra* was Śatabhishaj, by the equal space system and according to Garga from 0 h. 39 m., and by the Brahma-siddhanta from 1 h. 19 m., after mean sunrise.

No. 22, of the 5th year, would correspond to Monday, the 31st July A.D. 1122. This was the 4th day of the month of Simha, and on it the 11th *tithi* of the dark half (of the month Śrāvana) ended 4 h. 24 m., while the *nakshatra* was Ārdra, by the equal space system for 12 h. 29 m., and according to Garga for 0 h. 39 m., after mean sunrise.

No. 41, of the 16th year, would correspond to Monday, the 16th April A.D. 1124, when the 6th *tithi* of the dark half of Vaiśākha ended 13 h. 11 m., and the *nakshatra* was Uttarāshādhā, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 23 h. 38 m., and by the Brahma-siddhanta for 17 h. 4 m., after mean sunrise.

It is quite clear then, that, supposing the king's reign to have commenced between approximately the 28th May A.D. 1118 and the 27th May A.D. 1119, the three dates Nos. 21, 22 and 41 would work out in the best possible manner—better, in fact, than with the 18th July A.D. 1108 as the commencement of his reign, because on the equivalent here found for the date No. 22 the *nakshatra* really was Ārdra, whereas on the equivalent previously given for the same date the *nakshatra* was found to be Punarvasu (instead of the *nakshatra* Ārdra, quoted by the original date).

To the date No. 10 I shall have to revert below. For the present it will be sufficient to state that, irrespectively of No. 10, the four dates Nos. 21, 22, 41 and 42 for the commencement of the reign appear to yield some day between approximately the 28th May and the 31st July A.D. 1118. The new dates of Vikrama-Chôla may be expected to shew whether his reign really commenced at the time here given or on the 18th July A.D. 1108.

* * * * *

57.—In the Tyāgarāja temple at Tiruvārūr.¹

8 [Tribhuvana]cha[kra]vatti[gal] śr[ī-Vikrama]-Ch[ô]la[dēvarkku
y]āpdu aṇjāvadu Midhuna-nāyag[u pūrvva]-paksha[t*]tu pa[ñchami]y[u]m
Magamum peṇṇa Vi[yā]la-[kk]iḷamai-nāi.

“In the fifth year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Vikrama-Chôladēva,—on a Thursday which corresponded to (the day of) Maghā and to the fifth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Mithuna.”

If the king's reign commenced on the 18th July A.D. 1108, this date would correspond to Thursday, the 19th June A.D. 1119, which was the 26th day of the month of Mithuna, and on which the 5th *tithi* of the bright half (of the month Āshāḍha) commenced 5 h. 15 m., and the *nakshatra* was Maghā, by the equal space system only, for 7 h. 53 m., after mean sunrise.

On the other hand, if the reign commenced between the 28th May and the 31st July A.D. 1118, the date must correspond to Thursday, the 31st May A.D. 1123, which was the 6th day

¹ No. 164 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1894. Another date, which occurs in line 3 of the same inscription, was published above, Vol. IV. p. 78, No. 10.

of the month of **Mithuna**, and on which the 5th *tithi* of the bright half (of the first **Āshāḍha**) ended 11 h. 37 m., and the *nakshatra* was **Maghā**, by the **Brahma-siddhānta** for 11 h. 10 m., according to **Garga** for 13 h. 47 m., and by the equal space system from 1 h. 19 m., after mean sunrise.

Theoretically both the equivalents found might be taken to satisfy the requirements of the case, but there can be no doubt that the second, **Thursday**, the 31st May A.D. 1123, would be preferable because the *tithi* of the date ended on that day. This date therefore also would tend to shew, though it would not actually prove, that the king's reign commenced in A.D. 1118.

58.— In the **Divyajñānēśvara** temple at **Kōvilāḍi**.¹

1 Svasti śrī [H*] I(ti)ribuva[na]śakkaravattigaḷ śrī-Vikkirama-Śōḷadēvaṅk=iyāṇḍu
llāva[ḍ]u Magara-nāyaṅgu [p]ū[rva]-

2 pakshat[ṭ]u trai(trā)yō[da*]śiyum Śaṅgi-kīlāmaiyum peṅga P[u]narbuda-nā].

"In the 11th year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious **Vikrama-Chōḷadēva**,²—on the day of **Punarvasu**, which corresponded to a **Saturday** and to the thirteenth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of **Makara**."

If the king's reign commenced on the 18th July A.D. 1108, this date would correspond to **Friday**, the 27th December A.D. 1118, which was the 3rd day of the month of **Makara**, and on which the 13th *tithi* of the bright half (of the month **Pausha**) ended 16 h. 30 m. after mean sunrise, and the *nakshatras* were **Mrigaśirsha** and **Ārdrā**.

On the other hand, if the king's reign commenced between the 28th May and the 31st July A.D. 1118, the date will correspond to **Saturday**, the 5th January A.D. 1129, which was the 13th day of the month of **Makara**, and on which the 13th *tithi* of the bright half (of the month **Pausha**) ended 5 h. 49 m. after mean sunrise, and the *nakshatra* was **Punarvasu**, by the **Brahma-siddhānta** and according to **Garga** the whole day, and by the equal space system from 9 h. 12 m. after mean sunrise.

As this date then would be entirely incorrect if the king's reign had commenced in A.D. 1108, and is in every way correct on the assumption that the reign commenced in A.D. 1118, I take it to prove that the latter was really the case. And in my opinion the six dates Nos. 21, 22, 41, 42, 57 and 58, for which—in entire agreement with the original *data*—absolutely faultless equivalents have now been given, shew beyond a doubt that the reign of **Vikrama-Chōḷa** must have commenced between approximately the 1st June and the 31st July A.D. 1118.

* * * * *

With the result now obtained, the equivalent previously given for the date No. 10 cannot, of course, be the proper equivalent of that date. A comparison of the dates No. 10 and No. 57, which are both from the same inscription, at once suggests to us that No. 10 is only three days later than No. 57. Both dates are of the first fortnight of the month of **Mithuna** of the 5th year of the king's reign; the week-day of No. 57 is **Thursday**, and that of No. 10 **Sunday**; and the *nakshatra* of No. 57 is **Maghā** (10), while that of No. 10 is **Hasta** (13). If then the equivalent of No. 57 is **Thursday**, the 31st May A.D. 1123, the equivalent of No. 10 can only be **Sunday**, the 3rd June A.D. 1123. This day was the 9th day of the month of **Mithuna**, and on it the *nakshatra* was **Hasta**, by the **Brahma-siddhānta** for 22 h. 59 m., and by the equal space system and according to **Garga** from 1 h. 58 m., after mean sunrise; but the *tithi* which ended on the same day, 10 h. 12 m. after mean sunrise, was the 8th, not the 7th *tithi*, of the bright half.

¹ No. 276 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1901.

² It is impossible to say *a priori* whether the son of **Kulōttuṅga I.** is meant.

Considering the complete agreement of the six dates previously treated of, I have no doubt whatever that Sunday, the 3rd June A.D. 1123, is really the day intended by the date No. 10, and that the writer of this date, in recording the *tithi*, has erroneously written *saptamiyum*, instead of *ashvamiyum*.

Since the date No. 10 is stated to have been the 340th day of the 5th year of the king's reign, the first day of that year would now have been the 29th June A.D. 1122, and the accession of Vikrama-Chōla must have taken place on (approximately) the 20th June A.D. 1118.¹

The result now arrived at receives an unexpected confirmation from a reconsideration of the date No. 43 (above, Vol. VI. p. 281). This date is of the seventeenth year (given in words) of the king's reign, and of the Śaka year 1054 (given in figures only), and gives us for calculation Thursday, the third *tithi* of the bright half of Vaiśākha. When previously examining it, I found that for Śaka-Saṃvat 1054 current it would correspond to Thursday, the 2nd April A.D. 1131; and as I found it to be incorrect for what I then had to consider the 17th year of the king's reign, I felt no hesitation in accepting Thursday, the 2nd April A.D. 1131, as the true equivalent of the date, and in assuming that the regnal year had been quoted erroneously.

But now, with the 29th June A.D. 1118 as the date of the king's accession, a date in the month Vaiśākha of his seventeenth year will be expected to fall in A.D. 1135, and for this year the date regularly corresponds to Thursday, the 18th April A.D. 1135, when the third *tithi* of the bright half of Vaiśākha ended 9 h. 30 m. after mean sunrise. I now therefore assume that the date is really of the 17th year of Vikrama-Chōla's reign, and that the Śaka year 1054 has been erroneously quoted instead of 1057 (expired).

59.—In the Vaidyanātha temple at Tirumalavāḍi.²

This inscription is dated in the 15th year of the reign of "king Parakēsarivarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Vikrama-Chōladēva." In the introduction it is stated that he made gifts to the temple at Chidambaram on the following date:³—

24 -ppattām-āṇḍil [Ś]i[t]tirai-ttiṅga[!]. Attā-
25 m. perṇa. Ādittavārattu-[t]tiru-vaḷar-madiyin trayōdaśi-ppakkat[!u].

"In the tenth year, (in) the month of Śittirai, on a Sunday which corresponded to (the day of) Haste, (on) the thirteenth *tithi* of the fortnight of the auspicious waxing moon."

This date, of the month of Śittirai (or Mēsha) of the 10th year of the king's reign, would be expected to fall in A.D. 1128, and for that year it would actually correspond to Sunday, the 15th April A.D. 1128, which was the 23rd day of the month of Śittirai, and on which the 13th *tithi* of the bright half (of the month Vaiśākha) ended 1 h. 25 m. after mean sunrise. But the *nakṣatra* on this day was Chitrā, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 17 h. 44 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 14 h. 27 m., after mean sunrise.— If the week-day of the

¹ The following statement will shew at a glance what mistakes the seven dates Nos. 10, 21, 22, 41, 43, 57 and 68 would necessarily contain, if the accession had taken place on either the 18th July 1108 or the 29th June A.D. 1113. If it had taken place on the 18th July A.D. 1108,—

in No. 22, *Ārdra* would have been wrongly quoted for *Punarvasu*;
in No. 43, the 9th year would have been wrongly quoted instead of the 19th;
No. 55 would be entirely incorrect.

On the other hand, assuming it to have taken place on the 29th June A.D. 1118,—
in No. 10, *saptamiyum* is wrong for *ashvamiyum*.

² No. 82 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1895; *South-Ind. Inscri.* Vol. III. No. 79.

³ The same date is quoted in the introduction of an inscription of the 11th year at Alāṅḡudi (No. 163 of 1931, 1, 4 f.).

date were Saturday, the date would correspond to Saturday, the 14th April A.D. 1128, when the 13th *tithi* of the bright half commenced 2 h. 33 m., and the *nakshatra* was Hasta, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 17 h. 44 m., and by the Brahma-siddhanta for 14 h. 27 m., after mean sunrise.—The earliest year of Vikrama-Chôla's reign, in which the date, as recorded, is quite correct, would be the 13th, for which the date would correspond to Sunday, the 12th April A.D. 1131, with the *nakshatra* Hasta.

D.—KULOTTUNGA-CHOLA III.

60.—In the Sômanâthêśvara temple at Sômaṅgalam.¹

1 Tribhuvanachchakravarttigal Maduraiyum=[Ī]lamuṇ-ḡoṇḡ=aruḷiṇa
śrī-Kulôttuṅga-Śôladêvarku yāṇḍu lāṅvadu Magara-nāyarkku pū[r]va-pakshattu
Viyāla-kkiḷamaiyum Pū[śa]mum prathamaiyum-āṇav-aṇṇu.

"In the 14th year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulôttuṅga-Chôladêva who was pleased to take Madurai and Īlam,—on a day which was Thursday, (the day of) Pushya, and the first *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Makara."

The wording of this date is intrinsically wrong, because during the month of Makara the moon can never be anywhere near the *nakshatra* Pushya on the first *tithi* of the first fortnight. The probability is that the first fortnight has been erroneously quoted instead of the second, and for the second fortnight the date is correct.

A date of the month of Makara of the 14th year of the king's reign will be expected to fall in December A.D. 1191 or in January A.D. 1192, and in my opinion this date actually corresponds to Thursday, the 2nd January A.D. 1192, which was the 8th day of the month of Makara, and on which the first *tithi* of the dark half (of the month Pausa) ended 10 h. 12 m., and the *nakshatra* was Pushya, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 3 h. 56 m., and by the Brahma-siddhanta for 1 h. 58 m., after mean sunrise.

For convenience of reference I give below a list of all the dates of Chôla kings examined in Vols. IV.—VII., with the exception only of the date of the 40th year of Parāntaka I., No. 55, for which, as possible equivalents, I have given above Saturday, the 24th July A.D. 919, and Saturday, the 25th July A.D. 946. Under the name of each king, I state approximately the time when he must have commenced to reign.

A.—Rājarāja I. Rājakēsarivarman.²

(Between the 25th June and the 25th July A.D. 985.)³

- No. 1 (Vol. IV. p. 66).—Year 7: the 26th September A.D. 991.
No. 25 (Vol. V. p. 48).—Year 15: Tuesday, the 29th August A.D. 999.
No. 27 (Vol. V. p. 197).—Year 15: Wednesday, the 15th May A.D. 1000.⁴
No. 2 (Vol. IV. p. 67).—Śaka 929 (current). This date is incorrect.
No. 3 (Vol. IV. p. 68).—Year 28, Śaka 934. The date would correspond to the 23rd December A.D. 1012, but contains no details for verification.

¹ No. 138 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1901.

² Or Kēsarivarman.

³ See Vol. VI. p. 20.

⁴ In the original date the week-day is wrongly given as Thursday, instead of Wednesday.

B.—Rājendra-Chōla I. Parakēsarivarman.

(Between the 26th November A.D. 1011 and the 7th July A.D. 1022.)

- No. 32 (Vol. VI. p. 20).—Year 9, Śaka 943 (current) : Thursday, the 7th July A.D. 1021.
 No. 4 (Vol. IV. p. 68).—Śaka 943 (current) : Wednesday, the 1st March A.D. 1021.
 No. 5 (Vol. IV. p. 69).—Year 31 (for 21),¹ Śaka 954 : Monday, the 2nd October A.D. 1032.
 No. 23 (Vol. VI. p. 21).—Year 22, Śaka 955 : Sunday, the 25th November A.D. 1033.
 No. 34 (Vol. VI. p. 21).—Year 26, Śaka 959. This date is incorrect.

C.—Rājādhirāja Rājakēsarivarman.

(Between the 15th March and the 3rd December A.D. 1015.)

- No. 15 (Vol. IV. p. 218).—Year [3]2 (for 22) : Thursday, the 22nd November A.D. 1043.
 No. 12 (Vol. IV. p. 216).—Year 26 : Wednesday, the 14th March A.D. 1044.
 No. 13 (Vol. IV. p. 217).—Year 27 : Wednesday, the 13th February A.D. 1045.
 No. 14 (Vol. IV. p. 217).—Year 29 : Wednesday, the 3rd December A.D. 1046.²
 No. 11 (Vol. IV. p. 216).—Year 30, Śaka 970 (current). The date does not admit of verification.
 No. 35 (Vol. VI. p. 22).—Year 35, Śaka 975 : probably Sunday, the 23rd May A.D. 1052.³

D.—Rājendradēva Parakēsarivarman.⁴

(The 28th May A.D. 1052.)

- No. 38 (Vol. VI. p. 24).—The 82nd day of year 4 : Thursday, the 17th August A.D. 1055.
 No. 36 (Vol. VI. p. 23).—Year 6, Śaka 979 : Monday, the 27th October A.D. 1057.
 No. 37 (Vol. VI. p. 23).—Year 12 (for 11 ?), Śaka 984. The date does not admit of verification.

E.—Kulōttuṅga-Chōla I. Rājakēsarivarman.

(Between the 14th March and the 8th October A.D. 1070.)⁵

- No. 56 (Vol. VII. p. 1).—Year 4 : Thursday, the 7th November A.D. 1073.
 No. 39 (Vol. VI. p. 278).—Year 7, Śaka 998 : Friday, the 10th February A.D. 1077.⁶
 No. 6 (Vol. IV. p. 70).—Year 37, Śaka 1030 (for 1028 ?). The date does not admit of verification.
 No. 9 (Vol. IV. p. 72).—Śaka 1035 : Sunday, the 22nd February A.D. 1114.
 No. 7 (Vol. IV. p. 70).—Year 44 : Friday, the 13th March A.D. 1114.
 No. 8 (Vol. IV. p. 71).—Year 45 : Thursday, the 8th October A.D. 1114.

¹ See Vol. VI. p. 22.

² In the original date the second *tithi* (*dvitigaigum*) is wrongly quoted instead of the third (*tritiyaigum*).
³ In the original date the 13th *tithi* has probably been wrongly quoted instead of the third. Assuming the above to be the true equivalent of the date, Rājādhirāja's reign would have commenced after (approximately) the 23rd May A.D. 1018.

⁴ In No. 37 surnamed Rājakēsarivarman.

⁵ If the dates 5 and 6 given by Dr. Hultzsch above, Vol. VI. p. 231, from No. 389 and No. 366 of 1898 can be trusted—and I see no reason to suspect them—the king's reign must have commenced on approximately the 9th June A.D. 1070. The first day of his 37th year would have been the 9th June A.D. 1106, and the 259th day of that year the 24th March A.D. 1107, which was the day of the Mēsha-(Vishuva-)sankranti and Chaitra-radi 13 of Śaka 1029 expired.

⁶ In the original date the month Māgha is wrongly quoted instead of Phālguna.

No. 40 (Vol. VI. p. 279).—Year 45, Śaka 1036: Wednesday, the 9th December A.D. 1114.¹

No. 26 (Vol. V. p. 48).—Year 48: Monday, the 7th January A.D. 1118.

Nos. 20 and 28 (Vol. IV. p. 262, and Vol. V. p. 198).—Year 48: Friday, the 25th January A.D. 1118.²

F.—Vikrama-Chōla Parakēsarivarman.

(The 29th June A.D. 1118.)

No. 21 (Vol. IV. p. 263, and Vol. VII. p. 3).—Year 4: Monday, the 1st May A.D. 1122.

No. 22 (Vol. IV. p. 264, and Vol. VII. p. 3).—Year 5: Monday, the 31st July A.D. 1122.

No. 57 (Vol. VII. p. 3).—Year 5: Thursday, the 31st May A.D. 1123.

No. 10 (Vol. IV. p. 73, and Vol. VII. p. 4).—The 340th day of year 5: Sunday, the 3rd June A.D. 1123.³

No. 42 (Vol. VI. p. 280).—Year 9, Śaka 1049: the 27th May A.D. 1127.

No. 59 (Vol. VII. p. 5).—Year 10: Sunday, the 15th April, or Saturday, the 14th April, A.D. 1128.⁴

No. 58 (Vol. VII. p. 4).—Year 11: Saturday, the 5th January A.D. 1129.

No. 41 (Vol. VI. p. 279, and Vol. VII. p. 3).—Year 16: Monday, the 16th April A.D. 1134.

No. 43 (Vol. VI. p. 281, and Vol. VII. p. 5).—Year 17, Śaka 1054 (for 1057): Thursday, the 18th April A.D. 1135.

G.—Kulōttuṅga-Chōla III. Parakēsarivarman.

(Between the 8th June and the 8th July A.D. 1178.)

No. 23 (Vol. IV. p. 264).—Year 8: Monday, the 8th July A.D. 1185.

No. 19 (Vol. IV. p. 220).—Year 12: Monday, the 4th December A.D. 1189.

No. 60 (Vol. VII. p. 6).—Year 14: Thursday, the 2nd January A.D. 1192.⁵

No. 24 (Vol. IV. p. 265).—Year 16: Saturday, the 4th June A.D. 1194.⁶

No. 17 (Vol. IV. p. 219).—Year 19: Tuesday, the 12th November A.D. 1196.

No. 16 (Vol. IV. p. 219).—Year 19 (for 20), Śaka 1119: Friday, the 21st November A.D. 1197.⁷

No. 31 (Vol. V. p. 199).—Year 20. This date is quite incorrect.

No. 44 (Vol. VI. p. 281).—Year 27: Thursday, the 5th May A.D. 1205.

No. 29 (Vol. V. p. 198).—Year 29: Wednesday, the 7th March A.D. 1207.

No. 18 (Vol. IV. p. 220).—Year 34: Monday, the 19th September A.D. 1211.

No. 30 (Vol. V. p. 199).—Year 37: Sunday, the 7th June A.D. 1215.

¹ The original date contains the expression *atiardyaṣa-vyattipdā-nimittamuna*, the exact import of which here and elsewhere is doubtful.

² In the original date No. 28 the 12th *tithi* is wrongly quoted instead of the second which is correctly given in No. 20.

³ In the original date the 7th *tithi* (*saptamiyum*) is wrongly quoted instead of the 8th (*astamiyum*).

⁴ In the original date either the *nakṣatra* or the week-day is quoted incorrectly.

⁵ In the original date the first fortnight is wrongly quoted instead of the second.

⁶ In the original date the 4th *tithi* is wrongly quoted instead of the 14th.

⁷ In the original date the 15th solar day is wrongly quoted instead of the 25th.

H.—Rājarāja III. Rājakesarivarman.¹

(Between the 17th March and the 18th August A.D. 1216.)²

No. 45 (Vol. VI. p. 281).—Year opposite to 16: Saturday, the 25th September A.D. 1232.

No. 46 (Vol. VI. p. 282).—Year 17: Tuesday, the 18th January A.D. 1233.

No. 47 (Vol. VI. p. 282).—Year 18: Tuesday, the 28th August A.D. 1233.

No. 48 (Vol. VI. p. 282).—Year 18: Wednesday, the 7th December A.D. 1233.

No. 49 (Vol. VI. p. 283).—Year 18: Monday, the 2nd January A.D. 1234.

No. 50 (Vol. VI. p. 283).—Year 19: probably Sunday, the 18th August A.D. 1234.³

No. 51 (Vol. VI. p. 284).—Year 22: Tuesday, the 16th March A.D. 1238.⁴

No. 52 (Vol. VI. p. 284).—Year opposite to 22: Monday, the 28th February A.D. 1239.

No. 53 (Vol. VI. p. 284).—Year opposite to 22: Wednesday, the 2nd March A.D. 1239.

No. 54 (Vol. VI. p. 285).—Year opposite to 22: Friday, the 4th March A.D. 1239.⁴

To the above I may add that, between A.D. 1054 and 1069, the date of the fifth year (of the reign) of Virarājendra Rājakesarivarman, which occurs in *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. III. No. 30, is correct only for Monday, the 10th September A.D. 1067,⁵ and that therefore, if the date does fall within the sixteen years stated and has been correctly recorded, Virarājendra Rājakesarivarman must have commenced to reign between (approximately) the 11th September A.D. 1062 and the 10th September A.D. 1063.

POSTSCRIPT.

Date of the Chellūr plates of Kulōttunga-Chōda II.

In the text of these plates, published by Dr. Fleet with a photo-lithograph in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIV. p. 56 ff., the date, in lines 49-51, is given thus:—

Śāk-ābdānām pramāṇē rasa-viśikha-viyach-chaṇdra-saṁkhyān prayātē . . . s-Ādra-rkshē pūrvva-ma(pa)kshē vishuvati su-tithā(tha)---

i.e. "when the measure of the Śaka years had advanced to the number of the flavours (6), the arrows (5), the sky (0), and the moon (1),"—i.e. in Śaka-Samvat 1056 — . . . "at the equinox combined with the Ādrā nakshatra, in the bright half, on an excellent tithi."

In *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XX. p. 191, Dr. Fleet has shown that this date would be incorrect for Śaka-Samvat 1056 current and expired, as well as for Śaka-Samvat 1057 expired; and he has communicated a suggestion of Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit's, in accordance with which the date would correspond to the 24th March A.D. 1132, in Śaka-Samvat 1055 current. But really the date would be incorrect even for Śaka-Samvat 1055 current, because in this year also the equinox was not combined with the Ādrā nakshatra.

In the twenty Śaka years from 1047 to 1066 the date is correct only for Śaka-Samvat 1065 expired. In this year the Mēsha-vishuva-saṁkrānti took place 16 h. 37 m. after mean sunrise

¹ This surname occurs only in the date No. 45.

² The latest date of this Rājārāja, known to me, is from the month of Karkāṭaka of his 28th year which was current after the Śaka year 1166; see *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. I. No. 64. This date would show that Rājārāja's reign could not have commenced after the last day of the month of Karkāṭaka in A.D. 1216, i.e. not later than the 27th July A.D. 1216.

³ In the original date either the nakshatra Uttirāṭṭādi (Uttara-Bhādrapadā) has been wrongly quoted instead of Uttirām (Uttara-Phalguni), or the first fortnight instead of the second.

⁴ In the original date the 4th tithi has been wrongly quoted instead of the 14th.

⁵ The day was the 15th day of the month of Kanyā, and on it the 14th tithi of the dark half (of the month Bhādrapada) ended 9 h. 21 m. after mean sunrise; the nakshatra was Uttara-Phalguni, by the Brahma-siddhānta for 21 h. 40 m. after mean sunrise, according to Garga the whole day, and by the equal space system from 0 h. 39 m. after mean sunrise.

of the 24th March A.D. 1143, and on this day the 7th *tithi* of the bright half of Chaitra commenced 8 h. 9 m., and the *nakshatra* by the equal space system was Ārdra for 23 h. 48 m., after mean sunrise; *i.e.* the equinox took place while the moon was in the *nakshatra* Ārdra, during the 7th *tithi* of the bright half. This result, moreover, shows that the *tithi* on the day now given by me was really, in agreement with the term *su-tithi* of the original text, an excellent *tithi*; for, a seventh *tithi* of the bright half, on which — as is the case in the present instance — a Saṁkrānti takes place, is called *Mahājyā*, and for making donations is superior even to an eclipse.¹

For these reasons I have no doubt whatever that the 24th March A.D. 1143 is the proper equivalent of the date, and that the Śaka year intended is 1065, not 1056. The writer of the date has wrongly written *rasa-viśikha*-, instead of *viśikha-rasa*-.

No. 2.—DATES OF PANDYA KINGS.

By F. KIELHORN, PH.D., LL.D., C.L.E.; GÖTTINGEN.

(Continued from Vol. VI. page 315.)

I herewith publish thirteen more Pāṇḍya dates, the European equivalents of which may be given with certainty. Eight of these dates, in addition to regnal years, also give the Śaka years in which the dates fell, and the three latest dates, Nos. 41-43, also quote the corresponding Jovian years, according to the southern luni-solar system. I have still a number of other dates — of apparently twelve different Pāṇḍya kings — the publication of which may be deferred to the time when more dates of the same kings have been discovered.²

A.—VIRA-PANDYA.

31.—In the Kailāsapati temple at Śrivaikunṭham.³

2 śrī-Vi(vi)ra-Pāṇḍiyadē[va]ṅku yā-
3 ṇḍu 15vaḍu Kā[r*]tt[i]gai-mā[da*]ttu 13 tiyad[i]yum apara-pakshattu
saptam[i]yum Viśāla-kkiḷamaiyum perṇa Magattu nāl.

“In the 15th year (of the reign) of the glorious Vira-Pāṇḍyadēva, — on the day of Maghā, which corresponded to a Thursday, and to the seventh *tithi* of the second fortnight, and to the 13th solar day of the month of Kārttigai.”

Between A.D. 1200 and 1500 the only year for which this date would be correct, is 1267. In this year the Vṛ̥schika-saṁkrānti took place 13 h. 33 m. after mean sunrise of Friday, the 28th October. The 13th day of the month of Vṛ̥schika (or Kārttigai) therefore was Thursday, the 10th November A.D. 1267; and on this day the 7th *tithi* of the dark half (of the month Kārttika) ended 8 h. 9 m., and the *nakshatra* was Maghā, by the equal space system for 19 h. 42 m., by the Brahma-siddhānta for 5 h. 16 m., and according to Garga for 7 h. 53 m., after mean sunrise.

¹ Compare *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXVI. p. 178.

² The date No. 32, here published, has been sent to me by Dr. Hultzsch quite recently. It proves the correctness of the equivalent which I had previously ascertained for the date No. 31, but which for want of confirmation I did not wish to publish with my first series of Pāṇḍya dates.

³ No. 174 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1895.

32.—In the Akshēśvara temple at Achcharapākkam.¹

- 1 Svasti śrī [i*] Tribhuvāṇach[cha]kra[va]ttiga[ī] śr[ī]-Vi[ra]-Pāṇḍi[ya]dēvaṛkku
[y]āṇḍu 7[va]ḍu Kaṛkaḍaga-nāyaṛru apa[ra]-pakshattu N[ā]-
2 yaṛru-k[i]lamai[yu]m saptamiyum peṛra Aśvati-nā[ī].

“In the 7th year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Vira-Pāṇḍyadēva,— on the day of Aśvini, which corresponded to a Sunday and to the seventh *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Karkāṭaka.”

If the equivalent found for the date No. 31, which is of the 15th year of the king's reign, is the true equivalent of that date, this date No. 32, which is of the 7th year of the same reign, will in the first instance be expected to fall in A.D. 1259. The date actually corresponds to Sunday, the 13th July A.D. 1259, which was the 17th day of the month of Karkāṭaka, and on which the 7th *tithi* of the dark half (of the month Āshāḍha) ended 11 h. 3 m., and the *nakṣatra* was Aśvini for 19 h. 3 m., after mean sunrise.

The two dates Nos. 31 and 32 together shew that the reign of Vira-Pāṇḍya commenced between (approximately) the 11th November A.D. 1252 and the 13th July A.D. 1253.

B.—MARAVARMAN PARAKRAMA-PANDYA.

33.—In the Rishabhēśvara temple at Śeṅgama.²

- 1 Svasti śrīḥ [i*] Śakā[bda][m*] 1262ṇ mēl kō Mārappaṇmar T[i]ru(ri)bu-
[va*]ṇasakravattiga[ī] śrī-Parākrama-Pāṇḍiyadēvaṛkku yāṇḍu 6[vadu] Vṛś-
chika-nāyaṛru pūrvva-pakshattu dvādaśiyum Budāṇ-ki[ī]lamaiyum peṛra*]
2 Uttarattādi-n[ā][i*].

“After the Śaka year 1262 (*had passed*), in the 6th year (of the reign) of king Māravarman (*alias*) the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Parākrama-Pāṇḍyadēva, — on the day of Uttara-Bhadrpadā, which corresponded to a Wednesday and to the twelfth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Vṛśchika.”

For Śaka-Saṃvat 1262 expired this date regularly corresponds to Wednesday, the 1st November A.D. 1340, which was the 5th day of the month of Vṛśchika, and on which the 12th *tithi* of the bright half (of the month Kārttika) ended 22 h. 56 m., and the *nakṣatra* was Uttara-Bhadrpadā for 1 h. 19 m., after mean sunrise.

34.—In the Kailāsanātha temple at Maṇṇārguḍi.³

- 1 Svast[i] śr[ī] [i*] Kō [M]ārappaṇmar Tr[i]bhuvāṇachakra[vatti]ga[ī] [śrī]-
Parākrama-Pā[ṇ]ḍiyadēvaṛkku yā[ṇḍu] 8vadu Dhana-[n]āyaṛru apara-
pakshattu navamiyu[m] V[e]ḷḷi-kk[i]lam[ai]yum peṛ[ra]
2 Attattu nā[ī].

“In the [8th] year (of the reign) of king Māravarman (*alias*) the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Parākrama-Pāṇḍyadēva,— on the day of Hasta, which corresponded to a Friday and to the ninth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Dhanuṣ.”

If this date were one of the 8th year of the king's reign, it ought, in accordance with the result obtained under No. 33, to fall in Śaka-Saṃvat 1263 or 1264 expired; but for either of these years it would be incorrect. The date, in my opinion, is really one of the 18th (*not* the 8th)

¹ No. 243 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1901.

² No. 113 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1900.

³ No. 100 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1897.

year of the king's reign and corresponds— for Śaka-Samvat 1274 expired— to **Friday, the 30th November A.D. 1352**, which was the 4th day of the month of Dhanus, and on which the 9th *tithi* of the dark half (of the month Mārgaśīrsha) commenced 0 h. 17 m., and the *nakshatra* was **Hasta**, by the Brahma-siddhānta from 0 h. 39 m., and by the equal space system and according to Garga from 2 h. 38 m., after mean sunrise.

The two dates Nos. 33 and 34 would shew that the reign of Māravarman Parākrama-Pāṇḍya commenced between (approximately) the 1st December A.D. 1334 and the 1st November A.D. 1335.

C.—JATAVARMAN PARAKRAMA-PANDYA.

35.—In the Chôlêśvara temple at Chôlapuram near Nagercoil.¹

- 1 6. Svasti śrī [i] Śakābdam 1293ṇ mēl
- 3 śr[ī-k]ô=Chchadaipannmar=āṇa Tribhuvana-
- 4 chehakravartiga! śrī-Parākrama-Pāṇḍiyadēvar iyāṇḍu aṇḍā-
- 5 vadiṇ edir pattāvadu Makara-ṇāyirṇu pūrvva-pakshattu tṛiti(tī)jai-
- 6 yum Vell[i]-kki[la]m[aiyum] peṇṇa Śadaiyattiṇ nāl.

“After the Śaka year 1293 (*had passed*), in the tenth (*year*) opposite to the fifth year (*of the reign*) of the glorious king Jatavarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Parākrama-Pāṇḍyadēva,— on the day of Śatabhishaj, which corresponded to a **Friday** and to the third *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of **Makara**.”

For Śaka-Samvat 1293 expired this date regularly corresponds to **Friday, the 9th January A.D. 1372**, which was the 14th day of the month of **Makara**, and on which the third *tithi* of the bright half (of the month Māgha) ended 19 h. 59 m., and the *nakshatra* was **Śatabhishaj**, by the equal space system for 20 h. 21 m., according to Garga for 11 h. 50 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 9 h. 12 m., after mean sunrise.

Being of the 10th opposite to the 5th, *i.e.* of the 15th year of the king's reign, the date would shew that the reign of Jatavarman Parākrama-Pāṇḍya commenced between (approximately) the 10th January A.D. 1357 and the 9th January A.D. 1358.

D.—JATILAVARMAN PARAKRAMA-PANDYA (ARIKESARIDEVA).

36.—In the Kuttalanātha temple at Kuttalam.²

- 1 Śakābdam 1377 mēl [ś]ellāṇipṇa
- Parākkirā[ma*]-Pāṇḍyadēvarṇu yāṇḍu ślvadiṇ edir y[i]raṇḍāvadū
- Mi(mi)ṇa-jūyayṇu irubattettān=diyadiyum pūrvva-pakshat[t]u shashayam³ Tīngat-
- [k]iḷamaiya(yu)m [pe]ṇṇa Mṛigaś[ir]shattu n[āl].

“In the second (*year*) opposite to the 31st year (*of the reign*) of Parākrama-Pāṇḍyadēva, which was current after the Śaka year 1377 (*had passed*),—on the day of Mṛigaśīrsha, which corresponded to a **Monday**, and to the sixth *tithi* of the first fortnight, and to the twenty-eighth solar day of the month of **Mina**.”

In solar Śaka-Samvat 1377 *current* the Mina-saṅkrānti took place 1 h. 30 m. after mean sunrise of Tuesday, the 25th February A.D. 1455, which was the first day of the month of Mina. The 28th day of the month of Mina therefore was **Monday, the 24th March A.D. 1455**; and on this day the 6th *tithi* of the bright half (of the month Chaitra of luni-solar Śaka-Samvat 1377 *expired*) ended 15 h. 44 m., and the *nakshatra* was **Mṛigaśīrsha**, by the equal

¹ No. 30 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1893.

No. 203 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1895.

² Read *śashatīyūm*.

space system and according to Garga for 10 h. 30 m., and by the Brahma-siddhanta for 9 h. 12 m., after mean sunrise.

37.—In the Viśvanātha temple at Tenkāśi.¹

1 Svasti śrī [||*] Kō Jaṭilavarmanmar=āṇa Tribhuvanaścha(cha)kravartiga! śrī-Parākrama-Pāṇḍyadēvaṅku yāṇḍu muppattonṇāvaḍiṇ edirāvaḍu Ka[r]kkāṭaka-ñāyagru irubattoṇṇān=diyadiyum pūrvva-pakshattu cheha(cha)turddasiyum Tiṅgaṭ-kilamaiyum perṇa Uttirāḍattu nāl.

“(In the year) opposite to the thirty-first year (of the reign) of king Jaṭilavarman alias the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Parākrama-Pāṇḍyadēva,—on the day of Uttarāśhāḍhā, which corresponded to a Monday, and to the fourteenth *tithi* of the first fortnight, and to the twenty-first solar day of the month of Karkāṭaka.”

Judging by the preceding date, this date would be expected to fall in about A.D. 1454; in my opinion, it corresponds to the 19th July A.D. 1453. In A.D. 1453 the Karkāṭa-samkrānti took place 19 h. 36 m. after mean sunrise of the 28th June. The 21st day of the month of Karkāṭaka therefore was the 19th July; and on this day the 14th *tithi* of the bright half (of the month Śrāvaṇa) ended 14 h. 14 m., and the *nakshatra* was Uttarāśhāḍhā, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 18 h. 24 m., and by the Brahma-siddhanta for 11 h. 50 m., after mean sunrise. But the day found was a Thursday, not a Monday.—Since in the whole of the 15th century A.D. there is not a single year for which the date, as recorded by the writer, would be correct, I take Thursday, the 19th July A.D. 1453, to be its proper equivalent, and have no doubt that the writer has quoted the week-day incorrectly.

38.—In the Kuttalanātha temple at Kuttālam.²

1 Svasti śrī [||*]. Kō [Ś]eḍilavaṇmar=ā[na] Tribhuvana[cha]kravatt[i]ga! śr[i]-Parākk[i]rama-Pāṇḍi[yad]ēvaṅku yāṇḍu muppattonṇ[ā]vaḍiṇ edir nā[i]ā[va]ḍu Mi(mi)ṇa-ñāyagru iru[badān=diya]di[ya]m [apa]ra-[pa]kshattu pañchamiy[u]m Budan-kilamaiyum perṇa Anisha[tti=n]āl.

“In the fourth (year) opposite to the thirty-first year (of the reign) of king Jaṭilavarman alias the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Parākrama-Pāṇḍyadēva,—on the day of Anurādhā, which corresponded to a Wednesday, and to the fifth *tithi* of the second fortnight, and to the twentieth solar day of the month of Mīna.”

Judging by the preceding dates, this date would be expected to fall in about A.D. 1457; it actually corresponds to Wednesday, the 16th March A.D. 1457. In A.D. 1457 the Mīna-samkrānti took place 13 h. 55 m. after mean sunrise of Thursday, the 24th February. The 20th day of the month of Mīna therefore was Wednesday, the 16th March; and on this day the 5th *tithi* of the dark half (of the month Phālguna) ended 10 h. 25 m., and the *nakshatra* was Anurādhā, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 4 h. 36 m., and by the Brahma-siddhanta for 0 h. 39 m., after mean sunrise.

39.—In the Viśvanātha temple at Tenkāśi.³

1 Sakābdam āyirattu-munṇūṇṇu-eḷbattu-onṇi māḡ=chellānigra Ar[i]keśar[i]dēvar=āṇa Parākkirama-Pāṇḍiyadēvaṅku yāṇḍu 31[vadu] edir Svadu Miduṇa-ñāyagru irubattumu(mū)-

¹ No. 195 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1895.
² No. 204 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1895.
³ No. 199 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1895.

- 2 $\eta\lambda\alpha\eta$ =diyadiyum $\rho\alpha\gamma\upsilon\alpha$ -pakshat(u-tde(tta)šamiyummyum¹ Budan-kiłamaiyum perra
Šōdi-nā].

"In the 8th (year) opposite to the 31st year (of the reign) of Arikēsaridēva alias Parākrama-Pāṇḍyadēva, which was current after the Śaka year one thousand three hundred and eighty-one (*had passed*),—on the day of Svāti, which corresponded to a Wednesday, and to the tenth *tithi* of the first fortnight, and to the twenty-third solar day of the month of Mithuna."

The three dates Nos. 36-38 shew that the reign of Jatilavarman Parākrama-Pāṇḍya commenced between (approximately) the 25th March and the 19th July A.D. 1422. A date of the month of Mithuna of the 8th year opposite to the 31st year, i.e. of the 39th year, of the same reign should therefore fall in either A.D. 1460 or 1461. Now assuming this date No. 39 to be really one of the 39th regnal year, its proper equivalent could only be Wednesday, the 17th June A.D. 1461. On this day the 10th *tithi* of the bright half (of the month Āshāḍha) ended 17 h. 51 m., and the *nakṣatra* was Svāti, by the equal space system for 19 h. 42 m., by the Brahma-siddhānta for 3 h. 17 m., and according to Garga for 7 h. 13 m., after mean sunrise. But the 17th June A.D. 1461 was the 21st (not the 23rd) day of the month of Mithuna,² and fell in Śaka-Samvat 1383 (not 1381) expired.

No better result would be obtained if we were to assume the writer to have quoted the Śaka year correctly and the regnal year incorrectly. Śaka-Samvat 1381 expired would yield no satisfactory result at all. For Śaka-Samvat 1381 current the date might be said to correspond to Wednesday, the 21st June A.D. 1458, on which day the 10th *tithi* of the bright half (of the month Āshāḍha) ended 15 h. 35 m., and the *nakṣatra* was Svāti, by the equal space system for 10 h. 30 m., after mean sunrise. But the 21st June A.D. 1458 was the 24th (not the 23rd) day of the month of Mithuna³ (and would fall in the 36th or 37th, not the 39th year of the king's reign).

The date therefore is certainly incorrect; but I have hardly any doubt that its incorrectness is caused by the writer's interchanging the last figures of the numbers of the Śaka year and of the solar day (i.e. by his giving us erroneously 1381 instead of 1383, and 23 instead of 21), and that the day intended is Wednesday, the 17th June A.D. 1461. And accepting this result as correct, it would follow that the king's reign commenced between (approximately) the 16th June and the 19th July A.D. 1422.

E.—JATILAVARMAN PARAKRAMA-PANDYA (KULASEKHARA).

40.—In the Viśvanātha temple at Tenkāṣi.⁴

- 1 Śubham=astu [||*] Śakābdam 1421/ mel śellāninga [||*] svasti śri [||*] Kō
Jatilavarmanmar=āna Tribhuvanaśchakravattiga| Kā[r*]ttiga[nā] pīraṇḍi
Parākki[ra*]ma-Pāṇḍiyadēvar
2 āna Kulasekharadēvar nam yāṇḍu irubadāvadu Virichchiga-nāyaggu padinañjān=
diyadiyum 'pūrvava-pakshattu dvādaśiyum Brihaspati-vāramum perra
3 Rēba(va)ti-nā].

"In the twentieth year (of the reign) of king Jatilavarman alias the emperor of the three worlds, Parākrama-Pāṇḍyadēva alias Kulasekharadēva who was born on the day of Kṛittikā, which (year) was current after the Śaka year 1421 (*had passed*),—on the day of Rēvati, which corresponded to a Thursday, and to the twelfth *tithi* of the first fortnight, and to the fifteenth solar day of the month of Vṛiśchika."

¹ Cancel the second *gsm*.

² In A.D. 1461 the Mithuna-samkrānti took place 6 h. 41 m. after mean sunrise of Thursday, the 28th May.

³ In A.D. 1458 the same Samkrānti took place 12 h. 4 m. after mean sunrise of Sunday, the 28th May.

⁴ No. 197 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1895.

⁵ Read *gēra*.

In Śaka-Saṃvat 1421 expired the Vṛiśchika-saṃkrānti took place 13 h. 53 m. after mean sunrise of Wednesday, the 30th October A.D. 1499. The 15th day of the month of Vṛiśchika therefore was Thursday, the 14th November A.D. 1499, and on this day the 12th *tithi* of the bright half (of the month Mārgaśīrsha) ended 16 h. 13 m. after mean sunrise. On the day found the *nakṣatra* by our Tables ceased to be Rēvatī exactly at mean sunrise, but it may be reasonably assumed that by other Tables the moon continued in Rēvatī for some short time after mean sunrise.

Being of the 20th year of the king's reign, the date would shew that the reign of Jaṭilavarman Parākrama-Pāṇḍya Kulaśēkhara commenced between (approximately) the 15th November A.D. 1479 and the 14th November A.D. 1480.

F.—JATILAVARMAN SRIVALLABHA.

41.—In the Viśvanātha temple at Tenkāśi.¹

2 Śakābdam āyirattu-nānūṟṟu-aṇbattu-aṇbadil mēṟ-chellānṟa
 4 kō Jaṭilavarmanmar=āna Tribhuvanachohakrava[r]tti Kōnērmaikonḍ[ā]ṇ
 5 Perumāḷ Śrīvallabhadēva[r]ku yāṇḍu mu(mū)ṇṟāvaḍu [Ē]vilambi-va[r]sham
 Vṛiśchika-[ravi iruba]t[tu]-aṇbadā[n]=diyadiyum [a]para-pakshattu [ē]kā[da]siyu-
 6 m Budha-vāramum peṟṟa Śōdi-nāḷ.

“In the [H]ēvilambin year, the third year (of the reign) of king Jaṭilavarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, Kōnērmaikonḍāṇ Perumāḷ Śrīvallabhadēva, which (year) was current after the Śaka year one thousand four hundred and fifty-nine (*had passed*),—on the day of Svāti, which corresponded to a Wednesday, and to the eleventh *tithi* of the second fortnight, and to the twenty-ninth solar day of (*the month in which*) the sun (*was*) in Vṛiśchika.”

The Jovian year Hēvilambin (Hēmalamba) by the southern luni-solar system corresponds to Śaka-Saṃvat 1459 expired. In this year the Vṛiśchika-saṃkrānti took place on Tuesday, the 30th October A.D. 1537, by the Ārya-siddhānta 9 h. 48 m., and by the Sūrya-siddhānta 12 h. 30 m., after mean sunrise. By the Sūrya-siddhānta therefore—and by the Ārya-siddhānta also in case the Malabar rule was followed²—the month of Vṛiśchika commenced on the 31st October, and the 29th day of that month was Wednesday, the 28th November A.D. 1537. On this day the 11th *tithi* of the dark half (of the month Mārgaśīrsha) ended 9 h. 34 m. after mean sunrise, and the *nakṣatra* was Svāti, by the equal space system during the whole day, by the Brahma-siddhānta for 9 h. 12 m., and according to Garga for 13 h. 8 m., after mean sunrise.

Being of the third year of the king's reign, the date would shew that the reign of Jaṭilavarman Śrīvallabha commenced between (approximately) the 29th November A.D. 1534 and the 28th November A.D. 1535.

G.—MARAVARMAN SUNDARA-PANDYA.

42.—In the Kailāsapati temple at Gaṅgaikonḍāṇ.³

1 Svasti śrī [||*] Kō Māra[vaṇ]mar=āna Tribhuvanachśa(cha)kravat[t]i
 Kōnērmaikonḍā[ṇ] śrī-Sundara-Pāṇḍiyadēva[r]ku yāṇḍu 2 āvaḍu edir
 22 āvaḍukku Śakābda[m*] 1477ṇ mēḷ sellān[i]ṇṟa Irākshasa-varuṣham
 Āṇi-mādam⁴ 3 tēdi⁴ pū[rvva]-pakshattu
 2 duvādesiyum [Manda]-vāramum peṟṟa Śōdi-nāḷ.

¹ No. 200 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1895.

² See Sewell and Dikshit's *Indian Calendar*, p. 12.

³ No. 171 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1895.

⁴ The two words *mādam* and *tēdi* are expressed by their modern abbreviations.

"In the Rākshasa year which was current after the Śaka year 1477 (*had passed*), (*and which corresponded*) to the 22nd (*year*) opposite to the 2nd year (*of the reign*) of king Māravarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, Kōṇērmaikondāṇ, the glorious Sundara-Pāṇḍyadēva,— on the day of Svāti, which corresponded to a Saturday, and to the twelfth *tithi* of the first fortnight, and to the 3rd solar day of the month of Āṇi."

The Jovian year Rākshasa by the southern luni-solar system corresponds to Śaka-Samvat 1477 expired. In this year the Mithuna-samkrānti took place 14 h. 16 m. after mean sunrise of Wednesday, the 29th May A.D. 1555, and the third day of the month of Mithuna (or Āṇi) therefore was Saturday, the 1st June A.D. 1555. This day was entirely occupied by the 12th *tithi* of the bright half (of the month Jyāishṭha), and on it the *nakṣatra* by the equal space system was Svāti for 11 h. 10 m. after mean sunrise.

Being of the 22nd opposite to the 2nd, i.e. of the 24th year of the king's reign, the date would shew that the reign of this Māravarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya commenced between (approximately) the 2nd June A.D. 1531 and the 1st June A.D. 1532.

H.—JATILAVARMAN SRIVALLABHA (ATIVIRARAMA).

43.—In the Kulasēkharamuḍaiyār temple at Tenkāṣi.¹

- 2 Śakā[bda]m 1489 l māl śellāṇṇa [i*] svasti śrī [i*] Kō
 Jāṭilava[r]mmar-āna Tribhuvanachchakrava[r]tt[i] Kōṇērmai[k]o[ṇ]dāṇ
 Śrī-[P]erumā[i]
 3 Alagaṇ-Perumāl Ativīrarāmaṇ Śrīva[i*]labha[d]ēvaṇṇa yāṇḍu aṇ[j]āvaḍu
 Piṇḍava-varuṣham² Āvaṇ[i]-mādam³ 22 tēdi³ apara-[pa]kṣastu(ttu)
 4 tiṇḍigaiyum Śukka[i]ra-vāramum Keṇḍa-[yō]gamum Vapik-karaṇamum perṇa
 Uttirattādi-nāl.

"In the Prabhava year (*corresponding to*) the fifth year (*of the reign*) of king Jāṭilavarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, Kōṇērmaikondāṇ Śrī-Perumāl Alagaṇ-Perumāl Ativīrarāma Śrīvallabhadēva, which (*year*) was current after the Śaka year 1489 (*had passed*),—on the day of Uttara-Bhādrapadā, which corresponded to the Vapik-karaṇa and to the Gaṇḍa-yōga and to a Friday, and to the third *tithi* of the second fortnight, and to the 22nd solar day of the month of Āvaṇi."

The Jovian year Prabhava by the southern luni-solar system corresponds to Śaka-Samvat 1489 expired. In this year the Simha-samkrānti took place 18 h. 35 m. after mean sunrise of Thursday, the 31st July A.D. 1567, and the 22nd day of the month of Simha (or Āvaṇi) therefore was Friday, the 22nd August A.D. 1567. On this day the third *tithi* of the dark half (of the month Bhādrapadā) ended 20 h. 28 m., the *karaṇa* Vapik ended 8 h. 43 m., the *nakṣatra* was Uttara-Bhādrapadā for 1 h. 19 m., and the *yōga* was Gaṇḍa for 11 h. 37 m., after mean sunrise.

Being of the 5th year of the king's reign, the date would shew that the reign of Jāṭilavarman Ativīrarāma Śrīvallabha commenced between (approximately) the 23rd August A.D. 1562 and the 22nd August A.D. 1563.

For convenience of reference I subjoin a list of the above dates, with the approximate commencement of the reign of each king, put in brackets after his name.

¹ No. 202 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1895.

² The three words *varuṣham*, *mādam* and *tēdi* are expressed by their modern abbreviations.

TEXT.¹

- 1 Kō Viśaiya-ī[ch]chuvāra-
- 2 parumaṅki paṇṇira-
- 3 nḍāvadu Kārōniri
- 4 Vāṇarāśar=piḍ[ir]=
- 5 ²Chiraiṭṭ[re]ṇiya Vāṇa-
- 6 rāśar=[ariya] paṭṭār=Ad[i]y[ā][r ||*]

TRANSLATION.

In the twelfth (year of the reign) of king Vijaya-īśvaravarman, when Kārōniri Bāṇarāja seized Śiraiyūr in battle, Adiyār fell, cut down by Bāṇarāja.³

No. 5.— A ROCK-INSRIPTION AT TANDALAM.

By E. HULTZSCH, PH.D.

The existence of this inscription (No. 1 of 1892) was brought to my notice by Mr. E. Srinivasachari, Deputy Collector, Madras. It is engraved on a rock near the tank at Tandalam, a village in the Kārvēṭinagar Zamindāri, 4½ miles west by north of Arkōṇam Junction. With the exception of the two Grantha words *svasti śrī* in the beginning, the alphabet is Tamil, and resembles that of the Vēlūr rock-inscription of Kaṇṇarādēva.⁴

The inscription is dated in the 10th year of Śatti, the king of the Kāḍavas, i.e. Pallavas.⁵ It consists of two Tamil verses, each of which states that Pallavamahārāja built a sluice for the tank at Tandalam. The donor may have been either a relative of, or identical with, Śatti, who, as his title implies, claimed descent from the ancient Pallava dynasty. Pōḷiyūr-nāḍu, to which Tandalam belonged, was perhaps named after the present Pōḷūr, a village 3 miles north-north-west of Arkōṇam Junction.

The Veṅkaṭēśa-Perumāḷ temple on the Tirupati hill bears on the north wall of its first *prākāra* four Chōḷa inscriptions, which were copied from their (now lost) originals when the temple was rebuilt in the fortieth year of Vira-Nārasimhadēva-Yādavarāja. The second and third of these four copies (Nos. 62 and 63 of 1888-89) are dated in the 14th year of "Paratrama-hēndravarman" and "Paratravarman"—evidently misreadings of the copyist for Parakēsarivarman. These two inscriptions record gifts by Śāṃavai *alias* Kāḍavaṇ-Perundēvi, the daughter of Pallava-Peṇkaḍaiyār,⁶ (and) the queen of Śattiviḍaṅgaṇ *alias* Śrī-Kāḍapaṭṭiḡaḷ.⁷ It is not improbable that this Pallava king Śattiviḍaṅgaṇ (i.e. Śakti-Viṭaṅka),⁸ who was a contemporary of the early Chōḷa king Parakēsarivarman,⁹ is the same person as the Pallava king Śatti (i.e. Śakti). In this case the subjoined inscription would belong roughly to the second half of the ninth century of the Christian era.

¹ From two inked estampages.

² Read *Chiraiydr=*.

³ Literally, 'while Bāṇarāja cut (him) down.'

⁴ Above, Vol. IV. No. 9.

⁵ See above, p. 23 f.

⁶ *Peṇkaḍai* seems to be a Tamil form of the Kanarēse *pergaḍa* and the Telugu *preḡgaḍa*, 'a minister.'

⁷ Compare Mr. Venkayya's paper in the *Madras Christian College Magazine* for August 1890. *Kāḍapaṭṭi* seems to be a mistake of the copyist for *Kāḍupaṭṭi*, which occurs in a Pallava inscription at Conjeeveram (*loc. cit.*) and in two Gaṅga-Pallava inscriptions (*South-Ind. Inscri.* Vol. III. p. 92 f.). Compare also *Kāḍupaṭṭi* (above, Vol. V. p. 171 and note 1) and *Kāḍuvittēśvara* (*ibid.* p. 143).

⁸ Dantīśakti-Viṭaṅki *alias* Lōkamahādēvi, a queen of the Chōḷa king Rājārāja I., built a shrine in the Paśṇanadēśvara temple at Tiruvaiyāru; see my *Annual Report* for 1894-95, p. 4.

⁹ See above, Vol. V. p. 43 and note 7.

TEXT.¹

- 1 Svasti śrī [||*] ²Kāḍavar-daṅ-gōṇ Śatti [por]-rōṭṭil-iṭṭa yāṇḍ-ōḍ=iyal=i(i)r-
aindil=iḍuvittā=ni(nī)-
- 2 ḍiya-si(śi)r Pa[1*]lavamārāyaṇ paśi ni(nī)kki Taṇḍalattu=kkaḷḷ-ivar
ni(nī)r-ēri-kkaḷḷum=anḍattu.
- 3 [||]ḍr maḍippavaṇ [||1*] Pōḷiyu(yū)r-nāṭṭu=Ttaṇḍalatt-ēri-kka-
- 4 liṅg=amaittāṇṇ=on-Ṭamiḷ-ppār-maṅgai-dāṇ
- 5 virumbum Pallavamārāyaṇ=ēḷiṭ-pu(pū)-maṅgai-da[ū]=
- 6 gōṇ purindu [||2*][ō-]

TRANSLATION.

Hail! Prosperity! (Verse 1.) In (*the year*) twice five (*i.e.* ten), which was engraved on palm-leaves,² (*from*) the year when (*the name of*) Śatti, the king of the Kāḍavas, was entered on a gold leaf,³—Pallavamārāyaṇ of enduring fame, who is respected by (*all*) the inhabitants of the world, having freed (*the villagers*) of hunger, caused to be built also a sluice, composed of stones, for the water-tank at Taṇḍalam.

(V. 2.) The lord of the beautiful goddess of the (*lotus*) flower (*i.e.* Lakshmi), Pallavamārāyaṇ, who is beloved by the excellent goddess of the Tamil country, graciously constructed a sluice for the tank at Taṇḍalam in Pōḷiyūr-nāḍu.

No. 6.—CAMBAY PLATES OF GOVINDA IV.;

SAKA-SAMVAT 852.

By D. R. BHANDARKAR, M.A.; POONA.

The copper-plates, a transcript and translation of which are given below, were originally found at Cambay, called Khambāyat by the people. While a husbandman was tilling his field, his plough struck against a hard substance. On digging a portion of the ground near that spot, he discovered a wooden box, which was so rotten that with little effort he broke it to pieces. It contained a black dirty object, which, until it was cleaned, was not recognised to be these plates. From the husbandman the plates afterwards went into the possession of a Gujarāṭi living at Petlad, which is not very far from Cambay. The Gujarāṭi was very unwilling to part with the plates. I requested Professor Abaji Vishnu Kathavate to intercede in my favour. This he kindly did, and was soon successful in securing the plates for me.

The plates are three in number, each about 13½" long by 10½" broad. The edges of them are fashioned slightly thicker, so as to serve as rims for the protection of the writing. The inscription is engraved on the inner sides of the first and third plates, and on both sides of the second plate. Two small pieces have been broken off near the lower corners of the third plate, and a few letters are here and there damaged on account of verdigris. Still the inscription is on the whole well preserved and legible throughout. The plates are strung together by a circular ring, of about 4½" in diameter and of about ½" in thickness, passing through holes on one side of each plate. The ring had not yet been cut when the plates were sent to Dr. Hultzsch. The ends

¹ From an inked estampage.² In this verse 'ḍ-ōḍ=iya' rhymes with *nīḍiya* and *Taṇḍa* with 'maṇḍa'.³ *I.e.* with which all documents issued at this time had to begin.⁴ This seems to refer to some custom observed at the coronation of a king; compare *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. III. p. 185 and note 2.

Pondaipakkam in Kachchiyūr-nādu, (having) a revenue of 476 māḍai; altogether two villages, (having a revenue of) 1,002 māḍai.

(L. 4.) Out of this, 240 māḍai per year (shall be spent) for 20 people per day, in order to (maintain) a flower-garden on the southern bank of the Veḷkā, which (he) had purchased at the price of 500 paṇam from Perumāl-tādar; in order to construct 4 lotus-tanks in this (flower-garden); and, besides, in order to cultivate the fields.

(L. 5.) 2 paṇam (shall be spent) for rice for (offerings at) midnight;¹ 1½ paṇam for perfumes of all (kinds); ½ paṇam for lamps; and 1 paṇam for the ingredients of pepper-milk; altogether, 1 māḍai² per day and 860 māḍai per year.

(L. 6.) The temple garlands, fruits and vegetables for offerings shall be grown in the (above-mentioned) flower-garden. 20 māḍai shall be spent for the Chaitra-pavitra,³ and 382 māḍai for the abhishēka-maṇḍapa and other buildings. To (the god) Perumāl (were given) a gold diadem, a breast-ornament,, 2 brass chandeliers, 4 gongs, (two) vessels for incense and lights, 2 hand-bells, 1 salver for waving lights (before the god), and 1 webbed bedstead. These two villages⁴ with all the revenue (prāpti), as long as the moon and the sun shall last.

[Verse 5, which is incomplete, contains one of the usual admonitions to future kings].

(L. 8.) The buildings to be erected in the temple of Arnḷālanātha (are) a maṇḍapa of one thousand pillars, a canopy of gems for (the image of) Muḍivaḷaṅgiṇā

(L. 9.) jāvandi,⁵ oleander (alari), piṇchi, tādī, champaka,⁶ bakula, 4 lotus-tanks,⁷ mangoes, jacks, cocoanut-trees, pomegranates, limes,⁸ oranges and other trees shall be planted.

(V. 6.) Whose command the rays of the jewels on the heads of all princes

(V. 7.) Varāha⁹ has received his wealth (as) a gift, and that Sōmanātha¹⁰ is to be worshipped (by him) daily: How can the fortune of that Muppiḍi-Nāyaka be described on earth?

No. 19.—SIX INSCRIPTIONS AT TIRUNAMANALLUR.

By E. HULTZSCH, PH.D.

Tirunāmanallūr is a village in the Tirukoilur (Tirukkōvalūr) tāluca¹¹ of the South Arcot district. It contains a Śiva temple which is now called Bhaktajanēśvara. This Sanskrit name is represented in the inscriptions of the temple by its Tamil equivalent Tiruttonḍiśvara. Both names refer to the 63 devotees of Śiva¹² (Tiruttonḍar or Bhaktajana), whose lives are narrated in the Periyapurāṇam, and one of whom is supposed to have been a chief of Tirunāmanallūr itself.¹³

¹ Ottaidmam is a *śābha* of the Sanskrit *ardha* *śābha*.

² This total shows that 1 māḍai was equal to 5 paṇam.

³ Compare above, Vol. V. pp. 22 and 259.

⁴ This refers to Paiyyūr and Pondaipakkam in line 4.

⁵ According to the dictionaries, *śāvandi* is the Indian chrysanthemum.

⁶ Regarding Tamil *śābha* = Sanskrit *śābha*, compare *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVIII. p. 105, note.

⁷ These were already mentioned in line 5.

⁸ *Elumbichalai* is meant for *elumbichalai*.

⁹ I.e. the boar-incarnation of Viṣṇu.

¹⁰ This is an epithet of Śiva and suggests that Muppiḍi worshipped this god as well as Viṣṇu.

¹¹ No. 320 on the *Madras Survey Map* of this tāluca.

¹² Compare *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. II. pp. 184, 152 f., 167, 172 and 252 f.

¹³ See page 136 below.

An inscription of the Chôla king Parāntaka I. (A. below) states that the stone temple of Tiruttonḍiśvara was built by his son Rājādityadēva. Hence it is also called Rājādityēśvara in some of its inscriptions.

Besides the shrine of Tiruttonḍiśvara or Rājādityēśvara, the same temple included the shrine of Agastyēśvara, which is mentioned in several inscriptions of the temple. Another inscription (No. 365 of 1902) records a gift to the temple of Kalināriśvara. This temple has been recently demolished by the villagers, and the only portion of it that survives is a sculptured stone which bears the figure of a kneeling elephant, above the elephant a *hauda* with a stout male person reclining in it, and the single word *śrī-Kalinārai* in Pallava-Grantha characters (No. 376 of 1902). It may perhaps be concluded from this, that the demolished temple of īśvara (Śiva) was built by a Pallava king named Kalinārai, and that the man riding on the elephant is meant to represent this king.

According to the subjoined Tamil inscriptions, the ancient name of Tirunāmanallūr was Tirunāvalūr. The Śaiva saint Sundaramūrti, who was born at Tirunāvalūr and was the protégé of a chief of that place,¹ derived from it the surname Nāvalūrag, which he applies to himself in some of his hymns. Tirunāvalūr belonged to the district of Mupaippāḍi (C. below) or Tirumupaippāḍi (A. and B. below). In the time of Rājendra-Chôla I. it bore the surname Rājādittadēvapuram,² which is due to the fact that its temple had been founded by Rājāditya, and was included in Mēlūr-nāḍu, a subdivision of Tirumupaippāḍi, a district of Jayaṅgaṇḍa-Chôla-maṇḍalam (F. below).

The subjoined inscriptions contain the names of a few other villages in the neighbourhood of Tirunāmanallūr. Of these, Śevalai in Veppainallūr-nāḍu (C. below) survives in the two villages Periyaśevalai and Śiṇṇaśevalai³ (i.e. 'great and small Śevalai') close to Tiruvēppainallūr.⁴ Ēkadhīra-chaturvêdimāṅalam (D. below) cannot be identified, as it is not the name, but the surname of some village. Arumbākkam⁵ (E. below) is situated 2 miles south of Tirukoilur.

A.—INSCRIPTION OF PARANTAKA I.

This inscription (No. 335 of 1902) is dated in the 28th year of "Parakāsarivarma who took Madirai (Madhurā)," i.e. of the Chôla king Parāntaka I.⁶ who ruled from about A.D. 900 to about 940.⁷ It records the gift of two lamps by a servant of Kōkkiḷāṇaḍi, the queen of Parāntaka I. and the mother of his son Rājādityadēva. The latter is the Rājāditya who, according to the large Leyden grant⁸ and the Ātakūr inscription of A.D. 942-50,⁹ was killed in battle by the Rāshtrakūṭa king Kṛishṇa III.

TEXT.

- 1 Svasti [ś]r[ī] [||*] [Madi]r[ai] ko[n]ḍa kô=Pparakēśa-
- 2 ripa[n]ma[r*]kk-i[yā]ḍu irubatteṭṭāvadu [T]irumu-
- 3 paippāḍi-Ttirunāvalūr Tiruttonḍi(ṇḍi)śvara[n]
- 4 tiru-kkaṇ-ṇaḷi śe[y*]vitta Rājādittadēvar tā[y]ār na[m]-birāṭṭiyār
- 5 Kō[k]kiḷā[ṇa]ḍigaḷ pari[b]ā(vā)rattāḷ Śittirakōmaḷam va(vai)tta n[o]ndā-ṇaḷak-

¹ See page 136 below.

² Other inscriptions have the shorter form Rājādittapuram.

³ Nos. 267 and 265 on the *Madras Survey Map* of the Tirukoilur taluka.

⁴ No. 273 on the same map.

⁵ No. 67 on the same map.

⁶ *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. II. p. 379 f.

⁷ See *ibid.* p. 381. If Professor Kielhorn's calculation of the date of the Kūram inscription (p. 1 above) should be corroborated by the discovery of a similarly dated record of the same reign, it would follow that Parāntaka I. reigned from about A.D. 906 to about 946.

⁸ *Arch. Survey of S. India*, Vol. IV. p. 206 f.

⁹ Above, Vol. VI. p. 51.

6 k=[o]ṇṇukku va(vai)[tta ś]āvá m[ā]vá=ppēr-ād[u] tonṇūṇu īlla-¹vilā-
7 kk=onṇu [i*] idu paṇ-[M]āyē(hē)śvarar irakshai ||—
8 māṇṇaḍiyā Śittirak[ē]maḷam vaitta vilakk-onṇu īlla-¹
9 vilakku ||—

TRANSLATION.

(Line 1.) Hail! Prosperity! In the twenty-eighth year of king Parakēsarivarman who took Madirai, Chitrakōmaḷam,—a female attendant of our lady Kōkkiḷaṇḍigal, the mother of Rājādityadēva who caused to be made the sacred stone temple of Tirutṇḍiśvara at Tirunāvalūr in Tirumunaippādi,—gave one perpetual lamp. For (*this lamp she*) gave ninety undying (*and*) unaging big sheep² (*and*) one *īla* lamp.³ This (*gift is placed under*) the protection of all Māhēśvaras.

(L. 8.) The same Chitrakōmaḷam gave one (*other*) lamp (*and*) an *īla* lamp(-stand).

B.—INSCRIPTION OF PARANTAKA I.

This inscription (No. 363 of 1902) is dated in the 39th year of the same king as A. and records the gift of a lamp by Mahādēvaḍi, the queen of prince Rājādityadēva and the daughter of Ilādarāyar, for the merit of her elder brother Rājādittan Puḷaḷvippavargaṇḍa. Rājāditya was already mentioned in the preceding inscription (A.). Ilādarāyar means 'the chief of Lāṭa (Gujarāt).' This title was borne by a family of local chiefs, one of whom, named Vira-Chōḷa, is known to have been a feudatory of Rājārāja I.⁴ Vira-Chōḷa was the son of Puḷaḷvippavargaṇḍa. This chief is probably identical with Rājādittan⁵ Puḷaḷvippavargaṇḍa, the elder brother of Rājāditya's queen Mahādēvaḍi.

TEXT.

1 ||[Ḷ] Śva(sva)eti śrī [i*] Madiraiyum īlammum⁶ koṇḍa kō=Pparakēśaripa-
2 ṇ[ma][r*]kk-iyāḍu muppattu-onṇadāvadu Tirumunaippādi-Ttirunā-
3 valūr Tirutṇḍiśvarattu⁷ Māhadēvarkku=ppillaiyār Rā-
4 jādittadēvar dēviyār ⁸[Ilādarāyar magalār ⁹Māhadēvaḍigal tamai-
5 yaṇṇār¹⁰ Araiyaṇ Rā[ja*]dittan Puḷaḷvippavargaṇḍanai¹¹ sārṭti va(vai)chcha pottā-¹²
6 vilakk=[o]ṇṇukku [va](vai)[ch]cha śā[v]ā m[ā]vá=ppēr-[ā]ḍu¹³ nū[ṇu]
ni[ḷai-v]ilakku
7 niṇai eḷu[ba]ḍiṇ palam śa[n]d[irā*]dittaval eri[p]padakku¹⁴ [i*] i[du] pan-Māhē[śva]-
rar irakshai ||

TRANSLATION.

Hail! Prosperity! In the thirty-ninth year of king Parakēsarivarman who took Madirai and *īlam*,—Mahādēvaḍigal, the queen of prince Rājādityadēva (*and*) the daughter of

¹ Read *īla*.

² The meaning of the two terms 'undying' and 'unaging' is, that those sheep which died or ceased to supply milk had to be replaced from among the lambs that had grown up in the meantime.

³ *I.e.*, apparently, a lamp-stand after the fashion of *īlam* (Ceylon). According to the dictionaries, the word *īlam* means also 'gold;' but, if this meaning were intended here, the writer would have probably used the common word *poṇ*.

⁴ See above, Vol. IV. p. 139.

⁵ This word is here prefixed to the name of the Lāṭa chief Puḷaḷvippavargaṇḍa in honour of his brother-in-law, the Chōḷa prince Rājāditya.

⁶ Read *īlammum*.

⁷ The secondary form of *i* is engraved above the initial *i*.

⁸ Read *Māhadēva*.

⁹ Read *Puḷaḷvippavargaṇḍanai*.

¹⁰ The *ḍ* of *rd* seems to be corrected from *ḍ*.

¹¹ Read *Tirutṇḍiśvarattu Māhadēva*.

¹² Read *yaṇṇār*.

¹³ Read *sonḍā*.

¹⁴ Read *ḍaṇḍu*.

Ilādarāyar, gave one perpetual lamp to (*the god*) Mahādēva of the Tiruttoṇḍiśvara (*temple*) at Tirunāvalūr in Tirumunaippādi for the merit of¹ (*her*) elder brother Araiyaṛ Rājādittan Puḡalvippavargaṇḍaṇ. For (*this lamp she*) gave one hundred undying (*and*) unaging big sheep² (*and*) a lamp-stand weighing seventy *palam*, to burn as long as the moon and the sun shall last. This (*gift is placed under*) the protection of all Māhēśvaras.

C.—INSCRIPTION OF KRISHNA III.

This inscription (No. 362 of 1902) is dated in the 17th year of Kannaradēva, i.e. of the Rāshtrakūṭa king Kṛishṇa III., the conqueror of the Pallava and Chōla countries.³ It records the gift of a lamp by a chief of Milāḍu, named Naraśimhavarman and surnamed Śaktinātha and Siddhavaḍava. He claims to belong to the lineage of Śukra and to the Malaiyakula, i.e. the family of the rulers of Malaiyanāḍu or Malaiuḍu, of which Milāḍu and Malāḍu are contracted forms. According to the *Periyapurāṇam*, the capital of this district was Tirukkōvalūr (Tirukoilur), the head-quarters of the present Tirukoilur tāluka.⁴ The chiefs of Malaiuḍu claimed connection with the Chēdi family.⁵ They had the custom of prefixing the name of the reigning Chōla king to their title. Thus, six inscriptions of Rājendra-Chōla I., Kulōttunga-Chōla and Vikrama-Chōla at Kīlūr near Tirukoilur (Nos. 241, 260, 284, 285, 286 and 290 of 1902) mention Milāḍuḍaiyaṇ Irāmaṇ Mammaḍi-Chōlaṇ *alias* Rājendra-Chōla-Milāḍuḍaiyaṇ, Kīliyūr⁶ Malaiyamāṇ Kulōttunga-Chōla-Chēdiyarāyaṇ, and Kīliyūr Malaiyamāṇ Vikrama-Chōla-Chēdiyarāyaṇ, the father of Vikrama-Chōla-Kōvalarāyaṇ; and in two inscriptions of Tribhuvanaśaḥkravartin Rājarājadēva and Kulōttunga-Chōladēva (Nos. 288 and 293 of 1902) we find Kīliyūr Malaiyamāṇ Rā[ra]ja-Chēdiyarāyaṇ.

The Trivikrama-Perumāḷ temple at Tirukoilur bears an inscription of the sixth year of Parakēsarivarman *alias* Rājendradēva, i.e. A.D. 1057-58⁷ or about a century after the present record. It belongs to a later chief of Milāḍu, whose name was likewise Naraśimhavarman. He resided at Tirukkōvalūr (Tirukoilur), was a descendant of the lineage of Bhārgava (i.e. Śukra), and bore the surname Rapaḥsari-Rāma.

TEXT.

- 1 Svasti śrī || ௧. Śrī-Kannaradēvaṛkku yāṇḍu padinēlāvaḍu Mugaippādi-Ttirunāvalūr-Tti[rut]toṇḍi(ṇḍi)śvarattu Mā(ma)hādēvaṛkku svasti Śukraṇma(nva)y-ōdayāchal-āditya Śa[k]tinātha simba-ddhvaja śikhi-makara-la(lā)ñchhana Malaiyakul-ō-
- 2 tbha(dbha)va Malaiyakula-śū(ohū)lāmani śrīmat(n)-Naraśimhava[r*]mmā Milāḍ-uḍaiya nāṭṭān Śittavaḍavan-āgiya Naraśimhava[n]man vaitta nonḍā-vilakk-onṇinukku vaitta poṇ padin kalañju [l*] i-ppon padin kalañju[n]-gonḍu Veṇ-
- 3 painallūr-nāṭṭu=Chchevalai sabhaiyōmum ūrōmum āṭṭu nāṭṭu nāḷi ney [k]oḍu vaṇḍu mādēviyalēy śantrādityaval aṭṭuvōm=ānōm Śevalai sabhai ūrōm [l*] Ūja-vilakku onṇu ||— idu pan-Māh[ē]śvara[r*]
- 4 irakshai || ௨.

¹ This seems to be the meaning of the gerund *idrtti*, which occurs frequently in the same connection.

² See above, p. 134, note 2.

³ See above, Vol. III. p. 282 ff. and Vol. IV. p. 81 f. and p. 280 f.; *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. III. pp. 11 and 22.

⁴ *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. II. p. 167.

⁵ See *loc. cit.* and *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXII. p. 143.

⁶ Kīliyūr is a village in the Tirukoilur tāluka, No. 128 on the *Madras Survey Map*.

⁷ See page 7 above.

⁸ Read *chandra*?

TRANSLATION.

(Line 1.) Hail! Prosperity! In the seventeenth year of the glorious Kannaradēva,— Hail! the glorious Narasimhavarman, the sun of the eastern mountain— the lineage of Śakra, Śaktinātha,¹ whose banner bore a lion, whose crest were a peacock and a *makara*, who was born in the Malaiyakula, the crest-jewel of the Malaiyakula, the lord of the country of Milāḍu,— (*this*) Narasimhavarman who was called Siddhavaḍava² gave one perpetual lamp to (*the god*) Mahādēva of the Tiruttonḍiśvara (*temple*) at Tirunāvalūr in Mūṇaippādi. For (*this lamp he*) gave ten *kaḷañju* of gold.

(L 2.) Having received these ten *kaḷañju* of gold, we, the members of the assembly and the inhabitants of the village of Ševalai in Veṇṇainallūr-nāḍu, shall have to bring every year one hundred *nāḷi* of ghee and shall have to pour (*it*) out (*i.e.* measure it) by the *mādēvi*³ as long as the moon and the sun shall last.

(L 3.) One *lā* lamp(-stand)⁴ (*was also given*). This (*gift is placed under*) the protection of all Māhēśvaras.

D.—INSCRIPTION OF SAKA-SAMVAT 875.

This inscription (No. 356 of 1902) and the next one (E.) are remarkable for being dated according to the Śaka era, which is employed in very few of the earlier Tamil inscriptions.⁵ The inscription D records the gift of a lamp by a Mūṇaiyadīyaraṇ, *i.e.* a chief of the district of Mūṇai or Mūṇaippādi, in which Tirunāmanallūr was included.⁶ 'The chief of the people of Mūṇai' (*Mūṇaiyar kōṇ*) is mentioned as a vassal of Vikrama-Chōḷa in the *Vikrama-Śōḷa-Uḷ*.⁷ According to the *Periāpurāṇam*, the Śaiva saint Sundaramūrti was the protégé of another chief of Tirumūṇaippādi (*Mūṇaiyaraṇ*), named Narasimha, who resided at Tirunāvalūr (Tirunāmanallūr), and who is himself considered one of the sixty-three Tiruttonḍar or devotees of Śiva.

TEXT.

- 1 || Svasti śrī || ௨. Śagar[ai] yā[n]ḍu
- 2 875āvaḍu Tirunāvalūr Ti-
- 3 ruttonḍi-īśvara-⁸garattu
- 4 dēvarkku Mūṇai[ya]dīyaraṇ[ya]-
- 5 ṇ Kulamāṇikkaṇ [I]rāma-
- 6 dēvaṇ vaitta nottā(ndā)-vilak-
- 7 ku onṇu śāvā mu(mū)vā=ppēr-āḍu 100 [!]*
- 8 ivv-āḍu [nū]ruṇ=gopḍu śan-
- 9 dirā[d]ittavalu[m] erikka ṇ[e]y at[!tu]-
- 10 vār=[ā]ṇār dēvaḍāṇam [Ē]kadi(dhi)ra-śa(cha)[tu]-
- 11 [rvvē]dimaṅgalattu sabhai[yār] [!]*

TRANSLATION.

(Line 1.) Hail! Prosperity! In the Śaka year 875, Mūṇaiyadīyaraṇ Kulamāṇikkaṇ Irāmadēvaṇ gave to the god of the Tiruttonḍiśvara temple at Tirunāvalūr one perpetual lamp (*and*) 100 undying (*and*) unaging big sheep.⁹

¹ *I.e.* 'the lord of the spear' or 'the lord of power.' The same word is an epithet of the two gods Skanda and Śiva.

² *I.e.* 'the owner' of renowned mares.'

³ *I.e.* a measure called after the chief queen (*māddēvi*).

⁴ An inscription of the Śaka year 810 was published in *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. III. p. 95.

⁵ See page 133 above.

⁶ Read *Tiruttonḍiśvara*.

⁷ See above, p. 134, note 3.

⁸ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXII. p. 143.

⁹ See above, p. 134, note 2.

(L. 8.) Having received these hundred sheep, the members of the assembly of *Ēkadhira-chaturvēdimāṅgalam*, (*a village*) granted to the temple, shall have to pour out ghee,¹ to burn as long as the moon and the sun shall last.

E.—INSCRIPTION OF SAKA-SAMVAT 876.

This inscription (No. 338 of 1902) records the gift of a lamp by the queen of a chief of *Mupai*, whose name resembles that of the other chief mentioned in the preceding inscription (D.).

TEXT.

- 1 Svasti śrī [||*] Śagarai yāṇḍu 87[6]-
- 2 āvadu Tirunāvalūr Tiruttonḍiśva-
- 3 rattu Mahādēvaṅku Mupaiyadiyaraiyar Kulamā-
- 4 nikkerumāṇār dēv[i]yā[r=A]kkināṅ[g]aiyār vaytta²
- 5 noṇḍā-viḷakkikuṅku va(vai)tta śāvā m[ā]vā pār-āḍu
- 6 nūru³ nūruṅ=[g]oṇḍu nū⁴ ni[śa]da[m*] uḷakku māḍēviyāl⁵
- 7 n[ey] aṭṭuv[ō]m=āṇḍom Arumbākka[t*]t-ūr[ō]m [i*] idu [paṇ]-M[ā]y[ā](hā)-
[śvarar irakshai ||*]

TRANSLATION.

(Line 1.) Hail! Prosperity! In the Śaka year 876, [A]kkināṅgaiyār, the queen of Mupaiyadiyaraiyar Kulamānikkerumāṇār, gave a perpetual lamp to (*the god*) Mahādēva of the Tiruttonḍiśvara (*temple*) at Tirunāvalūr. For (*this lamp she*) gave one hundred undying (*and*) unaging big sheep.⁶

(L. 6.) Having received (*these*) hundred (*sheep*), we, the villagers of Arumbākkam, shall have to pour out daily one uḷakku of ghee by the māḍēvi.⁷ This (*gift is placed under*) the protection of all Māhēśvaras.

F.—INSCRIPTION OF RAJENDRA-CHOLA I.

This inscription (No. 360 of 1902) belongs to the reign of Parakēsarivarman *alias* Rājendra-Chōḷadēva, i.e. the Chōḷa king Rājendra-Chōḷa I. who ascended the throne in A.D. 1011-12.⁸ The figure denoting the year of his reign is lost. A regiment of the king gave to the god a necklace of gold and jewels, and the commander of the regiment gave another necklace of pearls and a bracelet of gold.

TEXT.

- 1 Svasti śrī[i] [||*] K[ō]=Pparakēsaripa[r*]mar-ā[ṇa] śrī-Rājēndhi(ṇḍi)ra-
Sōḷadēvaṅku yā[ṇḍu] . . [va]ḍu Jayaṅḍa-Sōḷa-ma[ṇḍa]lattu-Ttiru-
- 2 mupaippā[ḍi] M[ō]lūr-nāṭṭu-Ttirunāvalūr-āṇa Rājādittadēvapurettu
[Tirutton]ḍi(ṇḍi)śvarattu Āḍavalāṅku nḍaiyār paḍai Vi(vi)ranārāya[ṇa]-
tte[r]i[ṇḍa-vi]lḷigaḷ
- 3 śeyd-iṭṭa mālai lṇāl poṇ mu-kkaḷaṅ-j-arai [i*] idil taḍavi kaṭṭiṇa
spa(spha)ṭika[m] nāyagaṇ uṭpaḍa uru paḍiṇeṭṭu ni(ni)lam iraṇḍam [i*]
[mu]ttōḍu mālai o-

¹ Compare the preceding inscription (C.)

² Read *vaitta*.

³ This sign of punctuation is expressed by a dot above the line.

⁴ Cancel this syllable.

⁵ The syllable *mā* is entered below the line.

⁶ See above, p. 134, note 2.

⁷ See above, p. 136, note 3.

⁸ See page 7 above.

4 nṛu [!]* idu se[y]vitt=iduvittāṇ i-ppaḍaikkku nāyagam seyda Mārāyan
Paḷuvūr Nakkan [!]* ivanē tiru-kaiyḱku sātti aruḷa taḍavi kaṭṭina
sphaṭikam onṇu mutt=laṅṇa kâ-
5 ṛai onṇu po[n kaḷa]ṇju [!]* ivai pan-Māhahēśva[ra*]-²ra[kshai] [!]*

TRANSLATION.

(Line 1.) Hail! Prosperity! In the . . th year of king Parakēsarivarman alias the glorious Rājēndra-Chōḷadēva,— the chosen bowmen of Vīranārāyaṇa,¹ a regiment of the king, made and gave 1 necklace, consisting of three and a half *kaḷaṇju* of gold, to (*the god*) Āḍavalār of the Tirutṭoṇḍiśvara (*temple*) at Tirunāvalūr alias Rājādittadēvapuram in Mēlūr-nāḍu, (*a subdivision*) of Tirumunaiyāpādi, (*a district*) of Jayanṅṇa-Śōḷa-maṇḍalam. In this (*necklace*) were fixed eighteen pieces of crystal, including the central gem, and two sapphires.

(L. 3.) One necklace of pearls. This was caused to be made and to be given by Mārāyan Paḷuvūr Nakkan,⁵ who commanded this regiment.

(L. 4.) The same person (*gave*) one bracelet, to be placed on the arm of the god (*and consisting of*) one *kaḷaṇju* of gold, in which one crystal was fixed (*and*) on which pearls were mounted.

(L. 5.) These (*gifts are placed under*) the protection of all Māhēśvaras.

No. 20.—FOURTEEN INSCRIPTIONS AT TIRUKKOVALUR.

By E. HULTZSCH, PH.D.

Tirukkōvalūr is the head-quarters of a tāluka of the South Arcot district. It contains a Vishṇu temple named Trivikrama-Perumāḷ, and the suburb of Kīḷūr a Śiva temple named Viratṭāṇēśvara. Of the subjoined inscriptions, ten (A. to J.) are in the Śiva temple and four (K. to N.) in the Vishṇu temple.

The sacred writings of the Śaivas and Vaishṇavas of the Tamil country mention both of the Tirukkōvalūr temples. Tiruṇāṇasambandar refers to the Śiva temple as 'Viratṭāṇem at Kōvalūr,'⁶ and Tirumāṅgai-Āḷvār to the Vishṇu temple as 'Idaikāḷi at Kōvalūr.' The subjoined inscriptions have the forms Tiruviratṭāṇam (A. to J.) and Tiruviḍaikāḷi (K.) or Idai-kāḷi (L.). Tirukkōvalūr (A. to C., E. to K.) or Kōval (L.) bore in the time of the Chōḷa dynasty the surname Madurāntaka-chaṭurvēdimaṇḍalam (K.). It was included in Kuṟukkai-kūṟṟam, a subdivision of Malāḍu or Milāḍu,⁷ a district of 2,000 (villages), which in the time of the Chōḷas was surnamed Jananātha-vaḷanāḍu (K.).

The subjoined inscriptions incidentally mention three villages, viz. Uṇṅalpūṇḍi (G.), Neṇmali and Śiṟṅṅijūr (H.). Of these, I can only identify the second, which is the modern Nemali.⁸

¹ The first *t* of *mutt*= is entered below the line.

² Read -Māhēśvara-.

³ This regiment was probably named after Parāntaka I., who had the surname Vīranārāyaṇa; see *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. II. p. 379. Two Tanjore inscriptions mention another regiment, entitled Paṇḍita-Śōḷa-terinda-villigal, which was named after a surname of Rājēndra-Chōḷa I. himself; see *ibid.* Vol. III. p. 127 and note 17.

⁴ Āḍavalār or Āḍavallār is a Tamil synonym of Natēśa, a form of Śiva.

⁵ This person may have been a native of Kīḷappaḷuvūr, which is mentioned in the *Dēḍḍam* under the name of Paḷuvūr; see *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. III. p. 152.

⁶ One of the sixty-three devotees of Śiva, Meypporuṇāyaṇār, is supposed to have resided at Tirukkōvalūr; see *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. II. p. 167.

⁷ See page 135 above.

⁸ No. 159 on the *Madras Survey Map* of the Tirukoilur tāluka.

A.—INSCRIPTION OF VIJAYA-NANDIVIKRAMA.

This Tamil inscription (No. 278 of 1902) is dated in the 17th year of Vijaya-Nandivikrama, i.e. of the Gāṅga-Pallava king Vijaya-Nandivikramavarman.¹ It records the gift of a lamp by a concubine of Vāṇakōvaraiyar. This was probably the title of the chief of Vāṇakōppāḍi or Vāṇagappāḍi, a district which according to other inscriptions (No. 40 of 1887-88 and No. 126 of 1900) included Tiruvannāmalai on the northern bank of the Pennai.² A later Vāṇakōvaraiyar is referred to in an inscription of Kulōttuṅga I.³ and another Vāṇakōvaraiyaṇ in one of Kulōttuṅga III. (No. 72 of 1890).

TEXT.

- 1 Svasti śrī [||*] Kō Vijaiya-vikrama-⁴Nandivi[k*]kiramaykku yāṇḍu 17āvaṇḍu(ḍu) Malāṭṭu
- 2 Kurukkai-kkūṟṟattu Tirukkōvalūr Tiruvi(vi)raṭṭāṇattu=Pperumāḷukku oru-no-
- 3 ndā-vilakku Mānikka[t*]tār magalār Kōṇakkaṇār Vāṇakōvaraiyar bōgi-
- 4 yār vaitta poṇ paḷaṇ-gāṇḍōḍu uraiy=oppaḍu 15 la⁵ [||*] i-ppoṇ
- 5 paḍiṇaṇ-⁶galaṇḍu-gōḍu kaḍavōm ivv-ār nagarattōm [||*] i-ppoṇ
- 6 ṇiṇ paḷisaiyālēy nīṣadam uḷakk=ennai ā(a)ṭṭuvōm=ānōm nagarattōm [||*] idu pan-

Māhēśvara-rakshai [||]

TRANSLATION.

(Line 1.) Hail! Prosperity! In the 17th year of king Vijaya-Nandivikrama,— Kōṇakkaṇār, the daughter of Mānikkattār (and) the concubine⁷ of Vāṇakōvaraiyar, gave 15 *kaḷaṇḍu* of gold, which was equal in fineness to the old *kāṣu*,⁸ (for) one perpetual lamp to (the god) Perumāḷ⁹ of the Tiruvirattāṇam (temple) at Tirukkōvalūr in Kurukkai-kūṟam, (a subdivision) of Malāḍu.

(L. 4.) We, the citizens of this place, have received these fifteen *kaḷaṇḍu* of gold.

(L. 5.) Out of the interest of this gold, we, the citizens, shall have to pour out daily one *uḷakku* of oil.

(L. 6.) This (gift is placed under) the protection of all Māhēśvaras.

B.—INSCRIPTION OF VIJAYA-NRIPATUNGAVIKRAMA.

This Tamil inscription (No. 277 of 1902) is dated in the 21st year of Vijaya-Nripatunga-vikrama,— the son and successor¹⁰ of Vijaya-Nandivikrama whose name we have found in the preceding inscription (A.). It records the gift of a lamp by a servant of Veṭṭuvadaraiyar,— apparently a local chief.

TEXT.

- 1 Svasti śrī [||*] Kō Vijaiya-Nirupatoṅgavikramaykku yāṇḍu 21āvaṇḍu Milā-
- 2 ṭṭu=Kkurukkai-kkūṟṟattu Tirukkōvalūr Tiruvi(vi)raṭṭāṇattu Mahādēvarkku
- natnā(ndā)-vilā-
- 3 kkiṇukku Veṭṭuvadaraiyarkku aṣmuppuṇ Nannāṇ Kōṟṇaṇ kuḍutta poṇ
- 4 12 la¹¹ [||*] paṇṇiru-kaḷaṇḍiṇ paḷisaiyālēy iravum pa[ga*]lum oru-nondā-vilak-

¹ See above, Vol. VI. p. 321.

² I.e. the Southern Pennaiyāru; see above, Vol. VI. p. 333.

³ South-Ind. Insor. Vol. III. p. 152.

⁴ Cancel -vikrama-.

⁵ This letter slants towards the right; it is evidently an abbreviation for *kaḷaṇḍu*. In an inscription of Kulōttuṅga I. (above, Vol. V. p. 106, text line 5) I have misread this symbol as *pa*.

⁶ Read *paḍiṇai*.

⁷ *Bōgi* is used in the sense of *bōgiṇi* (*bhōgiṇī* in Sanskrit).

⁸ This must be the designation of some gold coin; compare above, Vol. V. p. 106 and note 3.

⁹ This is one of the Tamil names of Viṣṇu, but is here applied to Śiva.

¹⁰ See above, Vol. VI. p. 321.

¹¹ See note 5 above.

5 k=erippôm=ânôm Tirukkôvalûr nagarattôm sandrâdittaval [*] idu pan-Mâ.
6 hêśvara-rakshai||

TRANSLATION.

(Line 1.) Hail! Prosperity! In the 21st year of king Vijaya-Nripatungavikrama,—Nannan Korraṇ, a servant¹ of Veṭṭuvadaraiyar, gave 12 *kaḷañju* of gold for a perpetual lamp to (*the god*) Mahâdêva of the Tiruvirattāṇam (*temple*) at Tirukkôvalûr in Kuṟukkai-kûṟam, (*a subdivision*) of Milâḍu.

(L. 4.) Out of the interest of (*these*) twelve *kaḷañju*, we, the citizens of Tirukkôvalûr, shall have to burn one perpetual lamp night and day, as long as the moon and the sun shall last.

(L. 5.) This (*gift is placed under*) the protection of all Mâhêśvaras.

C.—INSCRIPTION OF VIJAYA-NRIPATUNGA VIKRAMAVARMAN.

This Tamil inscription (No. 303 of 1902) belongs to the same king and year as the preceding one (B.) and records the gift of a lamp by the same servant of Veṭṭuvadiyariyar. This form of the title occurs also in an inscription of the 22nd year of Vijaya-Nripatungavarman at Tiruchchennambūḍi (No. 301 of 1901), while the preceding inscription (B.) has the slightly different form Veṭṭuvadaraiyar.

TEXT.

1 Svasti śrī [*] Kô Viśaiya-Niru[patonga]vikkira-
2 maparumarku yāṇḍu [21]āvaḍu T[i]rukkô-
3 valûr Tiruvi(vi)raṭṭ[ā]pattu Mahâdêvarkku [na]-
4 ndâ-vilak[k]iṇukku Veṭṭuvadiyariyar a-
5 ṛāmunṇu=Nannan Korraṇ kuḍutta po-
6 [ṇ] paṇṇiru-kaḷañju [*] idan palaiyai[ā] [i]
7 nandâ-vilakku iravum pagalum erippô-
8 mm=ânôm Tirukkôvalûr nagarattôm [*] i-
9 [du paṇ-Mâhêśvara-ra*]kshai [||]

TRANSLATION.

(Line 1.) Hail! Prosperity! In the 21st year of king Vijaya-Nripatungavikrama-varman,—Nannan Korraṇ, a servant of Veṭṭuvadiyariyar, gave twelve *kaḷañju* of gold for a perpetual lamp to (*the god*) Mahâdêva of the Tiruvirattāṇam (*temple*) at Tirukkôvalûr.

(L. 6.) Out of the interest of this (*gold*), we, the citizens of Tirukkôvalûr, shall have to burn a perpetual lamp night and day.

(L. 8.) This (*gift is placed under*) the protection of all Mâhêśvaras.

D.—INSCRIPTION OF PARAKESARIVARMAN.

This Tamil inscription (No. 299 of 1902) is dated in the 5th year of the Chôḷa king Parakesarivarman² and records the gift of a lamp by a queen of Vâṇakôvaraiyar.³

TEXT.

1 Svasti śrī [*] Kô-Ppara[kê]śaripaṇ[ma]rku yāṇḍu aiṇjāvaḍu Tiruvi(vi)-
raṭṭāpattu perumāṇaḍigaḷukku na-

¹ In *arṇam*, *arṇam* is perhaps a poetical form of *arṇam*, 'charity'; compare *paḍam* and *kaḍam* for *paḍam* and *kaḍam*. *Uṇṇam* is the relative participle of *uṇ*, 'to eat.'

² See above, Vol. V. p. 42.

³ On this title see p. 139 above.

- 2 nā[ā]-vilakk[ī]nukku Vānakōvaraiyar dēviyār=[I]lādaigal magalā[r*] Naṅgai
Kulamān[ī]kka-
3 ttār vaitta poṇ paḍaiñ(ā)-galañju [i*] i-pponṇukku kalañju-vāy=ttiṅgal uri-
4 ppaḍiyāl iravura pagalam nandā-vilakk=erippippōm=āṇḍ=naga[ra*]ttōm [i*]
5 idu paṇ-Māhēśvara-rak[sh]ai [i*]

TRANSLATION.

(Line 1.) Hail! Prosperity! In the fifth year of king Parakēsarivarman,— Naṅgai Kulamānikkattār, the queen of Vānakōvaraiyar (and) the daughter of Ilādaigal,¹ gave fifteen kalañju of gold for a perpetual lamp to the god of the Tiruviraṭṭāpam (temple).

(L. 3.) For this gold, we, the citizens, shall cause to burn a perpetual lamp night and day, at the rate of one uri (of oil) per month for each kalañju.

(L. 5.) This (gift is placed under) the protection of all Māhēśvaras.

E. and F.—INSCRIPTIONS OF PARANTAKA I.

These two Tamil inscriptions (Nos. 279 and 280 of 1902) belong to the reign of "Parakēsarivarman who took Madirai (Madhurā)," i.e. of the Chōla king Parāntaka I.² The first is dated in his 28th and the second, which follows it in line 4, in his 33rd year.

The inscription E. records the gift of a lamp by a daughter of Kayiṟūr Perumāṇār, a chief of Milāḍu, and the inscription F. refers to a similar gift by the regiment of prince Arikulakēsarīn. The same prince is mentioned as 'the royal son of the Chōla king' in an inscription of the 24th year of Parāntaka I. at Tiruppanḍurutti near Tanjore.³ He is perhaps identical with Arimjaya, the third son of Parāntaka I.⁴

TEXT OF E. AND F.

- 1 Svasti śrī [i*] Madirai koṇḍa kō=Pparakēsaripanma[r*]kk-iyāṇḍu 28āvadu
Malaṭṭu=Kkuvukkai-
2 kūṟattu Tirukkōvalūr Tiruvi(vi)raṭṭāpattu=Pperumāṇukku oru-nondā-
vilakku[k*]ku Mil[ī]ḍ-ndaiyār
3 Kayiṟūr=Pperumāṇār magalār Rājadēviyār Tēṣaḍakki Perumāṇār vaitta
śāvā m[ū]vā=ppēr-āḍu nū-
4 ṇu [i*] ivai pan-Māhēśvara-rakshai || 6 Svasti śrī [i*] Madirai koṇḍa
kō=Pparakēsaripanma[r*]kk-iyāṇḍu [3]3āvadu Tiruk-
5 kōvalūr Tiruvi(vi)raṭṭāpattu Mah[ā*]dēvarkku piḷaiyār Arikulakēsarīyār
paḍaiyār Malaiyāna-ōṟaiḥchēvagar oru-
6 nondā-vilakkukku śandirādittavall-eriya vaitta śāvā nu(mū)vā=ppēr-āḍu nūṇu [i*]
ivai pan-Māhēśvara-rakshai || [6]

TRANSLATION OF E.

Hail! Prosperity! In the 28th year of king Parakēsarivarman who took Madirai,— Rājadēviyār Tēṣaḍakki⁵ Perumāṇār, the daughter of the lord of Milāḍu, Kayiṟūr

¹ The name of this person suggests that she may have been connected with the Lāṭa chiefs of the North Arcot district; see above, p. 124 and note 4.

² See above, p. 122 and note 6.

³ Published by Mr. Venkayya in the *Madras Christian College Magazine* of August 1890.

⁴ No. 6 of the Tables in *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. I. p. 112.

⁵ This word means 'the subduer of the lustre (of enemies).' Both this surname and the following title *Perumāṇār* would be more appropriate for a prince, than for a princess.

Perumāṇār, gave one hundred undying (and) unaging big sheep¹ for one perpetual lamp to (the god) Perumāḷ² of the Tiruvirattāṇam (temple) at Tirukkōvalūr in Kurukkai-kūrram, (a subdivision) of Malāḍu. These (sheep are placed under) the protection of all Māhēśvaras.

TRANSLATION OF F.

Hail! Prosperity! In the 33rd year of king Parakēsarivarman who took Madirai,—the Malaiyāna-oggaichchēvagar,³ the regiment of prince Arikulakēsarīyār, gave one hundred undying (and) unaging big sheep for one perpetual lamp, (which was) to burn as long as the moon and the sun shall last, to (the god) Mahādēva of the Tiruvirattāṇam (temple) at Tirukkōvalūr. These (sheep are placed under) the protection of all Māhēśvaras.

G.—INSCRIPTION OF KRISHNA III.

This Tamil inscription (No. 268 of 1902) is dated in the 21st year of Kaṇṇaradēva, i.e. of the Rāshtrakūṭa king Krishna III.⁴ It records a grant of land by the Vaidumba-mahārāja Śandayaṇ Tiruvayaṇ and (his queen) Śūttiradēvi.⁵

The Vaidumbas appear to have been local chiefs. One of them is stated to have been defeated by Parāntaka I.⁶ 'Śandayaṇ Tiruvayaṇ,' i.e. Tiruvayaṇ, the son of Śandayaṇ, has to be identified with Tiruvaiyaṇ, the father of Śamkaradēva who was a contemporary of Rājarāja I.⁷ and who is called a Vaidumba in an inscription of Rājendra-Chōḷa I.⁸

The subjoined grant of Tiruvayaṇ is quoted, and the names and measurements of the fields are repeated, in an inscription of Rājarāja I. (No. 236 of 1902), which has been utilized for the translation of the present record.

TEXT.

- 1 Svasti śri [i*] Kaṇṇaradēvaṅk-iyāṇḍu irubattoṇṇāvadu Malāṭṭu=Kkurukkai-kkūrrattu Tirukkōvalūr-Ttiruvi(vi)ratṭāṇam=udaiya perumāṇa-
- 2 ḍigalukku Vaidumba-mahārājar Śandayaṇ Tiruvayaṇ Tirukkōvalūr sabhaiyār-
idai yāṇ vilai-konḍa bhūmi Uṇāṅalpūṇḍi.⁹
- 3 yir-paḍu=nilam naṇṇēyum puṇṇēyum Bagavanda-kkaḷaṇi irubattēṭṭum Kāḍēru kālū=
Marattulāṇ-vāli eṭṭum Kāḷarmēḍu ki(ki)liṇa
- 4 pattum mēḷaṇa iraṇḍu māvum Kāḷiya-kkaḷaṇi Kōṇpāḍu eṭṭu māvum [i*] ittaṇai
nilamum poṇ kuṇḍuttu iṇai ilichchi ālvār-
- 5 kku=ttiruvamudu [i]ratṭikku nivandañ-jeydu kuṇḍuttēṇ Tiruvayaṇ-ēṇ [i*]
ivaīyirṇil Kaḍambaṇum=Uttiraṇ-idai-Chchēttiradēvi kon-
- 6 ḍu kuṇḍuttāṇa pattu=chcheguvum Uvachcha-kkaḷaṇ [i*] idu pan-Māhēśvarar=irakshai ||—

TRANSLATION.

(Line 1.) Hail! Prosperity! In the twenty-first year of Kaṇṇaradēva,—I, the Vaidumba-mahārāja Śandayaṇ Tiruvayaṇ, purchased from the members of the assembly of Tirukkōvalūr (the following) wet land and dry land, situated in Uṇāṅalpūṇḍi:— the

¹ See above, p. 134, note 2.

² See above, p. 139, note 9.

³ I.e. 'the unrivalled warriors of Malayālam.' This was perhaps a regiment of Nairs.

⁴ See above, p. 135 and note 3.

⁵ This name may correspond in Sanskrit either to Śūtradēvi or to Śūdradēvi.

⁶ South-Ind. Insor. Vol. II. p. 387, verse 9.

⁷ South-Ind. Insor. Vol. III. p. 104.

⁸ Ibid. p. 108. For other references to the Vaidumbas see *ibid.* p. 106.

⁹ The i of ḍi is expressed twice.

Bhagavanta field, (containing) twenty-eight (*mā*);¹ (the field called) *Kāḍēru*, (containing) a quarter (*vēli*);² the *Marattulān* field, (containing) eight (*mā*); ten (*mā*) below the *Kāḷarmēdu*; two *mā* above (the same); and eight *mā* (called) *Kōrpādu* (in) the *Kāḷiya* field. Having paid gold and having exempted this land from taxes, I, *Tiruvayan*, gave (*it*) to the god of the *Tiruvirattāṇam* (temple) at *Tirukkōvalūr* in *Kurukkai-kūṇṇam*, (a subdivision) of *Malādu*, for the requirements of a double (daily) offering to the god.

(L. 5.) Out of this (land) *Śūttiradēvi* gave a field of ten (*mā*), which (she) had purchased from *Kaḍamban* and *Uttiran*, (as) a field for the *Urachchas*.³

(L. 6.) This (gift is placed under) the protection of all *Māhēśvaras*.

H.—INSCRIPTION OF KRISHNA III.

This Tamil inscription (No. 235 of 1902) belongs to the same king as the preceding one (G.). The year of the reign is obliterated, but may have been the 22nd. The inscription records a gift of gold by a female relative of the *Vaidumba-mahārāja* *Tiruvayan*, whose name has been already met with in G.

TEXT.

- 1 Svasti śrī [||*] Kannaradēvaṅku yā[n]ḍu⁴ [Mal*][āt]tu-
Kkurukkai-kkūṇṇattu-Ttirukkōvalūr-Ttiruvi(vi)raṭṭāpatt-ālvārkkū sam-
- 2 [kr]ānti-tōḡum snapaṇaṇ=jeyvadaṅku Vaidum[ba]-mahārājar Tiruvayaṇār dēviyār
mu(mā)tta-dēviyār Virattān Vi(vi)raṇārāṇiyār vaitta
- 3 [po]ṇ irubadiṅ kaḷaṇḍu [*] i-ppon irubadiṅ . kaḷaṇḍu=gonḍu kaḷaṇḍu-vāy=kkala-
ppoliyūṭṭ=āga=ppērilama(mai)[y]āl irubadiṅ
- 4 kala=nellum tūyav=ākki kūli-pparam paṭṭu tiru-muṇṇattukkē koḍu seṇṇ=alaṇḍu
kuḍuppōm=āṇōm Milāḍamāṇikkam=āgiyā(ya) Neṇmali sa[bb]aiyōm [*] i-nne-
- 5 1 taṇḍuvārkkū me[y*]=kkaṇḍu sōḡu kuḍuppōm=āṇōm Neṇmali sabhaiyōm [*]
Neṇmali sabhaiyārum Śirriṇḍūr sabhaiyārum pēriḷa-
- 6 ma(mai)yāl=alakk[u]=nelli aṇubadiṅ kalam=ivai eṇṇāli-kkālāl eḷuba[t]taiṇ-
[ga]lamu[n=d]iṅgaḷ-obādi aṇu-kalaṇḍ m[u]-kkuṇṇu[ṇi]yūn=gonḍu kalaṇḍam iruba . .
.

TRANSLATION.

(Line 1.) Hail! Prosperity! In the [22nd?] year of *Kannaradēva*,— queen *Virattān* *Viranārāṇiyār* (i.e. *Viranārāyaṇī*), the elder sister of the queen of the *Vaidumba-mahārāja* *Tiruvayaṇār*, gave twenty *kaḷaṇḍu* of gold to the god of the *Tiruvirattāṇam* (temple) at *Tirukkōvalūr* in *Kurukkai-kūṇṇam*, (a subdivision) of *Malādu*, for bathing (the god) at every *saṁkrānti*.

(L. 3.) Having received these twenty *kaḷaṇḍu* of gold, we, the members of the assembly of *Milāḍamāṇikkam* alias *Neṇmali*, shall have to supply — at the rate of interest of one *kalam* per *kaḷaṇḍu* — twenty *kalam* of paddy by the *pērilamai* (measure), cleaning (*it*), defraying the cooly charge, conveying (the paddy) to the very court-yard of the temple, going (there) and measuring (*it*).

(L. 4.) To those (temple officials) who shall call for this paddy, we, the members of the assembly of *Neṇmali*, shall have to supply boiled rice after having identified (their) persons.

¹ The *mā* is $\frac{1}{16}$ of a *vēli*.

² This is equal to five *mā*, the measurement of this field given in No. 236 of 1902.

³ I. e. the temple drummers: see *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. II. p. 299, note 2.

⁴ The existing traces of letters suggest the reading *22dvadu*.

(L. 5.) The members of the assembly of Neṇmali and the members of the assembly of Śirriṇjūr have to measure sixty *kalam* of paddy by the *pēṛḷamai*.

(L. 6.) Having received these (sixty *kalam*), (which are equal to) seventy-five *kalam* by the *kāl* of eight *nāḷi*, and to six *kalam* and three *kuruṇi* per month,
 . . . twenty (?) pots²

I.—INSCRIPTION OF KRISHNA III.

This Tamil inscription (No. 267 of 1902) is dated in the 24th year of the same king as the two preceding inscriptions (G. and H.) and records a gift of 24 lamps by the Vaidumba-mahārāja Tiruvayan, the donor of G.

TEXT.

- 1 Svasti śrī [||*] Kaṇṇaradēvark=iyāṇḍu(ṇḍu) irubattu-nāḷāyadu Malāṭṭu=Kkuruṅkai-kūṛattu=
- 2 Ttirukkōval[ū]r=Ttiruv[i]raṭṭāṇatt=ālvārku Vaidumba-mahārājar Tiruvayanār
- 3 ālvārku [cha]ndrādittaval tiru-viḷakku 24kku vaiṭṭa āḍu sāvā mu(mū)vā=ppē-
- 4 r-āḍu iraṇḍāyirattu-munnūṇṇu-nāḷiṇālum nondā-viḷakku pan-Māhēśvara-rakshai ||—

TRANSLATION.

Hail! Prosperity! In the twenty-fourth year of Kaṇṇaradēva,— the Vaidumba-mahārāja Tiruvayanār gave to the god of the Ttiruvirattāṇam (*temple*) at Tirukkōvalūr in Kuruṅkai-kūṛam, (*a subdivision*) of Malāḍu, two thousand three hundred and four undying (*and*) unaging big sheep³ for 24 sacred lamps (*which shall burn*) before the god as long as the moon and the sun shall last. The perpetual lamps (*fed*) by (*the ghee prepared from the milk of these sheep are placed under*) the protection of all Māhēśvaras.

J.—INSCRIPTION OF RAJARAJA I.

This Tamil inscription (No. 239 of 1902) is dated in the 9th year of Rājarājakēśari-varman, i.e. of the Chōḷa king Rājarāja I., and records the gift of a lamp by Amitravalli, (the daughter of) Kundanan and the mother of queen Lōkamahādēvi. The same queen of Rājarāja I. is mentioned in inscriptions at Tanjore and Tiruvaiyāru.⁴

TEXT.

- 1 Svasti śrī [||*] Kō Rājarājakēśarivanma[r*]ku yāṇḍu onppadā-⁵
- 2 vadu Mi[||]ṭṭu=Kkuruṅkai-kkūṛattu=[T]tirukkōvalūr=Ttīda(ru)-
- 3 vi(vi)raṭṭāṇam uḍe(ḍai)yār[k*]ku nam-birāṭṭiyār Ulōgamahādēviyā[rai]=
- 4 ttiru-vayīṇu-vāytta Kundanan [A]mittirava[||]li ālvārku-
- 5 ku chaṇḍrādittavat vaichecha nondā-viḷakku ongu [||*] tiruvuṇ[ā]ḷ[||*]-
- 6 gaiyār i-[v*]viḷakkāl pon [k]onḍu chaṇḍr[ā]dittavala(lu)m⁶ viḷak[k]=eri-
- 7 [p]pōm=āṇḍom tiruvuṇṇāḷig[ai]-sabhaiyōm [||*] iraṇḍu kāsū
- 8 peṇṇa ḷa-viḷakku on[ru] [||*] idu pan-Māhēśvara-rakshai ||—

¹ *Kāl* is a shorter form of *marakkāl* or *kuruṇi*, a measure which consists of 8 *nāḷi* and is equal to $\frac{1}{12}$ *kalam* compare *South-Ind. Inscri.* Vol. II. p. 48, note 5.

² These pots were evidently required for the bathing of the god, which was the purpose of the grant according to L. 2 of the inscription.

³ See above, p. 134, note 2.

⁴ *South-Ind. Inscri.* Vol. II. pp. 90, 143, 148, 152, and 278, note 7; above, p. 25, note 8.

⁵ Read *onppadāḍu*.

⁶ The secondary sign for *i* stands above *ava* of *avaḷam*.

Tirukkovalur Inscriptions.

B.

தெய்வத்தின் புகழைப் பாராட்டி
சாத்திரம் கற்றுக் கொள்ளுமாறு
நாடுகளைப் புகழ்ந்து கொள்ளுமாறு
புகழ்ந்து கொள்ளுமாறு
புகழ்ந்து கொள்ளுமாறு
புகழ்ந்து கொள்ளுமாறு

E. AND F.

தெய்வத்தின் புகழைப் பாராட்டி
சாத்திரம் கற்றுக் கொள்ளுமாறு
நாடுகளைப் புகழ்ந்து கொள்ளுமாறு
புகழ்ந்து கொள்ளுமாறு
புகழ்ந்து கொள்ளுமாறு
புகழ்ந்து கொள்ளுமாறு

G.

தெய்வத்தின் புகழைப் பாராட்டி
சாத்திரம் கற்றுக் கொள்ளுமாறு
நாடுகளைப் புகழ்ந்து கொள்ளுமாறு
புகழ்ந்து கொள்ளுமாறு
புகழ்ந்து கொள்ளுமாறு
புகழ்ந்து கொள்ளுமாறு

I.

தெய்வத்தின் புகழைப் பாராட்டி
சாத்திரம் கற்றுக் கொள்ளுமாறு
நாடுகளைப் புகழ்ந்து கொள்ளுமாறு
புகழ்ந்து கொள்ளுமாறு
புகழ்ந்து கொள்ளுமாறு
புகழ்ந்து கொள்ளுமாறு

TRANSLATION.

(Line 1.) Hail! Prosperity! In the ninth year of king Rājārājakēsarivarman,—Kundanaṇ **Amitravalli**, who gave birth to our lady Lōkamahādēviyār, gave to the god of the Tiruvirattāṇṇam (temple) at Tirukkōvalūr in Kuṟukkai-kūṟṟam, (a subdivision) of Milāḍu, one perpetual lamp (which shall burn) before the god as long as the moon and the sun shall last.

(L. 5.) Having received gold for this lamp, we, the members of the assembly (in charge) of the store-room of the temple,¹ shall have to burn the lamp as long as the moon and the sun shall last.

(L. 7.) One *īḷa* lamp(-stand),² worth two *kāṣu*, (was also given).

(L. 8.) This (gift is placed under) the protection of all Māhēśvaras.

K.—INSCRIPTION OF RAJENDRADEVA.

This inscription (No. 123 of 1900) opens with a Sanskrit verse in the Grantha alphabet; the remainder is written in Tamil. It is dated in the 6th year of the Chōla king Parakēsarivarman alias Rājēndradēva, i.e. A.D. 1057-58.³ As in other inscriptions,⁴ Rājēndradēva is stated to have conquered Raṭṭapāḍi, to have set up a pillar of victory at Kollāparam, and to have defeated Āhavamalla at Koppam.

The object of the inscription is to commemorate the rebuilding of the Tiruvīḍaikaḷi temple at Tirukkōvalūr by a chief of Milāḍu, named Narasiṁhavarman, who had the surname Raṇakēsari-Rāma, belonged to the family of Bhārgava,⁵ and resided at Tirukkōvalūr.

TEXT.

- 1 || Svastī śrī-Narasimhavanma(rma)-nripatiḥ Śr[ī]kōvalūrē bhajan vāsaṁ viśva-jagan-nivāsa-vapushaḥ śrī-Vāmanasy=[ā]kar[ō]t [i*] śailam śumbhita-sātakumbha-vilasat-kumbham ma-
- 2 hā-maṇḍa[pa]m prākāraṁ para-mālikā-vilasita[m*] muktāmāyī(yi)ṁ=cha prapā(bhā)m ||—Kōyil śrī-Vaiyishnavar rakshai || Svastī śrī [i*] Tirumagaḷ maruviya tēngol vaḷara=ttan tiru-ttam[ai]yan[ō]ḍum [pō]-
- 3 y Irattapāḍi ā-arai ilakkamuṁ=gonḍu Kollāpurattu jayasta[m]bha[=]nāṭṭi mīḍu pōṇdu pār-āṟṟaṁ-garai Koppattu Āhavamallaṇai aṇjuvittu āṅgavaṇ āṇaiyum kuḍiraiyum [p]e-
- 4 pḍir-paṇḍāramuṁ=gaṇy-kkonḍu vijaiya[r=a]bhishēkaṇ=jeydu vi(vi)ra-simhāsanattu [vi]ṟṟ-irund=aruḷiya kō=Pparakēsaripanmar-āṇa uḍaiyār śrī-Rājēndradēvaṇku yāṇḍu āṇvadu Milāḍ=āna Ja[nan]āda-[va]ṇ[ā]ṭṭu-Kkuru-
- 5 kkal-kūṟṟattu brahmadēyam Tirukkōvalūr-āṇa śrī-Madurāntaka-śādurvēdi-maṇḍalattu=Tiruvīḍaikaḷi [ā]vār śrī-vi[m]ānam muṇba [i]śhṭagai-ppaḍaiy-āy=ppaḷagi=ppilāṇḍamai kaṇḍu Bhārggava-vamśattu Miḷḷāḍu [u]ḍai-
- 6 yār Irānakēsari-Irāmar-āṇa Narasiṅgava[nma]r kōyilai iḷich[chi=kka]rṇā[ga]llā koṇḍu śrī-vimānamum [ma]ṇḍapamu[m] e[ḍu]ppittu pūra[ṇa]-poṟ-kuḍam ai[ṇ]ju vai[p]pittu tiruchchurumāligaiyum [mu]nbi[ī] maṇḍapa-
- 7 mum eḍu[p]pittu mu[t]tu-ppandaluṁ=guduttu munbu kal-v[ē]ṭṭu-ppaḍiy-uḷla nima[nda]ḷaḷl=ellām inda śrī-vim[āna]ttē kallum vēṭṭuvittār Narasiṅgavanmar enṟu abishēgam paṇ-

¹ Compare *South-Ind. Insor.* Vol. III. p. 20, note 5. The word *tiruvuṇḍligai* is repeated in a clumsy manner (l. 5 f. and l. 7).

² See above, p. 134, note 3.

³ See page 7 above.

⁴ *South-Ind. Insor.* Vol. II. p. 308; Vol. III. pp. 39 and 111.

⁵ I.e. Śukra, the planet Venus; compare p. 135 above.

⁶ Read *-chalurukki*.

8 ni mudī kavittu Milāḍu irapḍā[yi]ra]m pūmiyum āṇḍa Milāḍu-ndaiyār
Naraśi[n]gava[nma]r ||— Naraśiṅgavanmar śaṇḍrāḍittaval erik kaṇṇa vaṇṇa
tira-nundā-viḷakku irap[ḍu] [i*] [i]v[ai]-
9 [ch]chukku viḷakk=erikka kuḍutta śāva mu(mā)vā=ppera[m]-baṣu [aṇu]baṭṭa-va-nūlu [i*]
ivaichehāl niṣadam viḷakku ira[n]ḍin[i]ḷku ney uṇi [i*] i-ppa-ṣu-kaḷ[ai]-
kko[nḍu*]

TRANSLATION.

(Line 1.) Hail! The glorious prince Narasimhavarman, residing in Śrīkōvalūra,¹ made for the god Vāmana, in whose body the whole world abides, a great *maṇḍapa* of stone, resplendent with pitchers of shining gold, a surrounding wall, adorned with excellent buildings, and a canopy of pearls. (*These buildings are placed under*) the protection of the *śrī*-Vaishnavas of the temple.

(L. 2.) Hail! Prosperity! In the sixth year of king Parakēsarivarman *alias* the lord Śrī-Rājēndradēva, who, while (*his*) sceptre, embraced by the goddess of Fortune, was prospering, went with his royal elder brother,² conquered the seven and a half *lakṣas* of Raṭṭapāḍi, set up a pillar of victory at Kollāpuram, started again, terrified Āhavamalla at Koppam (*i.e.*) the bank of the great river, seized his elephants, horses, women and treasures, performed the *manvantara* of victors, and was pleased to take his seat on the throne of heroes,—

(L. 4.) Having perceived that the central shrine of the god of the Tiruviḍaikaḷi (*temple*) at Tirukkōvalūr *alias* Śrī-Madurāntaka-chaturvēdimāṅgalaṃ, a *brahmahūya* in Kōṭṭukkai-kūṭṭam, (*a subdivision*) of Milāḍu *alias* Jananātha-vaṇaṣḍu, which formerly consisted of layers of bricks, had become old and cracked,—the lord of Milāḍu of the Bhārgava lineage, Rapa-kēsari-Rāma *alias* Narasimhavarman, pulled down the temple, rebuilt the central shrine and the *maṇḍapa* of granite, placed (*on the shrine*) five solid pitchers of gold, built a surrounding wall and a *maṇḍapa* in front, and gave a canopy of pearls.

(L. 7.) The lord of Milāḍu, Narasimhavarman, who, having been anointed and crowned under the name Narasimhavarman, ruled the two thousand country of Milāḍu, caused to be re-engraved (*on*) the stones of this central shrine all endowments from copies of the former engraving on stone.

(L. 8.) Narasimhavarman gave two perpetual lamps, to burn as long as the moon and the sun shall last. For feeding these lamps, (*he*) gave sixty-four undying (*and*) *arranging* big cows.³ From these, one *uri* of ghee (*has to be supplied*) daily to (*these*) two lamps. Having received these cows,

L.—INSCRIPTION OF RĀMA NARASIMHA.

This inscription (No. 118 of 1900) consists of a single Tamil verse. It is a short poetical version of the preceding inscription (K.) and refers to the rebuilding of the *Idaikaḷi* temple at Kōval, *i.e.* Tirukkōvalūr, by Rāma Narasimha.

TEXT.

- 1 Svasti śrī [i*] Naṇ-gōṇ=Irāmaṇ=eliṇ-cheṇḍō-
- 2 Naraśi[n]gaṇ eṇ-gōṇ-ṇaṇ Kōval Idaikaḷiyi-
- 3 1 aṇḍē karuṇḡaṇ-paḍai ai[n]ḍu śem-boṇ-
- 4 kuḍan=dā-ṇeruṅga=ppayilvittā=ṇiṇru ||—

¹ This is a Sanskritized form of Tirukkōvalūr.

² *Via* Rājādhirāja I.; see *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. III. p. 89.

³ Compare above, p. 134, note 2.

TRANSLATION.

Hail! Prosperity! Our king Rāma **Narasimha**, whose sceptre is beautiful, caused to be placed close together (*and*) permanently layers of granite (*and*) five pitchers of pure gold in the **Idaikali** (*temple*) at our god's **Kōval**.

M.—INSCRIPTION OF NARASIMHAVARMAN.

This **Tamiḷ** inscription (No. 120 of 1900) gives the name of the architect who rebuilt the temple on account of **Narasimhavarman**, the chief of **Milāḍu** (see K. above).

TEXT.

- 1 Milāḍ-udaiyār **Narasīṅgavanmarkkāga** n[i]ṅṇu¹
- 2 inda śrī-vimānam eḍuppiḥchān Śembaṅgudaiyān
- 3 [N]ārāyaṇan Ādittan=āna Śō[la]ṅṇundara-Mu(mū)vēndavēlān ||—

TRANSLATION.

On account of the lord of **Milāḍu**, **Narasimhavarman**, this central shrine was caused to be built by **Śembaṅgudaiyān Nārāyaṇa Āditya** *alias* **Chōlasundara-Mūvēndavēlān**.

N.—INSCRIPTION OF RAJARAJA II.

This **Tamiḷ** inscription (No. 119 of 1900) records a gift by a chief of **Malāḍu**, named **Narasimha**, who is stated to have been the grandson of that Rāma **Narasimhavarman** who rebuilt the temple. This refers to **Rapakēsari-Rāma** *alias* **Narasimhavarman**, the contemporary of **Rājēndradēva** (see K. above).

The inscription quotes the third year of **Rājarājadēva**. As the donor was the grandson of a contemporary of **Rājēndradēva**, the **Rājarājadēva** who is meant here must be the **Chōla** king **Rājarāja II**.²

TEXT.

- 1 Inda śrī-vimāṇan=garuṅgaḥ-padaī śeyvitta Irāman **Narasīṅgapaṇṇan** pēraṇ
Kariya-Perumāl Periyāṇāyan-ēṇ i-kkōyilil tiruppaṇ[i]kku
- 2 oru-talai-kaṇ-pāṇ oru-kiḍā Irājaīrājadēvaṅku mu(mū)ṇ[rā]vadu maḍal eṇ
 vaṇṇi[ya*]³ param=āga iḍuvadāga=kkal vēṭṭi vittēṇ **Periyāṇāyan-āṇa**⁴ **Nara-**
- 3 **śiṅga-Malāḍ-udaiyāṇ-ēṇ** ||⁵

TRANSLATION.

I, **Kariya-Perumāl Periyāṇāyan** *alias* **Narasimha**, the lord of **Malāḍu**,— the grandson of **Rāma Narasimhavarman** who caused this central shrine to be made (of) layers of granite,— (caused it to be) engraved (on) stone that (I) shall give (every year) from the third (year) of **Rājarājadēva**, for the merit of my ancestors, one ram, carrying one stone on (its) head,⁶ for the repairs in this temple.

¹ The second *n* is entered below the line.

² The final *r* has been inserted above the line.

³ **Periāṇāyan-āṇa** is corrected by the engraver from ***āṇāyan-ēṇ** ||.

⁴ This punctuation is expressed by a *visarga* and a horizontal line.

⁵ What is meant, is perhaps a column ending in a ram's head, and above it a stone to support the roof.

No. 21.—TWO FURTHER INSCRIPTIONS OF TAMMUSIDDHI.

By H. Lüders, Ph.D.; GÖTTINGEN.

A.—TIRUVORRIYUR INSCRIPTION OF SAKA-SAMVAT 1129.

The subjoined inscription is engraved on the east wall of the second *prākāra* of the Ādhipurīśvara temple at Tiruvorriyūr in the Saidāpēt taluka of the Chingleput district.¹ The excellent inked estampages from which it is edited here were supplied to me by Dr. Hultsch.

The inscription consists of 26 lines in Grantha characters which vary in size from $\frac{3}{8}$ " to $1\frac{1}{2}$ ". The language is Sanskrit, and the whole text is in verse. With regard to orthography it may be noted that the engraver has followed the common practice of the time in this part of the country, in writing a surd consonant instead of a sonant before a sonant, in *patma* (ll. 1, 2, 3), *prīkṛthyām* (l. 3), *utbhavati* (l. 8), *ushatbudha* (l. 13), and *bhavatbhir* (l. 25). Instead of *ushadbudha* lexicographers teach *usharbudha*, and this form is actually found in the *Uttarardmacharita* (6, 4*). Nevertheless I do not venture to alter *ushatbudha* into *usharbudha*, as the word occurs again in exactly the same shape in line 15 of the Aruḷāla-Perumāḷ inscription of Tammusiddhi (B. below), and under these circumstances a mere clerical error seems to be out of the question.²

The inscription is one of king Tammusiddhi or Tammusiddha, and in every respect closely resembles the two inscriptions of that chief which I have edited above, p. 119 ff. I have pointed out already on that occasion that the present inscription is of some importance as settling the question of the relationship of Dāyabhīma and Nallasiddhi, which was left undetermined by the other two records.³ Besides, the genealogical portion of the inscription contains seven new verses, three of which, however, are of no interest for the historian as they are merely in praise of some well-known heroes of the solar line from which Tammusiddhi claimed descent, *viz.* Raghu (v. 8), Daśaratha (v. 9), and Rāma (v. 10). Verse 12 also, which alludes to the feats of the ancient Chōla king Kalikāla, adds nothing to our knowledge as it is an almost literal equivalent of the corresponding verse in the other two inscriptions. The verses 26 and 27 are eulogies of Tammusiddhi after the usual fashion.

The only new verse of historical value is verse 15, which introduces a king Betta as a descendant of Madhurāntaka Pottappi-Chōla and an ancestor of Tīlūṅgavidya or, as he is called here (v. 16), Tīlūṅgabijja. Literally translated, the verse runs thus: "In this family was born (a king) called Betta, who was the crusher of the thunderbolt whose flight was impelled by Śakra; if he with his fiery splendour had risen before, the cutting of the wings of the mountains also would not have taken place." Betta is here compared to Agni, the fire or the fire-god, who has the reputation of being able to split diamonds and thunderbolts.⁴ As Betta,

¹ No. 104 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for the year 1892.

² The writing *ushadbudha* is perhaps due to the influence of Tamil phonology. As in Tamil a Sanskrit dental generally assumes the sound of *r* before a labial (compare e.g. Tamil *urpatti* = Sanskrit *utpatti* and Tamil *ayudan* = Sanskrit *adāntam*), I think it not unlikely that the *r* of *usharbudha* also was looked at as a secondary sound and therefore erroneously converted into *d* or *t*.

³ It will be noticed that the term *tad-ushāntajaḥ* in verse 11 of the Tiruppāṣūr inscription is replaced here (v. 20) by the words *ay=antajaḥ*.

⁴ See especially a passage in the *Uttarardmacharita* (6, 4*), pointed out to me by Prof. Kielhorn: *uśāhanda-vajra-bhāṇḍa-carphāṭṭa-paṭuḥ . . . usharbudhaḥ*, 'the fire . . . which is able to split into pieces the exceedingly hard vajras.' In this case, it is true, *vajra* would naturally suggest the meaning of diamond; but as *vajra* has also the meaning of thunderbolt, and as the thunderbolt is thought to be of the same substance with the diamond, it is easy to understand how later writers came to credit the fire also with the faculty of destroying thunderbolts.

(V. 26.) When the thousand-eyed (Indra) in (*his*) court constantly hears of his (*i.e.* Tammusiddhi's) brilliant fame, pleasant to the ear, from the sweet-voiced mouth of the Kinnaras, I am sure, he will covet again the wife of the sage Gautama¹ out of desire for the development of ears equal in number to his eyes.²

(V. 27.) Victorious is his sword, which is decked with shining pearls that have dropped from the cleft large frontal globes of the numerous princely elephants of (*his*) enemies, (*and*) which resembles the primeval spirit (Vishnu), because it is dark-blue (*and*) covered with dust as (*Vishnu is sprinkled*) with the water of the milk-ocean, (*and*) because it has established (*his*) royal power (*as Vishnu is united with Lakshmi*).

B.—ARULALA-PERUMAL INSCRIPTION OF SAKA-SAMVAT 1127.

This inscription, which I edit from inked estampages supplied to me by Dr. Hultzsch, is engraved at the base of the north wall of the stone platform called 'the mountain' (*malai*) in the Arulala-Perumal temple at Conjeeveram.³

It is written in Grantha characters which vary in height from $\frac{1}{8}$ " to $1\frac{1}{2}$ ". Up to line 15, medial *ai* is expressed in the usual manner by putting the two spirals side by side; see *tasmai* (l. 1), *saiya* (l. 1), *gunair* (l. 7), *sambhavair* (l. 8), *kirtiyai* (l. 9), *svairam* (l. 10), *yair* (l. 12). But in the second half of the inscription the two signs are put one above the other; see *asy=Airasidhdhi-* (l. 16), *yair* (l. 17), *tējōnayair* (l. 17), *nijair=nnayana'is* (l. 17), *-āsmat Hastiśailēśvarāya* (l. 20), *akhilair* (l. 20), *jaṭālair=mmakutair* (l. 21). The language is Sanskrit, and, with the exception of a short passage in ll. 19 and 20, the whole text is in verse. The spelling of the words *patma* (ll. 1, 3, 4), *Vālmīkivat bhānu-* (l. 9), *abhāt bhuj-āpadānēna* (l. 9), *utbhavati* (l. 10), *ushatbudha*⁴ (l. 15), *sphāyat-bhūmnē* (l. 20), *prādāt grāmam* (l. 20), *bhavatbhīr* (l. 20) is in agreement with the practice followed in similar Grantha inscriptions. The group *ddh* is written *dhdh* in *Airasidhdhi* and *rōdhādhm* in line 16.

This is another record of king Tammusiddhi. It enriches our knowledge by incidentally mentioning the surname of Tammusiddhi's father, Ērasiddhi, and the time and place of Tammusiddhi's inauguration. This information is found in l. 19 f. where it is recorded that in the Śaka year 1127 (=A.D. 1205-6) king Tammusiddhi, the son of Gaṇḍagōpāla and Śrīdēvi, the younger brother of the great king Maṇmasiddhi, having performed his anointment in the town of Nellūr, presented the village of Muṭṭiyampākka, the head-quarters of Paṇṭarāśṭra, to the god, the lord of Hastiśaila. Nellūr is the modern Nellore, the chief town of the district of that name. Muṭṭiyampākka and the district of Paṇṭarāśṭra I am unable to identify. The temple of the lord of Hastiśaila, *i.e.* 'the elephant mountain,' is the Arulala-Perumal temple⁵ where the inscription is engraved.

Except these data, the inscription contains nothing of historical value which is not known to us from the previously published records of Tammusiddhi, the four verses (4, 8, 9, 12) which here appear for the first time being merely eulogies of the king's mythical ancestors: Brahman, Sagara, Bhagiratha and Kuśa. Perhaps it is worth mentioning that Tiluṅgavidya and Nallasiddhi are omitted in the genealogy, and that the name Betta is here constantly spelt Vetta (vv. 17, 19, 24).

¹ *I.e.* Ahalyā, whom Indra tried to seduce. When Gautama became aware of his intention, he cursed the god, in consequence of which Indra's body was covered with a thousand eyes.

² The idea which forms the theme of this verse is rather far-fetched. Indra, being eager to listen to Tammusiddhi's praise, wants to have a thousand ears. He therefore looks again for Gautama's wife, hoping that by a new curse of the sage he will get as many ears as he has got eyes.

³ No. 95 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for the year 1893.

⁴ With respect to this word I refer to my remarks above, p. 148.

⁵ [Compare above, Vol. III. p. 71, and Vol. IV. p. 145.—E. H.]

of a donation¹ (to Brāhmanas), as an *agrahāra* — extending to its proper boundaries, with the *udranga*, together with all income that might be claimed by the king's family,² exempt from all obligations,³ as a piece taken out of the district⁴ (to which it belongs), to follow the succession of⁵ sons and sons' sons, for as long as the moon, the sun and the earth endure, according to the maxim of *bhūmichehhidra* — to the *Bhaṭṭa* Vātasvāmin who is of the *gōtra* of *Sāvarṇi* and a fellow-student of the *Chhandōgas*,⁶ and the *Bhaṭṭa* Śivadēvasvāmin who is of the *gōtra* of *Vishnuvridha* and a fellow-student of the *Bahvrichas*.⁷ Knowing this, you should assent to this, and the resident people, being ready to obey my commands, should make over only to these two⁸ the *tulya-mēya*,⁹ the share of the produce, payments in money and other kinds of income, as they may be due, and should render service to them. Moreover:—

(L. 16.) Those who profess (to belong to) the noble line of our family and others should approve of this donation. Of fortune, unstable as lightning and a bubble of water, donations and the preservation of others' fame¹⁰ are the (real) fruit.

By deeds, thoughts and words one should do good to the living. This *Harsha* has declared to be the very best way of earning religious merit.

(L. 17.) The *dūtaka* in this matter is the *Mahāpramātāra Mahāsāmanta*, the illustrious *Skandagupta*. And by order of the great officer in charge of the office of records, the *Sāmanta Mahārāja* *Īśvaragupta*, (this was) engraved by *Garjara*.

The year 20 5 *Mārgaśīrsha-vadi* 6.

No. 23.— TIRUVENDIPURAM INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF RAJARAJA III., NARASIMHA II. AND KOPPERUṆJINGA.

By E. HOLTZSCH, Ph.D.

This inscription (No. 142 of 1902) is engraved on the west wall of the *prākāra* of the *Dēvanāyaka*-*Perumāḷ* temple at *Tiruvēndipuram*, a village $4\frac{1}{2}$ miles west-north-west of

¹ Since *pratigraha-dharmāṇḍ*, which would be a *Bahuvrīhi* compound, could not be taken to qualify *agrahāra* in the abstract noun *agrahāratvēna*, I have altered it to *pratigraha-dharmēna*. With the whole passage compare e.g. above, Vol. VI. p. 139, l. 34, *akṣa yaniet-dharmēna-dharmatvēna pratipāditah*. Compare also phrases like *pratigrahāṇa pratipāditah*, *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XV. p. 113, l. 12 of the text; *agrahāratvēna pratipāditah*, *ibid.* Vol. XX. p. 124, l. 9 of the text; *dēvagrahāratvēna pratipādayati sma*, *Gupta Inscr.* p. 289, l. 10; etc.

² With *rājakulābhāṇya* compare *rājābhāṇya* in the plates of the *Mahārājas* of *Uchchakalpa*, *Gupta Inscr.* p. 118, l. 11; p. 122, l. 18; p. 127, l. 20; etc.

³ With *sarva-parihṛita-parihāra* compare *sarvaviṣṭi-parihāra-parihṛita* in the plates of the *Vākātaka Mahārājas*, e.g. above, Vol. III. p. 262, l. 20. The meaning intended is more correctly expressed by *parihṛita-sarvāpāda*, e.g. above, Vol. IV. p. 250, l. 53, and by *sarvakāra-parihāraṁ kṛitā*, above, Vol. III. p. 223, l. 15. Compare also *sarva-bāhā-parihāra* (e.g. *Ind. Ant.* Vol. IX. p. 123, l. 35), and for similar expressions see above, Vol. VI. p. 13, note 3.

⁴ The expression *viśayād=uddhṛita-piṇḍa* I have found again only in the *Pāṇḍukēśvar* plate of *Lalitāśūra dēva*, *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXV. p. 180, l. 21. I am not quite certain about the exact meaning of it.

⁵ I.e. 'to be inherited in turn by'; compare *putra-pautr-anugāmin*, e.g. above, Vol. III. p. 262, l. 21.

⁶ I.e. a student of the *Sāmaveda*.

⁷ I.e. a student of the *Rigveda*.

⁸ Instead of *amayōr=ēva* one would have expected *abhyām=ēva*.

⁹ I do not know the exact technical meaning of *tulya-mēya* which might be translated by 'things to be weighed and to be measured'; *mēya* by itself we find, in *grāma-pratyāgā mēya-hiranyādāyaḥ*, in *Gupta Inscr.* p. 257, l. 12; and *tulya* occurs *ibid.* p. 70, l. 10, apparently in a technical sense. See also above, p. 62.

¹⁰ Viz. by not resuming the grants made by them.—The verse occurs with different readings in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIX. p. 349, l. 9 of the text, and Vol. XXV. p. 181, l. 28.

Cuddalore (Kūḍalār), the head-quarters of the South Arcot district.¹ It consists of 9 lines in the Tamil alphabet and language and forms a single big sentence, which can, however, be dissolved into several distinct periods with the help of the gerunds *kēttu*, 'having heard,' in line 2, and *eṇru*, 'having said,' in lines 3 and 4. The pronoun *namakkum*, 'to us,' in line 9 shows that the subject of the passage beginning in line 4 is the plural of the pronoun of the first person.

The language exhibits a few peculiarities. The letters *ḡ* and *ḍ* are doubled after a nasal in *yāṇḡḡu* (l. 1), *Ṣēṇḡḡu*² (l. 2) and *eḡṇḡḡu* (l. 9). Instead of the gerund *koṇḡu* (twice in l. 6, and l. 8), the poetical form *koḡu* occurs four times (ll. 2, 3, 4 and 9). *Arulivittu* (ll. 4 and 9), *arulivikka* (l. 9) and *veṭṭivittu* (l. 7) are vulgar forms of *aruluvittu*, etc.

This inscription is distinguished from most other South-Indian inscriptions, as it does not record a donation or similar transaction, but is of a purely historical character. It is dated in the 16th year of *Tribhuvanaśakravarṇin* Rājārājadeva (l. 1) and must have been engraved at the instance of two military officers (*daṇḍāḡḡa*³), named Appana and Samudra-Goppaya⁴ (l. 5), in the service of the Hoysāṇa (or Hoysala) king Vira-Nārasimhadēva (l. 1). This king had heard that Kōpperuṇḡiṇḡa had captured the Chōḡa emperor at Ṣēṇḡamaṅḡalam. Anxious to vindicate his title 'the establisher of the Chōḡa country,' he started from Dōrasamudra and conquered the Maha[ra] kingdom. When at Pāchohūr, he ordered the two above-mentioned officers to continue the campaign. They advanced through the enemy's country until they reached Ṣēṇḡamaṅḡalam, forced Kōpperuṇḡiṇḡa to release the Chōḡa emperor, and accompanied the latter into his dominions.

The title 'establisher of the Chōḡa country,' which the inscription applies to Vira-Nārasimhadēva (l. 3), and the statement that he conquered the Mahara kingdom, show that this king is identical with the Hoysāṇa Narasimha II., who in several inscriptions is styled 'the establisher of the Chōḡa kingdom' and 'the uprooter of the Makara or Magara kingdom.'⁴ As the inscriptions of Narasimha II. are dated between A.D. 1222 and 1284, it follows that the king Rājārāja, to whose 16th year the subjoined inscription belongs (l. 1), is the Chōḡa king Rājārāja III., who ascended the throne in A.D. 1216,⁵ and whose 16th year accordingly corresponded to A.D. 1231-32. He is no doubt identical with the 'Chōḡa emperor' who was captured and released at Ṣēṇḡamaṅḡalam. The dates of other inscriptions of Rājārāja III. show that he continued to reign after his re-installation. His latest known date is A.D. 1243-44 in an inscription at Poyḡṇi.⁶

The subjoined inscription mentions a considerable number of geographical names. Dōrasamudra, the capital of Narasimha II., is the modern Halēbiḡ in the Bēlūr tāḡuka of the Hassan district in the Mysore State. Pāchohūr, where he halted on his expedition against Kōpperuṇḡiṇḡa (l. 4), is perhaps identical with a village of that name in the Trichinopoly tāḡuka, opposite to the island of Śrīraṅḡam, 2 miles north of the Coleroon river, and 9½ miles west by south of Kappagūr, the southern capital of Narasimha's successor Ṣōmēśvara.⁷ If this identification of Pāchohūr is correct, it would follow that Narasimha II. left his dominions by way of the Gajalhatti pass, and that the Mahara (Makara or Magara) kingdom (l. 3) has to be looked for in the Coimbatore or Salem district. In the course of the expedition which Appana and Samudra-Goppaya undertook against Kōpperuṇḡiṇḡa, they first destroyed the villages of Ellēri, Kalliyūrmūḡalai and Toḡudagaiyūr (l. 5). Then they worshipped the god at Poṇṇambalam

¹ See Mr. Sewell's *Lists of Antiquities*, Vol. I. p. 212, where the name is spelt 'Tiruvandipuram.' The same erroneous form is found on the *Madras Survey Map* of the Cuddalore tāḡuka. The *Postal Directory of the Madras Circle*, p. 1350, has correctly 'Tiruvandipuram.'

² *Daṇḍāḡḡa* and *daṇḍāḡḡa* are *tadbhavas* of the Sanskrit *daṇḍandya*; see *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XX. p. 304 and note 7.

³ The first part of this name is apparently derived from Dōrasamudra.

⁴ See Fleet's *Des. Kan. Distr.* p. 507; Mr. Rice's *Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV., Ng. 96, and Vol. VI., Kd. 12a.

(l. 6 f.), destroyed *Tonḍaimāṇallūr*, and halted at *Tiruppādirippuliyūr* (l. 7). Next they destroyed *Tiruvadigai* and *Tiruvekkarai* (l. 7) and the country between the *Vāraṇavāsi* river in the north, *Śēndamaṇḡalam* in the west, and the sea in the east (l. 8). As far as the route of *Narasimha's* two officers can be followed on the map, it appears that they crossed the present South Arcot district from south to north. *Ellēri* and *Kalliyūrmūlai* (now *Kaliyamalai*) are in the southern portion of the *Chidambaram tāluka*.¹ *Ponṇambalam* is one of the Tamil names of *Chidambaram* itself. *Tonḍaimāṇallūr* is perhaps the modern *Tonḍamānattam* in the *Cuddalore tāluka*,² and *Tiruppādirippuliyūr* is the well-known ancient name of *Tirupāpuliyūr*,³ a railway station north of *Cuddalore*. *Tiruvadigai* is *Tiruvadi*⁴ near *Paṇṇuṭṭi*,⁵ and *Tiruvekkarai* is *Tiruvakkarai* in the *Villupuram (Viḷuppuram) tāluka*.⁶ As regards *Śēndamaṇḡalam*,⁷ where *Kōpperuñjiṅga* kept the *Chōla* king prisoner, and at the gates of which the war seems to have ended,—the *Postal Directory of the Madras Circle* mentions no less than eighteen villages of this name, three of which belong to the South Arcot district. The *Śēndamaṇḡalam* which is intended here is probably the one in the *Tirukoilur (Tirukōvalūr) tāluka*.⁸ I am unable to identify the *Vāraṇavāsi* river, which has to be looked for to the north of *Śēndamaṇḡalam*,⁹ and the village of *Toḷudaguiyūr*, which must have been situated south of *Chidambaram*. It is not clear why *Appapa* and *Samudra-Goppaya* selected the temple of *Tiruvēndipuram* for engraving this account of their achievements. Perhaps it was at this village that they took leave of the *Chōla* king *Rājarāja III.*, whom they had rescued from the hands of *Kōpperuñjiṅga* at *Śēndamaṇḡalam*.

As far as we know at present, *Narasimha II.* was the first among the *Hoysala* kings who possessed a portion of the *Trichinopoly* district. In an inscription on a '*vērakal*', dated in A.D. 1222,¹⁰ he is stated to be "marching against the *Raṅga* in the South," i.e. the island of *Śrīraṅgam*, and in the *Harihar* inscription of A.D. 1224¹¹ he is already called 'the uprooter of the *Makara* kingdom' and 'the establisher of the *Chōla* kingdom.' Hence his conquest of *Śrīraṅgam* seems to have taken place between A.D. 1222 and 1224. This first invasion of the *Makara* and *Chōla* kingdoms was distinct from and prior to the conquest of the same two kingdoms which is related in the *Tiruvēndipuram* inscription, and it is presupposed by the wording of the latter, which implies that the king started on his new campaign in order to vindicate his previously earned title 'establisher of the *Chōla* country.' A further testimony to *Narasimha's* influence in the *Chōla* country is supplied by an inscription in the *Gōkarnēśvara* temple at *Tirugōkarnam* near *Pudukkōṭṭai* (No. 410 of 1902), which is dated in the [1]0th year of *Tribhuvanachakravartin Rājarājadēva*, i.e. A.D. 1225-26, and records a grant of land by a servant of *Sōmaladēvi*,¹² the wife of *Sōmēśvaradēva*, the son of the *Pōsala* king *Vīra-Nārasimhadēva* of

¹ Nos. 274 and 290 on the *Madras Survey Map* of this tāluka.

² No. 229 on the *Madras Survey Map* of this tāluka.

³ No. 204 on the *Madras Survey Map* of the *Cuddalore tāluka*.

⁴ See above, Vol. VI. p. 381 and note 8.

⁵ No. 79 on the *Madras Survey Map* of the *Cuddalore tāluka*.

⁶ '*Tiruvakarai*,' No. 239 on the *Madras Survey Map* of this tāluka.

⁷ This word is derived from *Śēndaṇ*, 'the red one,' a name of the god *Skanda*.

⁸ No. 288 on the *Madras Survey Map* of this tāluka.

⁹ The nearest river on the north of *Śēndamaṇḡalam* is the *Gedilam*.

¹⁰ Mr. Rice's *Ep. Carn.* Vol. VI., Cm. 56:—*Saka-varusa 1144 Chitrabhānu-sam | rada Aśvina-sudda 10* [da*] *sami Maṅgaḷavarad-amḍu*. On this date Professor Kielhorn remarks as follows:— "For *Aśvina-sudi 10* of *Saka-Samvat 1144* expired = *Chitrabhānu* this date is wrong; it would correspond to Friday, the 18th September A.D. 1222. If we could read *sudda 7 sa[pta*]mi*, it would regularly correspond to Tuesday, the 18th September A.D. 1222."

¹¹ Dr. Fleet's *Dyn. Kan. Distr.* p. 507.

¹² See above, Vol. III. p. 9, note 6. Another princess of the same name is mentioned in Mr. Rice's *Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV., Kp. 63. She is there compared to *Lakshmi*, and *Narasimha II.* to the Moon. Hence she must have been his sister, and not his wife as Mr. Rice thinks (*ibid.*, Introduction, p. 21). According to other inscriptions, the wife of *Narasimha II.* and the mother of *Sōmēśvara* was *Kāladēvi*; see *ibid.* Vol. III., Md. 122; Vol. IV., Ng. 98; and Vol. VI., Kd. 125.

Dōrasamudra.¹ Finally, a mutilated inscription in the Raṅganātha temple at Śrīraṅgam (No. 54 of 1892), dated in A.D. 1233,² records a grant by a female relation of Bhujabala-Bhīmakēśava-Daṇḍanāyaka, the great minister (*mahāpradhāna*) of *Pratāpachakravartin* Pōśaḷa *tri-Vīra-Nārasimhadēva*.

Among the opponents of Nārasimha II., the Harihar inscription of A.D. 1224 and the Basarāḷu inscription of A.D. 1234 mention the Kāḍava king and the Pāṇḍya king,³ and three inscriptions state that "his valour caused the reduction of the Pāṇḍya sovereignty."⁴ As will appear below (p. 164 and note 3), Kōpperuñjīnga claimed to belong to the Kāḍava or Pallava family. If he is meant by the expression 'Kāḍava king' in the Harihar inscription, it would follow that he had come into hostile contact with Nārasimha II. before the time of the Tiruvēndipuram inscription, perhaps on the occasion of Nārasimha's first attack on Śrīraṅgam between A.D. 1222 and 1224. The Pāṇḍya contemporary of Nārasimha II. was Māravarman *alias* Sundara-Pāṇḍya I., who, as shown by Professor Kielhorn,⁵ ascended the throne in A.D. 1216. This king boasts on his part to have conquered the Chōḷa country and to have restored it to the Chōḷa king; and an inscription of his 9th year, i.e. A.D. 1225, is actually found in the Raṅganātha temple at Śrīraṅgam,⁶ while we have seen that Nārasimha II. was marching against Śrīraṅgam in A.D. 1222.

Among the partisans of Kōpperuñjīnga, the inscription mentions two chiefs named Sōḷakōṇ⁷ (l. 5) and Kōḷḷi-Sōḷakōṇ (l. 6). *Vīraṅganādāivāṇ* and *Chinattarayaṇ* are stated to have been killed and are called 'officers of the king.' Apparently, they were originally in the service of Rājaraḷa III. and had gone over to Kōpperuñjīnga. Of special interest is the statement that "four officers including Parākramabāhu, the king of ḷam," were killed. What the author wants to say is perhaps "Parākramabāhu and three of his officers." ḷam is the Tamil name of Ceylon. According to Wijesinha's Translation of the *Mahāvamsa* (page xxiv. ff.), Parākramabāhu I. died in A.D. 1197 and Parākramabāhu II. in A.D. 1275, and neither of them fell in battle. Hence the Parākramabāhu of this inscription must be different from both; perhaps he was not a king, but a prince of Ceylon.

Kōpperuñjīnga, the person who was responsible for Nārasimha's interference in the affairs of the Chōḷa kingdom, is first mentioned in an inscription of the Vṛiddhagiriśvara temple at Vṛiddhāchalam (No. 136 of 1900), the head-quarters of a tāḷuka in the South Arcot district. This record opens as follows:—

- 1 ௨ Svasti śrīḥ [||*] Tribhuvanachchakravatti-
- 2 gaḷ śrī-Rājaraḷadēvaṇku yāṇ-
- 3 ḍu lāḷavadu uḍaiyār Tīru-
- 4 mudugunṇam-uḍaiya nāyaṇṇṇku Pal-
- 5 lavan Kōpperuñjīngan agam-
- 6 baḍi-mudaligaḷil Eḍirigaṇāyan Po-
- 7 ttappi-Chchōḷan i-ṇṇāyan-

¹ *Tōraḷamuttirattu tri-Pōśaḷa-Vīra-ḷi-Nāraṅgaddēvar maganār Sōmīśvaraḍēvar mādar Sōmaladēvi[ḷ]ār.*
² *Vijaya-samma(samva)tsaraṭṭu Kāttigai sūddha-paṇḍhami Adivāra-mudal*; "from Sunday, the fifth tithi of the bright (fortnight) of Kāttigai in the Vijaya year." Professor Kielhorn kindly informs me that, "for the month Kārttika of Śaka-Samvat 1155 expired—Vijaya, this date regularly corresponds to Sunday, the 9th October A.D. 1233."

³ Dr. Fleet's *Dyn. Kan. Distr.* p. 507.

⁴ Mr. Rice's *Ep. Carn.* Vol. III., Md. 121; Vol. IV., Ng. 98; and Vol. VI., Kd. 12a.

⁵ Above, Vol. VI, p. 814.

⁶ See *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXI, p. 844, and above, Vol. VI, p. 308, No. 5. The Tirupparaṅgunṇam cave-inscription and the smaller Tiruppuvaṇam grant belong to the reign of the same king.

⁷ A different person of the same name is mentioned among the officers of Vikrama-Chōḷa in the *Vikīrama-ḷḷaṇ-Uḷa*; *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXII, pp. 143 and 149.

8 āṅku vaiṭṭa tirunundāviḷa-

9 kku onṅukku

"In the 14th year of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājarājadēva,—
Edirigaṇāyan Pottappi-Chōḷa, (one) among the chiefs of the body-guard¹ of the Pallava
Kōpperuñjiṅga, gave to the lord, the god of Tirumudugunṇam,² one perpetual lamp," etc.

From this inscription we learn that Kōpperuñjiṅga claimed to belong to the Pallava family,³
and that in A.D. 1229-30, i.e. two years before the Tiruvēndipuram inscription, he still acknow-
ledged Rājarāja III. as his sovereign. The defeat which Narasiṃha II. inflicted on
Kōpperuñjiṅga enabled Rājarāja III. to remain in power until at least A.D. 1243-44.⁴ About this
time he was either ousted or succeeded by his former enemy; for, an inscription of Kōpperuñjiṅga,
who had assumed the titles *dēva*, 'king,' and *Sakalabhuvaṇachakravartin*, in the Arulāla-
Perumāl temple at Conjeeveram shows that the 18th year of his reign corresponded to Śaka-
Samvat 1182. I subjoin the date-portion of this inscription, and that of three other inscriptions
at Tiruveṇṇainallūr, Tiruviḍaimarudūr and Tirukkālukkunṇam.

A.—In the Arulāla-Perumāl temple at Conjeeveram.⁵

1 Svasti śrī [||*] Sakābdam āyiratt-orunūrru-eṇ[ba]tt-irandin mēl sellāniṇṇa
Śagalabuvanaṇach[cha]kkravattigaḷ śrī-Kōpperuñjiṅga[dē]vaṅku yāṇḍu
[18āvadu] Vpiśchika-nāyaṅṇu apara-pakshattu daśamiyum Nāyaṅṇu-
kkiḷamaiyu[m*]⁶

"In the [18th] year of the emperor of the whole world, the glorious Kōpperuñjiṅgadēva,
which was current after the Śaka year one thousand one hundred and eighty-two,—
.⁷ a Sunday and the tenth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the
month Vpiśchika."

B.—In the Vaikuṇṭha-Perumāl temple at Tiruveṇṇainallūr.⁸

1 [Svasti*] [śrī ||] Sakalabhuvaṇachakravartigaḷ śrī-Kōpperuñjiṅga[dē]var[k*]k
yāṇḍu [7ā]vadu Siṃ[ha]-nāyaṅṇu apara-pakshattu chatuṛtthiyum Velli-
kkiḷamaiyum peṇṇa Rēvati-nāl.

"In the [7]th year of the emperor of the whole world, the glorious Kōpperuñjiṅgadēva,—
on the day of Rēvati, which corresponded to a Friday and to the fourth *tithi* of the second
fortnight of the month Siṃha."

C.—In the Mahāliṅgasvāmin temple at Tiruviḍaimarudūr.⁹

1 Svasti[i] śrī [||*] Śagalabuvanaṇasakkravattigaḷ śrī-Kōpperuñjiṅga[dē]vaṅku yāṇḍu
18vadu Kaṇ[ṇ]i-nāyaṅṇu pūrvva-pakshattu pañchadaśiyum Nāyaṅṇu-kkiḷam[ai]
peṇṇa Śadayattu [n]āl.

"In the 18th year of the emperor of the whole world, the glorious Kōpperuñjiṅgadēva,—
on the day of Śatabhishaj, which corresponded to a Sunday and to the fifteenth *tithi* of the first
fortnight of the month Kanyā."

¹ See Dr. Gundert's *Malayālam Dictionary*, p. 2, s.v. *agambāḍi*.

² This is the Tamil name of Vpiśchichalam; compare *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. I. p. 123, and Vol. III. p. 152.

³ In the *Madras Christian College Magazine* of March 1892, Mr. Venkayya states that two inscriptions at
Tiruvannāmalai also call Kōpperuñjiṅga a Pallava or Kāḍava. Regarding Kāḍava as a synonym of Pallava, see
above, p. 25, and *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. III. p. 68.

⁴ See above, p. 161 and note 6.

⁵ No. 38 of 1890; see *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. II. p. 340, note 5.

⁶ The remainder of the line is built in.

⁷ A portion of the date, which probably contained the name of the *nakṣatra*, is lost.

⁸ No. 320 of 1902.

⁹ No. 185 of 1895.

D.— In the Vēdagiriśvara temple at Tirukkaḷukkunṇam.¹

1 Svasti śrī [1[*] Śagalabuvanachohakkaravatt[i]gaḷ Avaniy-āla-ppirandār Kōpperuñ-
jīṅgadēvarkku yāṇḍu [3]lvadu Kumba-nāyargu pūrvva-pakshattu d[v]iṭ[i]yaiyum
Śa-

2 ni-kk[il]amaiyum perṇa Uttirattādi-nāḷ.

“In the [3]1st year of the emperor of the whole world, him who was born to rule the earth, Kōpperuñjīngadēva,— on the day of Uttarabhadrapadā, which corresponded to a Saturday and to the second *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month Kumbha.”

According to Professor Kielhorn, who has kindly examined these four dates, “the first date (A.), of Śaka-Samvat 1182 expired and the 18th year current, regularly corresponds to Sunday, the 31st October A.D. 1260, which was the 4th day of the month Vṛiśchika, and on which the tenth *tithi* of the dark half (of the month Kārttika) ended 6 h. 31 m. after mean sunrise. The second date (B.), of the 7th year, corresponds to Friday, the 30th July A.D. 1249, which was the 3rd day of the month Sīmha, and on which the fourth *tithi* of the dark half (of the month Śrāvaṇa) ended 9 h. 38 m., and the *nakshatra* was Rēvatī from 3 h. 56 m., after mean sunrise. The third date (C.) is incorrect. The fourth date (D.), of the 31st year, corresponds to Saturday, the 10th February A.D. 1274, which was the 18th day of the month Kumbha, and on which the second *tithi* of the bright half (of the month Phālguna) ended 10 h. 46 m., and the *nakshatra* was Uttara-Bhadrapadā for 21 h. 1 m., after mean sunrise. The three dates A., B. and D. show that Sakalabhuvanachakravartin Kōpperuñjīngadēva must have ascended the throne in A.D. 1243 between, approximately, the 11th February and 30th July.” His reign extended to at least A.D. 1278-79; for, as the subjoined list of his inscriptions shows, two of them at Chidambaram are dated in his 36th year. In this list the inscriptions are arranged under different heads according to the manner in which they quote the king's name and titles.

I. Kōpperuñjīngadēva.

1. 20th year: Tiruvottūr, No. 83 of 1900.
2. 22nd year: do. No. 95 of 1900.

II. Sakalabhuvanachakravartigaḷ śrī-Kōpperuñjīngadēva.

1. 5th year: Vṛiddhāchalam, No. 134 of 1900.
2. [7]th year: Tiruvēnnainallūr, No. 320 of 1902.
3. 8th year: Vṛiddhāchalam, No. 135 of 1900.
4. 14th year: Vallam, No. 186 of 1892.²
5. 16th year: Chidambaram, No. 467 of 1902.
6. Do. do. No. 468 of 1902.
7. 18th year: Tiruvidaimarudūr, No. 135 of 1895.
8. [18th] year: Conjeeveram, No. 38 of 1890.
9. 26th year: Tirukkōvalūr, No. 308 of 1902.
10. 36th year: Chidambaram, No. 455 of 1902.

III. Sakalabhuvanachakravartigaḷ Avaniy-āla-ppirandār Kōpperuñjīngadēva.

[3]1st year: Tirukkaḷukkunṇam, No. 181 of 1894.

¹ No. 181 of 1894. The inscription records the gift of a lamp by the wife of Pañchanedi-Vāgar alias Nilagaṅgarayar (l. 8). The same person or a relation of his is mentioned in an inscription of the 28th year of Kulōttunga III.; *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. III. p. 84.

² See *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. II. p. 340, note 4.

IV. Sakalabhuvanachakravartigaḷ Avaniy-āḷa-ppirandār alias śrī-Kōpperuñjīṅgadēva.

1. 3rd year : Chidambaram, No. 462 of 1902.
2. Do. do. No. 465 of 1902.
3. Do. do. No. 466 of 1902.
4. 5th year : do. No. 459 of 1902.
5. Do. do. No. 464 of 1902.

V. Sakalabhuvanachakravartigaḷ śrī-Avaniy-āḷa-ppirandār alias Kōpperuñjīṅgadēva.

1. 5th year : Chidambaram, No. 463 of 1902.
2. 8th year : do. No. 460 of 1902.
3. 34th year : do. No. 461 of 1902.
4. 36th year : do. No. 456 of 1902.

The Vallam inscription of the 14th year¹ mentions 'prince (*pillaiyār*) Nilagaṅgaraiyar,' apparently a son of Kōpperuñjīṅgadēva. An inscription in the Aruḷāḷa-Perumāl temple at Conjeeveram (No. 41 of 1893), which is dated in the 22nd year of *Tribhuvanachakravartin Vijaya-Gaṇḍagopāladēva*,² records the gift of a flower-garden by Nilagaṅga of Āmūr, who bore the surname Bhū-pālan-ōdbhava (in Sanskrit) or Puvi-āḷa-ppiranda (in Tamil), i.e. 'who was born to rule the earth.' This person is no doubt identical with the prince Nilagaṅgaraiyar of the Vallam inscription, and his surname is a slight modification of *Avaniy-āḷa-ppirandār*, the title of his father Kōpperuñjīṅgadēva.

As stated on page 163 above, the Tiruvēndipuram inscription mentions among the partisans of Kōpperuñjīṅga a certain Śōlakōṇ. This person is probably identical with an officer whose name occurs in most of the Chidambaram inscriptions of Kōpperuñjīṅgadēva. In one inscription he is called "Perumāḷppillai alias Śōlakōṇār, (one) among his (*viz.* Kōpperuñjīṅgadēva's) officers,"³ and in another (No. 462 of 1902) "the lord of Araśūr, Śēṅgaivāyar alias Pillai Śōlakōṇār Āliyar." The grant portion of the Chidambaram inscriptions of the 3rd to 16th years opens with the words *Śōlakōṇ olai*, i.e. "the order of Śōlakōṇ," and ends with the words *ivai Śōlakōṇ eluttu*, i.e. "this (is) the signature of Śōlakōṇ." Accordingly, Śōlakōṇ must have been the representative of Kōpperuñjīṅgadēva at Chidambaram until at least A.D. 1258-59.

A short undated inscription at Tiruvēndipuram supplies the name of Śōlakōṇ's younger brother. This inscription (No. 146 of 1902) runs as follows :—

- | | |
|---------------------------|------------------------|
| 1 Svasti śrī [\|\|*] Avani- | 7 Śōlakōṇ ta[m]- |
| 2 āḷa-ppirandā- | 8 bi Perumāl Vē- |
| 3 n Kōpperuñ- | 9 [n]āḍuḍaiyāṅ ēe[y*]- |
| 4 jīṅgadēvar ti- | 10 vitta tirukkōpura- |
| 5 rumēnikku naṅṅā- | 11 m [\|\|e] |
| 6 ga Śēṅgaivāyaṅ | |

"Hail! Prosperity! For the benefit of the royal body of him who was born to rule the earth, Kōpperuñjīṅgadēva,— Perumāl Vēṇāḍuḍaiyāṅ, the younger brother of Śēṅgaivāyaṅ Śōlakōṇ, caused to be made (*this*) sacred *gōpura*."

Vēṇāḍuḍaiyāṅ seems to have succeeded his elder brother as officer in charge of Chidambaram. For, in two Chidambaram inscriptions of the 34th and 36th years of Kōpperuñjīṅgadēva (Nos. 461 and 456 of 1902), the grant portion opens with the words *Vēṇāḍuḍaiyāṅ olai* and ends with the words *ivai Vēṇāḍuḍaiyāṅ eluttu*.

¹ Above, p. 165, clause II. No. 4.

² As the 15th and 16th years of this king corresponded to A.D. 1265 (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXII, p. 220), the date of this inscription must fall in A.D. 1271-72.

³ No. 460 of 1902:— *ivar mudaligaḷil Perumāḷppillai dṇa Śōlakōṇār*.

It was stated in the preceding paragraph that Kōpperuñjīṅgadēva claims to have established the Pāṇḍya country. On the other hand, an inscription of the Pāṇḍya king Japāvarman *alias* *Trībhuvanachakravartin* Sundara-Pāṇḍyadēva at Tiruppandurutti² asserts that this king "besieged the prosperous city of Śēndamaṅgalam and fought several battles to frighten the Pallava."⁷ This Pallava is evidently Kōpperuñjīṅgadēva, and Śēndamaṅgalam seems to have been his capital, as we might already conclude from the Tiruvēṇḍipuram inscription, according to which Kōpperuñjīṅga was besieged in Śēndamaṅgalam.

1 Svasti śrī [i*] Tiribu[vaṇa]ch[cha]kka[ra]vattigaḥ śrī-Rājarājade[va]r[k]ku yān[ḍ]ḍu⁸
15[vad]il edirā[m]=āṇḍu Prati[pa]chchakkaravatti Hoy[śa]na-śrī-Vi(vi)ra-
Nārasi[m*]hadēvaṇ Śōla-chchakkaravattiyai=
2 Kkō[p]peruñjīgaṇ ʔ[ś]ēṇḍḍaman[ga*]lattē [p]iḍi[t]tu koḍu iru[ṇdu] taṇ
[pa]ḍaiyai iṭṭu rājyattai aḷittu dēv-ā[laiaṅga]ḷu[m] ¹⁰Vishṇa-stāṇaṅgaḷum
aḷigaiyālē ippaḍi dēvaṇ kēṭ[t=a]ru-
3 i Śōla-maṇḍala-pratisht-āsāriyaṇ¹¹ eṇṇu[m] ki(ki)r[t*]t[i] ni[lai]-ni[r]uṭṭi a[l]ladu
i-k[k]ālam=uttuvad[i]ḷai¹² eṇṇu Dōra[sal]mutteratti[ni*][n]ru[m] eḇuttu vandu
[Ma]ha[ra*]-rājya=nirmamūlam=āḍi ivaṇaiyum [i]vaṇ pēṇḍu-paṇḍāra[mu]m kai-
kkoḍu
4 Pāchchūrillē vittu=Kkōp[p]peruñjīgaṇ dē[śa]mu[m] aḷittu=Chchōla-chchakka-
vattiyaiyum eḷund=arali(ḷu)vittu=kko(kko)ṇv=an[r]u¹³ dēvaṇ tiruv-uḷlam=āy ēva
viḍai koṇḍu eḷunda svasti śrīmaṇu-¹⁴mahāpradhāni paramaviśvāsi
5 daḍṇinagōpaṇ Jagago(do)bbagaṇḍaṇ Appaṇa-daṇṇ[ā]kkaṇum Śa[mu]tt[i]ra-
Gop[pa]ya-daṇṇākkāṇum Kōpperuñji[ñ]gaṇ iru[n]da E[ḷ]ḷēriyu[m]
Kalliyūrmu(mū)laiyum Śōlakōp iru[ṇda] Toḷudagaḷyūrum aḷit[tu] vē-
6 [ṇda]ṇ mundaḷigali[i*] Viragaṅga[n]āḍ[ā]ḷvāṇ J[i](chi)pa[t]taraya[n] iḷattu rājā
Parāk[k]i[da](ra)mabāh-u[ḷ]i[t]ta [mu]dali [4] pēraiyyum . . . koṇṇu

14 Read from:

- i[va][r*]gaḷ kudiraiyu[m] kai-konḍu Kolli-Chchōlakōṇ kudiraiganai(lai)yum
kai-kkonḍu Po[n]-
- 7 ṇa[mba]ḷa-dēvaṇaiyum kumbiṭṭu eḍuttu vanda Tondaimāṇallūr ulliḍa tamukk.
u[rga]ḷum aḷiṭṭu aḷi . . [kkā]ḍum veṭṭi(ttu)vittu Tiruppā[di](r)[i]p-
puliyyūrtiḷḷē vittu irundu Tiruvadigai Tiruvekkarai ulliṭṭa ūr-
- 8 gaḷum aḷittu Vāraṇavāsi āṇṇukku=tṭarku Śēn[da*]maṇḡalattukkum ku² kilakku
kaḍalilē [aḷi]-ūrgaḷum kuḍi-k[kāl]ga[ḷu]m ūṭṭum aḷidudum³ penḍu[ga]ḷai
piḍittum kollai-konḍum Śēndamaṇḡalattilē eḍuttu vi-
- 9 ḍa=ppū(ppō)gira aḷaḍi(vi)ḷē Kōpperuṇḷi[ḷi][n*]gaṇ kulaindu Śōḷa-chchakka[ra*]-
vattiyai e[ḷu]nd=a[ru*]ḷi(lu)[vi]kka=[kka*]ḍavadāga dēvaṇukku vinnappa[m*]
āya ivar viṭṭu namakkum āḷ vara=kkāṭṭugaiyālē Śōḷa-chchakka[ra*]vattiyai
eḷund[ḍ=ā]ruḷi(lu)vittu=kkonḍu vō(pō)ndu rāḷyattē puga viṭṭadu 6.

TRANSLATION.

(Line 1.) Hail! Prosperity! In the year which was opposite to the 15th year (i.e. in the 16th year)⁵ of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Bājarājadēva,—when king⁶ Prātāpachakravartin, the Hoysāṇa, the glorious Vira-Nārasimhadēva, heard that Kōpperuṇḷiṅga had captured the Chōḷa emperor at Śēndamaṇḡalam, that he destroyed the kingdom with his army, and that the temples of the god (Śiva) and the places (sacred to) Viṣṇu were destroyed, he exclaimed:—“This trumpet shall not be blown⁷ unless (I shall) have maintained (my) reputation of being ‘the establisher of the Chōḷa country.’⁸”

(L. 3.) He started from Dōrasamudra, uprooted the Maha[ra] kingdom, seized him,⁹ his women and treasures, and halted at Pāchchūr.

(L. 4.) Then the king was pleased to order:—“Destroy the country of Kōpperuṇḷiṅga and liberate the Chōḷa emperor.”—Hail! (We), the glorious great minister, the very confidential servant, Daṇḍinagōpa¹⁰ Jagadobbagaṇḍa¹¹ Appaṇa-Daṇṇākka and Samudra-Goppaya-Daṇṇākka, took leave (from the king) and started.

(L. 5.) (We) destroyed (the villages of) Elḷēri and Kalliyūrmūlai where Kōpperuṇḷiṅga was staying, and Toludagaiyūr where Śōḷakōṇ was staying; killed . . . among the king's officers Viragaṇaṇḍāḷvāṇ (and) Chinattarayaṇ, and 4 officers including Parākrama-bāhu, the king of ḷam; seized their horses; and seized the horses of Kolli-Śōḷakōṇ.

(L. 6.) Having worshipped the god of Poṇṇambalam, (we) started (again), destroyed rich (?) villages including Tondaimāṇallūr, caused the . . . forest to be cut down, and halted at Tiruppādirippuliyyūr.

(L. 7.) (We) destroyed Tiruvadigai, Tiruvekkarai and other villages; burnt and destroyed the port-towns¹² on the sea and the drinking-channels to the south of the Vāraṇavāsi river and to the east of Śēndamaṇḡalam; and seized and plundered the women.

¹ Read tamakk-ār° (?).

² Read aḷittum.

³ See South-Ind. Insor. Vol. III. p. 88, note 3.

⁴ The trumpet (kāḷam) was one of the five instruments used in producing the pañcha-mahāśabda; see above, Vol. V. p. 216, note 3, and p. 260, note 3. The king here makes a vow that he will dispense with his right of using this instrument, until he will have defeated Kōpperuṇḷiṅga and re-established the Chōḷa king.

⁵ Literally, ‘the architect (causing) the stability of the Chōḷa country.’ The parallel term Pāṇḍya-maṇḍala-sihāpand-sihādhara (see above, p. 167, note 5) proves that the word dhārya is here used in its Tamil meaning: ‘a master-carpenter, an architect.’

⁶ Viz. the Mahara king.

⁷ This word is not Tamil, but Kanarese, and means ‘the commander of an army.’

⁸ On this dhārya, which is also Kanarese, see above, Vol. III. p. 64, note 9.

⁹ See Dr. Gundert's Malayalam Dictionary, s. v. aḷi and aḷi-makkam.

(L. 8.) When (*we*) advanced against Śēndamaṅgalaṁ and were going to encamp (*there*), Kōpperuñjiṅga became afraid and submitted to the king that (*he*) would release the Chōla emperor.

(L. 9.) As he (*viz.* the king) agreed and despatched a messenger to us, (*we*) liberated the Chōla emperor, went (*with him*), and let (*him*) enter (*his*) kingdom.

No. 24.— DATES OF CHOLA KINGS.

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(Continued from page 10.)

Dr. Hultzsch again has sent me a large number of dates of Chōla kings, of which I now publish twenty-three, with the results of my calculations. Of these, the dates Nos. 61-74 show that the times previously found for the commencements of the reigns of the five kings to whom they belong—Rājarāja I., Rājendra-Chōla I., Kulōttuṅga-Chōla I., Vikrama-Chōla, and Kulōttuṅga-Chōla III.—are correct. The dates of Rājarāja III., Nos. 75-78, reduce the time during which this king must have commenced to reign, to the period from (approximately) the 23rd June to the 13th August A.D. 1216. And the dates Nos. 79-83, belonging to Rājendra-Chōla III., of whom no dates had yet been examined, prove that this king commenced to reign between (approximately) the 21st March and the 8th May A.D. 1246. The remaining dates sent to me are very difficult to deal with;¹ their publication will probably have to be deferred to the time when more dates of the kings to whom they belong have been discovered.

A.—RAJARAJA I.

61.—In the Mūlēsvara temple at Bāhūr.²

- 1 Svasti śrī [I*] Kānda[ī]ār-Chch[ā]l[ai] ka[lam-aṅ]tta kō I[rā]jarāja-k[ā]sar[ipa]nmaṅku yā[p]-
- 2 ḍa lla(ā)vadu ivv-āṭṭai Midhu(thu)na-nāyargu
- 3 spara-pakshattu Nāyargu-kkilamai peṇṇa Kātti[g]ai-nāṇṇu³ pagal.

"In the 11th year (*of the reign*) of king Rājarājakesarivarman who destroyed the ships (*at*) Kāndaīr-Śālai,—in daytime on the day of Kṛittikā, which corresponded to a Sunday of the second fortnight of the month of Mithuna in this year."

The date corresponds to Sunday, the 14th June A.D. 996, which was the 22nd day of the month of Mithuna, and on which the 11th *tithi* of the dark half (*of Jyāishṭha*) ended 12 h. 58 m., while the *nakṣatra* was Kṛittikā, by the Brahma-siddhānta for 13 h. 47 m., according to Garga for 15 h. 6 m., and by the equal space system from 2 h. 38 m., after mean sunrise.

B.—RAJENDRA-CHOLA I.

62.—In the Karavandīśvara temple at Uḍaiyārkōyil.⁴

- 1 Sva[st]i śrī [I*] Tiru manni valara [v=U]ḍaiyār śrī-Rājendra-Śōladēva[r]ku
- 17 kō=Ppararē(kā)śaripaṇ[ma] yāṇ[ḍu] 3lā[vadu]

¹ They apparently belong to three kings of whom no dates have yet been published in this list.
² No. 178 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1902.
³ Read -nāṇṇu.
⁴ No. 438 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1902.

- 19 i[vv-āṇḍu] Kaṛ[kadaga-nāya]ṛṛu pū[rvva-pakshat]tu chatu[r]tth[iy]um Vell[i]-
kk[i]lāmaiyum [pe]ṛṛa Pu[ṇarbhū]-
20 śatti-nāḷ.

"In the 31st year (of the reign) of king Parakésarivarman [*alias*] the lord, the glorious Rājendra-Chôladêva,—on the day of Punarvasu, which corresponded to a Friday and to the fourth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Karkāṭaka in this year."

The date is intrinsically wrong because the *nakshatra* on the fourth *tithi* of a bright half in the month of Karkāṭaka cannot be Punarvasu. The equivalent of the date apparently is Friday, the 23rd July A.D. 1042, which was the 28th day of the month of Karkāṭaka and which was entirely occupied¹ by the fourth *tithi* of the bright half (of Śrāvaṇa). The *nakshatra* on this day was Uttara-Phalgunī, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 13 h. 8 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 9 h. 51 m., after mean sunrise.

C.—KULOTTUNGA-CHOLA I.

63.—In the Karavandiśvara temple at Uḍaiyārkôyil.²

- 1 Svasti śrī || Puṇaḷ śūḷṇḍa puṇari
8 [kōv=Irāja]kēsaripat[ma]r=āṇa Tribhuva-
9 nachchakkaravattigal śrī-Ko[l]ō[t]tuṅga-Śôladēvar[k*]ku yāṇḍu lōḷvadu . . .
. Mīna-nāyaṛṛu [apara-pakshattu V]i[y]āḷa-kkilamai[y]um
dacha(śa)miyu[m] peṛṛa Uttirāḍa[ttu nāḷ].

"In the 16th year (of the reign) of king Rājakésarivarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulōttuṅga-Chôladêva,—on the day of Uttarāshāḍhā, which corresponded to a Thursday and to the tenth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Mīna."

A date of the month of Mīna of the 16th year of Kulōttuṅga-Chôla I. would be expected to fall in A.D. 1086,³ and in my opinion this date undoubtedly corresponds to Thursday, the 12th March A.D. 1086, which was the 19th day of the month of Mīna, and on which the *nakshatra* was Uttarāshāḍhā, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 16 h. 25 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 9 h. 51 m., after mean sunrise. But the *tithi* which ended on this day, 10 h. 50 m. after mean sunrise, was the 9th, not the 10th *tithi*, of the dark half (of, Phālguna).—This result shows that the word *dachamiyūm* of the original date should be altered to *navamiyūm*.⁴

D.—VIKRAMA-CHOLA.

64.—In the Vāmanapurīśvara temple at Tirumānikuḷi.⁵

- 1 [S]va[s]ti śrī [i] [l*] Pū-māṇu puṇara
2 kō=P[arakē]śar[i]pa[ṇ]mar=ā[ṇa] Ti[r]ibuvāṇachcha[k*]karavattigal
śrī-Vikīrama-Śôladēvaṛṇu yāṇḍu paṇi-o[ṇ]vadu . . . [nāya]ṛṛu
apa[ra-pakshattu] śkādāsiyūm Budaṇ-kilamaiyūm peṛṛa Viśāgattu nāḷ.

"In the eleventh year (of the reign) of king Parakésarivarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Vikrama-Chôladêva,—on the day of Viśākhā, which corresponded to a Wednesday and to the eleventh *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of"

¹ The *tithi* was a *prathama-chaturthi*.

² No. 899 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1902.

³ See above, p. 7, note 5.

⁴ [It is not absolutely excluded that the writer wanted to write *navamiyūm*, and that the two Grantha letters *da* and *cha* are in reality a badly shaped *na* and *va*, respectively.—E. H.]

⁵ No. 148 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1902.

My calculation shows that the name of the month of this date was **Dhanus**. For this month the date corresponds to **Wednesday, the 19th December A.D. 1128**,¹ which was the 25th day of the month of **Dhanus**, and on which the 11th *tithi* of the dark half (of **Mārgaśīrsha**) ended 22 h. 1 m. after mean sunrise, while the *nakṣatra* was **Viśākhā**, by the equal space system and according to **Garga** for 16 h. 25 m., and by the **Brahma-siddhānta** for 11 h. 50 m., after mean sunrise.

65.—In the **Karavandiśvara** temple at **Uḍaiyārkōyil**.²

1 [Sva]stī [ś]r[ī] [||*] Pū-mādu p[unara]
2 kō= pan[ma*]r=āna
Tir[i*]bu[va*]na[cha][k*]karavattiga| śrī-Vik[kira*]ma-Śōladēvark[ku yāp]du
l[5]āva[du Si]mha-nāyagru apara-[pa]³ [m]
V[iyā]la-kkila[m]ai[yum pe]rre⁴

"In the 15th year (of the reign) of king [Parakēsarī]varman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious **Vikrama-Chōladēva**,— [on the day of], which corresponded to a **Thursday** and to the [*tithi*] of the second fortnight of the month of **Simha**."

This date does not admit of verification.

E.—KULOTTUNGA-CHOLA III.

66.—In the **Vāmanapurīśvara** temple at **Tirumānikūḷi**.⁵

1 Svasti śrī [||*] Puyal peruga
3 kō=Pparakēsarīvarman=āna Tribhū(bhu)vaṇaśakra[va]ttiga| śrī-
Kulōttunga-Śōladēvarkku y[ā]ndu nu(mā)[n]āvadu Simha-nāyagru
apara-bha(pa)kshattu pañchamiyum Tīngal-kilamaiya(yu)m perre Aśvati-nā|.

"In the third year (of the reign) of king **Parakēsarīvarman** *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious **Kulōttunga-Chōladēva**,— on the day of **Aśvini**, which corresponded to a **Monday** and to the fifth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of **Simha**."

A date of the month of **Simha** of the third year of **Kulōttunga-Chōla III.** would be expected to fall in **A.D. 1180**, and in my opinion this date undoubtedly corresponds to the **12th August A.D. 1180**, which was the 16th day of the month of **Simha**, and on which the 5th *tithi* of the dark half (of **Śrāvana**) ended 9 h. 34 m., while the *nakṣatra* was **Aśvini** for 3 h. 17 m., after mean sunrise. But the day was a **Tuesday**, not a **Monday**.⁶

67.—In the **Bhaktaparādhiśvara** temple at **Gidaṅgil**.⁷

1 Svasti śrī [||*] Kō=Pparakēsarīvarman=āna Tribhuvanachakravartiga| śrī-Kulōttunga-
Śōladēvarkku
2 yāndu Svadu Simha-nāyagru irubattēlān=di[yadi*]y=āna Budaṅ-kilamai perre
Aśvati-nā|.

"In the 3rd year (of the reign) of king **Parakēsarīvarman** *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious **Kulōttunga-Chōladēva**,— on the day of **Aśvini**, which corresponded to a **Wednesday** which was the twenty-seventh solar day of the month of **Simha**."

¹ The year A.D. 1118 would yield no satisfactory equivalent for this date.

² No. 404 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1902.

³ Read *pakshattu*; the *tithi* is lost.

⁴ The *nakṣatra* is lost.

⁵ No. 165 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1902; *Sou'ch-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. III. No. 85.

⁶ On **Monday**, the 11th August A.D. 1180, the 5th *tithi* of the dark half commenced 8 h., and the *nakṣatra* was **Aśvini** from 3 h. 56 m., after mean sunrise.

⁷ No. 226 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1902.

Under the preceding date it has been stated that the *nakshatra* was *Āśvini* on the 16th day of the month of *Simha* of the third year of the king's reign; *Āśvini* therefore cannot have been the *nakshatra* on the 27th day of the same month. Nor would the weekday be correct; for the 27th day of *Simha* of the third year would be Saturday, the 23rd August A.D. 1180 (when the *nakshatra* was *Uttara-Phalguni*).—I have not found any year of the reign of *Kulōttuṅga-Chōla III.* for which the date would be correct.

68.—In the *Vāmanapurīśvara* temple at *Tirumāṇikūḷi*.¹

- 1 Svasti śrī [||*] Tiribuvanachchakravattigaḷ śrī-Vīrarājēndira-Śōḷadēvarḱu yāṇḍu
 āḷāvadu Sīmha-[nāyaḱ]ḱu irubattārān=diyadi āṇa Budan-kiḷamaiyum
 pūrshva(rvva)-pakshattu chchatu[r*]daśiyum=āṇa² Śadaiya-
 2 ttu nāḷ.

“In the seventh year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious *Virarājendra-Chōḷadēva*,³—on the day of *Śatabhishaj*, which was the fourteenth *tithi* of the first fortnight and a Wednesday, which was the twenty-sixth solar day of the month of *Simha*.”

The 26th day of the month of *Simha* of the 7th year of *Kulōttuṅga-Chōla III.* corresponds to Wednesday, the 22nd August A.D. 1184.⁴ On this day the 14th *tithi* of the bright half (of *Bhādrapada*) ended 13 h. 19 m., and the *nakshatra* was *Śatabhishaj*, by the equal space system and according to *Garga* from 1 h. 19 m., and by the *Brahma-siddhānta* from 1 h. 58 m., after mean sunrise.

If this were a date of *Rājendra-Chōla III.*, it would be quite incorrect.

69.—In the *Darbhāranyōśvara* temple at *Tirunālḷār*.⁵

- 1 Svasti śrī [||*] Tiribuvanachchakravattigaḷ Madurai koṇḍu Pāṇḍiyan muḍi-
 ttalaiyum koṇḍ-arulīya śi-Kulōttuṅga-Śōḷadēvarḱku [y]āṇḍu 17vadu Kumba-
 [n]āyaḱḱu pūrva-pattisattu⁶ ti[ti]yayum⁷ Tiṅgaḱ-kiḷamaiyum perḱa Uttirattādi-
 nāḷ.

“In the 17th year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious *Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷadēva*, who, having taken *Madurai*, was pleased to take also the crowned head of the *Pāṇḍya*,—on the day of *Uttara-Bhādrapadā*, which corresponded to a Monday and to the second *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of *Kumbha*.”

The date corresponds to Monday, the 13th February A.D. 1195, which was the 21st day of the month of *Kumbha*, and on which the second *tithi* of the bright half (of *Phālguna*) commenced 1 h. 55 m. after mean sunrise, while the *nakshatra* was *Uttara-Bhādrapadā*, by the *Brahma-siddhānta* and according to *Garga* the whole day, and by the equal space system from 3 h. 17 m. after mean sunrise.

70.—In the *Kripāpurīśvara* temple at *Tiruveṇṇainallūr*.⁸

- 1 Svasti śrī [||*] Pū maruviya diśaimugattōn
 Tiribuvanachchakravattigaḷ Maduraiyum Pāṇḍiyan muḍi-ttalaiyut=koṇḍ-arulīna

¹ No. 164 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1902.

² The *da* of “*daśi*” is entered below the *i*.

³ The name *Virarājendradēva* (II.) is applied to *Kulōttuṅga III.* in two inscriptions of the 5th year at *Chidambaram* (Nos. 121 and 122 of 1887-88).

⁴ The *Simha-samkrānti* took place 16 h. 48 m. after mean sunrise of the 27th July A.D. 1184.

⁵ No. 395 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1902.

⁶ Read *-pakshattu*.

⁷ Read *daśiyayum*.

⁸ No. 318 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1902.

śrī-Kulōttuṅga-Śōḷadēva[ṛ]ku yāṇḍu 17āvadu Miduna-nāya[ṛn] apara-pakshattu
trai(trā)yōdasiyum Viyāḷa-kkīlāmaiyeum peṛra Urōṣaṇi-[nā].

"In the 17th year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷadēva, who was pleased to take Madurai and the crowned head of the Pāṇḍya,—on the day of Rōhiṇi, which corresponded to a Thursday and to the thirteenth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Mithuna."

The date undoubtedly corresponds to Thursday, the 8th June A.D. 1195, which was the 13th day of the month of Mithuna, and on which the *nakshatra* was Rōhiṇi for 9 h. 51 m. (or 9 h. 12 m.) after mean sunrise. As the 13th *tithi* of the dark half (of Jyāishṭha) ended on this day only a minute or two after true sunrise, I should have expected the writer to quote the 14th *tithi* instead of the 13th.

71.—In the Ikshupurīśvara temple at Kōvilvēnni.¹

1 T[i]r[i]buvanachchakkaravatt[i]gaḷ Ma-
2 duraiyum Paṇḍiyan muḍi-ttalaḷyūn-go[n]ḍ-aruliyā [ś]i-[Ku]-
3 lōttuṅga-Śōḷadēvaṛkku yā[n]ḍu pattonḇadabadu=Kkani-²uā-
4 yaṛru=ppār[va*]-pakshattu navamiyum Tiṅga[l]-kīlāmaiyeum peṛra At[ta]-
5 nāl.

"In the nineteenth year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷadēva, who was pleased to take Madurai and the crowned head of the Pāṇḍya,—on the day of Hasta, which corresponded to a Monday and to the ninth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Kanyā."

The date is intrinsically wrong because the *nakshatra* on the 9th *tithi* of a bright half in the month of Kanyā cannot be Hasta. The equivalent of the date apparently is Monday, the 2nd September A.D. 1196, which was the 6th day of the month of Kanyā, and on which the 9th *tithi* of the bright half (of Bhādrapada) ended 22 h. 22 m. after mean sunrise. The *nakshatras* on this day were Mūla and Pūrvāshādhā.

72.—In the Vāmanapurīśvara temple at Tirumāṇikuḷi.³

1 S[va]sti śrī [i]* T[i]ribu[va]nachchakkarā[va]ttiga[l] Ma[d]urai koṇḍu Pāṇ[diya]n
muḍi-ttalai-
2 yūn-goṇḍ-aruliyā śrī-Kulōttuṅga-Śōḷadēvaṛkku y[ā]ṇḍu pattonḇadā-
3 vadu Ṛishabha-nāyaṛru āṇ=diyadiy=āṇa pūrvva-pakshattu dvādasiyum Budan-
kīlā[ai]yūm peṛra [A]-
4 ttattu nāl.

"In the nineteenth year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷadēva, who, having taken Madurai, was pleased to take also the crowned head of the Pāṇḍya,—on the day of Hasta, which corresponded to a Wednesday and to the twelfth *tithi* of the first fortnight, which was the sixth solar day of the month of Ṛishabha."

The date corresponds to Wednesday, the 30th April A.D. 1197, which was the 6th day of the month of Ṛishabha,⁴ and on which the 12th *tithi* of the bright half (of Vaiśākha) ended 19 h. 37 m., while the *nakshatra* was Hasta, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 7 h. 13 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 3 h. 56 m., after mean sunrise.

¹ No. 397 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1902.

² Read *pattonḇadāvadū=Kkani*.

³ No. 161 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1902.

⁴ The Ṛishabha-samkrānti took place 14 h. 4 m. after mean sunrise of the 24th April A.D. 1197.

73.—In the Vāmanapurīśvara temple at Tirumānikuḷi.¹

1 Svasti śrī [||*] Tiribuvanachchakkaravarttiga[!]
Maduraiyum Īlamum Pāṇḍiyan
muḍi-ttalaḷiyuṅ=gond-arul[i]ya śrī-Kulōttuṅga-Śōḷadēva[r*]kku yāṇḍu 21vadu
Mēsha-n[ā]yaṅṅu pūrvva-[pa*]kshattu daśamiyum Budan-kiḷamaiyu[m] perṛa
[Ma]gattu nāḷ.

"In the 21st year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷadēva, who was pleased to take Madurai, Īlam and the crowned head of the Pāṇḍya,—on the day of Maghā, which corresponded to a Wednesday and to the tenth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Mēsha."

The date corresponds to Wednesday, the 7th April A.D. 1199, which was the 14th day of the month of Mēsha, and on which the 10th *tithi* of the bright half (of Vaiśākha) ended 23 h. 39 m., while the *nakshatra* was Maghā, by the equal space system for 22 h. 20 m., by the Brahma-siddhānta for 7 h. 53 m., and according to Garga for 10 h. 30 m., after mean sunrise.

74.—In the Vāmanapurīśvara temple at Tirumānikuḷi.²

1 Svasti[i] śrī [i] [||*] Pu[ya]l vāyttu
4 kō-Pparakēsariparmar-āṇa Tiribuvanachchakkaravarttiga[!]
Maduraiyum-Īlamuṅ=gondu Pāṇḍiyan muḍi-ttalaḷiyuṅ=gond-arulina śrī-Kulōt-
5 tuṅ[ga]-Śōḷadēvarkku yāṇḍu 21vadu Rishabha-nāyaṅṅu pūrvva-pakshattu tri(tra)yō-
daṣiyum Śani-kkiḷamaiyum perṛa Attatti=nāḷ.

"In the 21st year (of the reign) of king Parakēsarivarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷadēva, who, having taken Madurai and Īlam, was pleased to take also the crowned head of the Pāṇḍya,—on the day of Hasta, which corresponded to a Saturday and to the thirteenth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Rishabha."

A date of the month of Rishabha of the 21st year of the reign of Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷa III. would be expected to fall in A.D. 1199, but for that year this date is incorrect, and I have not found any other year of the king's reign for which it would be correct. Such being the case, I feel certain that the month of Rishabha has been quoted erroneously instead of Mēsha. For this month the date regularly corresponds to Saturday, the 10th April A.D. 1199, which was the 17th day of the month of Mēsha, and on which the 13th *tithi* of the bright half (of Vaiśākha) ended 22 h. 48 m. after mean sunrise, while the *nakshatra* was Hasta, by the equal space system and according to Garga the whole day, and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 21 h. 40 m. after mean sunrise.

F.—RAJARAJA III.

75.—In the Tirumālīśvara temple at Māgaral.³

1 i-ttē[varkku] yāṇḍu nālāvadu Mid[u]ṇa-[nāya]ṅ[ru] apara-
pakshat[t]u=ppaṇḍhamiyun=D[i]ṇga[t-ki]ḷamaiyum perṛa Śadaiyattu . nāḷ.

"In the fourth year (of the reign) of this king,⁴—on the day of Śatabhishaj, which corresponded to a Monday and to the fifth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Mithuna."

The date corresponds to Monday, the 22nd June A.D. 1220, which was the 29th day of the month of Mithuna, and on which the 5th *tithi* of the dark half (of Āshāḍha) ended 15 h.

¹ No. 169 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1902.

² No. 170 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1902.

³ This is an earlier date of the same reign which is quoted in No. 76 below.

⁴ Viz. Rājārāja III.

56 m., while the *nakshatra* by the equal space system was *Śatabhishaj* for 4 h. 36 m., after mean sunrise.

76.—In the Tirumālīśvara temple at Māgaral.¹

1 T[i]r[i]buvaṇachchak[ka]ravatt[i]ga[i] śrī-Rāsarāśadēvaṅku yāṇ[du]
5[va]du Simha-nāyaṅgu a[pa]ra-[pa]kshattu pañchamiyum Buda[n]-
k[i]lāmaiyum [p]erra Aśvat[i]-nāl.

“In the 5th year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājarājadēva,—on the day of Aśvinī, which corresponded to a Wednesday and to the fifth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Simha.”

The date corresponds to Wednesday, the 19th August A.D. 1220, which was the 24th day of the month of Simha, and on which the 5th *tithi* of the dark half (of Bhādrapada) commenced 10 h. 38 m., while the *nakshatra* was Aśvinī for 18 h. 24 m., after mean sunrise.—As the 5th *tithi* commenced very late in the day, I consider it probable that it has been quoted erroneously instead of the 4th.

77.—In the Ikshupurīśvara temple at Kōvilveṇṇi.²

1 [Sva]sti śrī [!]* Tiribuvaṇachchakkara-
2 vattigaḷ śrī-I[r]ājarājadēvaṅku
3 yāṇdu 6ā[vad]u edir=ām=ā[n]-
4 du Tulā-nā[ya]ṅgu pūrva-[pa*]kshat-
5 tu saptamiyum Viyāla-[k]k[i]lāmai-
6 [y]um perra Uttirāḍattu [n]ā[!]*.

“In the year which was opposite the 6th year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājarājadēva,—on the day of Uttarāśhāḍhā, which corresponded to a Thursday and to the seventh *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Tulā.”

The date corresponds to Thursday, the 13th October A.D. 1222, which was the 16th day of the month of Tulā, and on which the 7th *tithi* of the bright half (of Kārttika) ended 11 h. 33 m., while the *nakshatra* was Uttarāśhāḍhā, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 13 h. 8 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 6 h. 34 m., after mean sunrise.

78.—In the Ādiyappaṇ temple at Kil-Kāśākudi.³

1 Rājarājadēvaṅku yāṇdu pattāvadu Mēsha-nāyaṅgu apara-pakshattu
ashtamiyum Śervāy-kkīlāmaiyum, perra Avittattu nāl.

“In the tenth year (of the reign) of Rājarājadēva,—on the day of Śravishtā, which corresponded to a Tuesday and to the eighth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Mēsha.”

The date corresponds to Tuesday, the 21st April A.D. 1226, which was the 28th day of the month of Mēsha, and on which the 8th *tithi* of the dark half (of Vaiśākha) ended 10 h. 16 m., while the *nakshatra* was Śravishtā, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 19 h. 3 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 19 h. 42 m., after mean sunrise.

G.—RAJENDRA-CHOLA III.

79.—In the Karavandīśvara temple at Uḍaiyārkoṭil.⁴

1 Svasti śr[i] [!]* T[i]r[i]bu[va*]ṇachchakkaravatt[i]gaḷ śr[i]-Irājēndira-Śōla-
dēvaṅku yāṇdu Svadu Miṇa-nā-

¹ No. 217 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1901.

² No. 396 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1902.

³ No. 392 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1902.

⁴ No. 406 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1902.

* Read 'dharṭa.

2 [ya]rru pū[rva]-pakshattu pañ[cha]m[i]yum Śaṇi-kīlamaiyu[m p]erra [U]rōsapi-nā].

"In the 3rd year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājendra-Chōladēva,— on the day of Rōhiṇi, which corresponded to a Saturday and to the fifth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Mīna."

My examination of the four dates Nos. 79-83 has yielded the result that the reign of Rājendra-Chōla III. commenced between (approximately) the 21st March and the 8th May A.D. 1248.

This date, No. 79, corresponds to Saturday, the 20th March A.D. 1248, which was the 26th day of the month of Mīna, and on which the 5th *tithi* of the bright half (of Chaitra) commenced 0 h. 30 m., while the *nakshatra* was Rōhiṇi for 18 h. 24 m. (or 17 h. 44 m.), after mean sunrise.

80.— In the Raṅganātha temple at Śrīraṅgam.¹

1 Kannarigarāja-pra[ti]kūla-kāladanḍa makarālaya-majjita-[Kali]-bala
Vi(vi)ra-Sōmi(mē)śvara-kar-āmukta-pāda-[vi]rābharaṇa
2 Tiribuva[ṇa]chchakkaravattigaḷ śrī-Rāsēndira-Śōladēvarkku yāṇḍu
7āvadu Magara-nāyayru apara-pakshattu ashtami[y]um Budan-k[i]lamaiyum
perṇa Śittirai-nā].

"In the 7th year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājendra-Chōladēva, the hostile rod of death to the Kannariga (*i.e.* Kar-ṇāpaka) king, he who had drowned the power of the Kali (age) in the ocean, the hero's anklets¹ on whose feet were put on by the hands of Vira-Sōmēśvara,² — on the day of Chitrā, which corresponded to a Wednesday and to the eighth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Makara."

The date corresponds to Wednesday, the 25th December A.D. 1252. On this day the Makara-(Uttarāṣaṇa)-sankrānti took place 13 h. 3 m.,³ the 8th *tithi* of the dark half (of Pausa) commenced 0 h. 17 m., and the *nakshatra* was Chitrā, by the equal space system and according to Garga the whole day, and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 21 h. 1 m. after mean sunrise.

81.— In the Rājagōpāla-Perumāḷ temple at Maṇṇārguḍi.⁴

Svasti śrī [!]* Tribuvanaachchakkaravattigaḷ śrī-Rāja[jē]ndra-⁵[Śōla]dēvaṅku yāṇḍu
21vadu Kaṇḍaga-ṇā[yayru] a[para-pakshattu ēk]ādaśiyum Budha-
kīlamaiyum perṇa Rōhi[ṇi]-nā].

"In the 21st year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājendra-Chōladēva,— on the day of Rōhiṇi, which corresponded to a Wednesday and to the eleventh *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Karkāṭaka."

The date corresponds to Wednesday, the 30th June A.D. 1266, which was the fourth day of the month of Karkāṭaka, and on which the 11th *tithi* of the dark half (of Āshāḍha) ended

¹ No. 64 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1892.

² *Vīra-śākaraṇa* is used in the sense of the Tamil *vīra-kkaḷal*.

³ This implies that the Chōla king had defeated the Hoysala king Sōmēśvara and employed him as a servant.

⁴ Ordinarily, therefore, the 25th December A.D. 1252, here described as a day of the month of Makara, would be considered to be the last day of the month of Dhauṣa.

⁵ No. 105 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1867.

⁶ Read -Rājendra-.

10 h. 21 m. after mean sunrise, while the *nakshatra* was Rôhîṇî, by the Brahma-siddhânta and according to Garga the whole day, and by the equal space system from 2 h. 38 m. after mean sunrise.

82.—In the Appâmalainâtha temple at Maṇṇârguḍi.¹

1 Ti[ru](xi)buvaṇachchak[ka]ravattigal śrî-Râj[ô*]n[di]ra-Śô[a]d[ô]varkku yâṇḍu 22vada Rishabha-nâyarru [pû]rvva-pakshattu śadurtesiyum Nâ[ya]rru-kkîlamaiyum perṇa Viśâgattu nâl.

“In the 22nd year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Râjendra-Chôladêva,—on the day of Viśâkhâ, which corresponded to a Sunday and to the fourteenth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Rishabha.”

The date corresponds to Sunday, the 8th May A.D. 1267, which was the 14th day of the month of Rishabha, and on which the 14th *tithi* of the bright half (of the first Jyaishtṥa) ended 21 h. 40 m. after mean sunrise, while the *nakshatra* was Viśâkhâ, according to Garga the whole day, by the Brahma-siddhânta for 22 h. 20 m., and by the equal space system from 3 h. 17 m., after mean sunrise.

83.—In the Raṅganâtha temple at Śrîraṅgam.²

1 Svasti śrîṥ [i]* Mâma-Sômi(mê)śvara-pratikûla-kâladanda [T]iribuvaṇachchakkaravattigal śrî-Râjendra-Śôladêvarkku yâṇḍu êlavad[iṇ] edir=âm=âṇḍu Vriśchika-nâyarr[ru] pûrvva-[pa]ksha[t]tu pañchamiyum Tiṅgaṭ-kîlamaiyum perṇa Âsvati-nâl.

“In the year which was opposite the seventh year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Râjendra-Chôladêva, the hostile rod of death to (his) uncle Sômaśvara,—on the day of Âśvinî, which corresponded to a Monday and to the fifth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Vriśchika.”

The date is intrinsically wrong because the *nakshatra* cannot be Âśvinî on the 5th *tithi* of a bright half in the month of Vriśchika.—A date of the month of Vriśchika of the year opposite the 7th, i.e. of the 8th year, of the king's reign would be expected to fall in A.D. 1253; but for that year this date would correspond to Tuesday, the 28th October, when the *nakshatras* were Pûrvâshâḍhâ and Uttarâshâḍhâ. If the date were one of the 9th year of the king's reign, it would correspond to Monday, the 6th November A.D. 1254, when the *nakshatras* were Uttarâshâḍhâ and Śrayapa.—I am unable confidently to suggest any correction of the original date with which the date would yield a satisfactory equivalent.

No. 25.— KALUCHUMBARRU GRANT OF VIJAYADITYA-AMMA II.

By J. F. FLEET, I.C.S. (RETD.), PH.D., C.I.E.

This record is the one which I have entered as U. in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XX. p. 271, in one of my papers on the Eastern Chalukya chronology, and from which I have given a short extract (verse 8, line 35 ff.) in the same Journal, Vol. XII. p. 249. I edit it from the original plates, which belonged to Sir Walter Elliot and are now in the British Museum. There is no information as to where they were obtained.

The plates are five in number, each measuring about $8\frac{1}{2}$ " by $4\frac{3}{8}$ ". The first of them is inscribed on one side only; the others are inscribed on both sides. The edges of the inscribed

¹ No. 91 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1897.

² No. 65 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1892.

(L. 73.) To Bhaṭṭadēva,¹ who has drawn up the charter concerning **Pedda-Kaluchuvubarru**, the venerable Arahanandi has given, as a present, land requiring as seed 9(?) *puffis* of twelve *ūmus* (each), (which he received) from the cultivators, (possessing) two bullocks, at **Gamsimi** (?).

No. 26.—FOUR INSCRIPTIONS AT SOLAPURAM.

By E. HULTZSCH, Ph.D.

Mr. G. Venkoba Rao, one of my assistants, lately visited **Śōlapuram**,² a village about 8 miles south of Vellore, and copied a number of inscriptions, of which I am now publishing the four most interesting ones.

The ancient name of **Śōlapuram** was **Kāṭṭuttumbūr** (B. and D. below), which was included in **Paṅgala-nāḍu**,³ a subdivision of the district of **Paḍuvūr-kōṭṭam**⁴ (B. below). In inscriptions of the Chōla kings **Rājarāja I.** (No. 421 of 1902) and **Kulōttuṅga I.** (Nos. 422 and 425 of 1902), the village is called **Uyyakkonḍāṇ-Śōlapuram** and is stated to have belonged to **Mugai-nāḍu**, a subdivision in the north of **Paṅgala-nāḍu**, a district of **Jayaṅgonḍa-Śōla-maṇḍalam**. From other inscriptions we know that **Paṅgala-nāḍu** included **Vēlūrppāḍi**, a suburb of Vellore,⁵ and that **Tirumalai** near **Pōlūr** belonged to **Mugai-nāḍu**.⁶

Vol. I. of *South-Indian Inscriptions* contains one inscription from **Śōlapuram** (No. 53), which I now republish (B. below) because my former transcript of it was not quite correct. A fresh copy (No. 422 of 1902) of another **Śōlapuram** inscription which was noticed in *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. I. (No. 96), enables me to add that this record opens with the words *Puṅgal-mādu viḷaṅga* and hence belongs to **Kulōttuṅga I.**⁷ and that it mentions the temple of **Rājarājēśvara** at **Uyyakkonḍāṇ-Śōlapuram**, which, as well as **Rājendra-Chōlēśvara**,⁸ is perhaps a later designation of the **Nandikampīśvara** temple.⁹

A.—INSCRIPTION OF VIJAYA-KAMPA.

This inscription (No. 429 of 1902) is engraved on a long stone broken in three pieces, which were dug up by Mr. G. Venkoba Rao in a tope of trees opposite the ruined **Īśvara** temple at **Śōlapuram**.

The inscription consists of 2½ mutilated Sanskrit verses in the Grantha character, and a passage in Tamil prose which is incomplete at the end. The Tamil portion is dated in the 8th year of king **Vijaya-Kampa**. The archaic alphabet of the inscription makes it probable that this king is identical with **Kampavarman**, whose inscriptions at **Ukkal** are dated in the 10th and 15th years.¹⁰ As I shall show further on (p. 196 below), he was perhaps a son of the **Gaṅga-Pallava** king **Vijaya-Nandivikramavarman** and hence belonged to the ninth century of the Christian era.

The Tamil portion records that a chief named **Rājāditya** built a temple of **Śiva** and a tomb in memory of his deceased father **Prithivigaṅgaraiyar** and apparently made a grant to a **Brāhmaṇa**. The mutilated Sanskrit portion contained a genealogical account of this **Rājāditya**. His earliest ancestor was **Mādhava** of the **Gāṅgēya** family, whose son was "he who was renowned as the splitter of even a stone-pillar." In the inscriptions of the Western **Gaṅgas**, this

¹ This passage is in Telugu. I am indebted to Dr. Hultzsch for the translation of it.

² No. 95 on the *Madras Survey Map* of the Vellore taluka.

³ An inscription of **Parāntaka I.** (No. 423 of 1902) mentions **Śōlapuram** as 'Kāṭṭuttumbūr in **Paṅgala-nāḍu**' and Vellore as 'Vēlūr alina **Paramēśvaramaṅgalam**?' compare *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. I. No. 110.

⁴ For other divisions of **Paḍuvūr-kōṭṭam** see *ibid.* Vol. III. p. 89.

⁵ Above, Vol. IV. n. 83.

⁷ See *ibid.* Vol. III. p. 126.

⁹ See p. 196 below.

⁶ *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. I. Nos. 67 and 68.

⁸ See *ibid.* Vol. I. No. 97.

¹⁰ *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. III. Nos. 8 and 5.

feat is ascribed to the mythical king *Koṅgaṇivarman*,¹ who is, however, there represented as the father and not as the son of *Mādhava*. The *Śōlapuram* inscription then states that in his (*viz.* *Koṅgaṇivarman's*) family was born a king whose name is given in the corrupt form of *Atvivarman*, which may be meant for *Atrivarman*, *Agnivarman*, *Arivarman*, *etc.* Verse 2 praises a king whose name is lost; but the Tamil portion suggests that this is the person who is there called *Prithivigaṅgaraiyar*. Verse 3, of which only the first and last words are preserved, opens with the name of *Rājāditya*, who is described in the Tamil portion as the son of *Prithivigaṅgaraiyar* and the contemporary of *Vijaya-Kampa*. As regards *Prithivigaṅgaraiyar*, he must be different from the *Gaṅga* chief *Prithivipati I.*, because the latter was the father of *Mārasiriha* and the son of *Śivamāra*,² while the former was the father of *Rājāditya* and apparently the son of the king whose name is hidden in the corrupt form *Atvivarman*.

TEXT.

- 1 Svasti śrī [||*] Gaṅgēya-varṇasyō vijai(ja)y-ābhiraṇa[h] śrī-Mādhava[s=*] tasya
sutō va(ba)bhūva [s] chhēttā śilā-sta[m]bham=api pri(pra)siddha[s=*] tat(d)-
varṇa-jō=bhu(bhūt=) pri(pra)[thi]tō=tvī[varṇmā]* [|| 1*]
gō
- 2 nripati[h*] parantapa[h*] nrip-āpi(khi)vandya[h*] Śiva-bhaktimān kavi[r=*]
vikalpa-kallōla-padārtuha-tatpara[h*] || [2*] Rājādity-ākhyā-bhūpa[h*] sura[ta]ru-
sa[d]riśō Narga[ti-nāma] ram-asau
- 3 dāpayām=āsa v[i]ra[h*] || [3*]⁵ Kō Viśaiya-Kamparkku yāṇḍu eṭṭāvadu
Prithiviga[n]ga[*]raiyyar at[i]tar=āyina pippāḍu tat-putra-Rājāditya[n] ma[hā-
dē]van para-nripati-makuta-ghaṭṭita-chara-
- 4 [na]n. tain=appapār[ai]=ppalli-paḍuttav=iddattu īśvara-ālayamum aṭiyta-garamum
eḍu[p]pittu kaṇḍu(nḍu) ēvviyāṇ⁷ [1*] Prāvaśa(cha)na-sūttirattu Kausika-
gōtrattu perum-bā[r*]ppāṇ Tiṭṭaiśarmma-⁸

TRANSLATION OF THE TAMIL PORTION.

(Line 3.) (*In*) the eighth year of king *Vijaya-Kampa*,—after *Prithivigaṅgaraiyar* had died, his son, the great king *Rājāditya*, whose feet were rubbed by the diadems of hostile kings, caused to be built, constructed, and caused to be made a temple of *īśvara* (*Śiva*) and a house for the deceased (*i.e.* a tomb) on the spot where his father had been buried.

(L. 4.) [*To*] *Tiṭṭaiśarman*, a great *Brāhmaṇa* of the *Prāvachana-sūtra*⁹ (*and*) of the *Kausika-gōtra*

B.—INSCRIPTION OF VIJAYA-KAMPAVIKRAMAVARMAN.

This Tamil inscription is engraved on the north wall of the *Perumāl* temple at *Śōlapuram*. It has been edited before in *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. I. No. 53, but is now republished from a better impression prepared in 1902.

The inscription is dated in the 23rd year of king *Vijaya-Kampavikramavarman*¹⁰—who is probably the same as the *Vijaya-Kampa* of A.—and records the building of a temple of *Nārāyaṇa*.

¹ Above, Vol. III. p. 184 f. and p. 186; *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. II. p. 380.

² *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. II. p. 380.

³ This sign of punctuation is expressed by a *visarga*.

⁴ I am unable to correct with confidence this corrupt name.

⁵ Read *aṭṭa*.

⁶ The remainder of the inscription is lost.

⁷ This is only half a verse.

⁸ Read *īyūttā*.

⁹ See above, Vol. V. p. 53, note 11.

¹⁰ The same form of the king's name is found in an inscription at *Dūṭi*; *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. III. p. 8 and note 5. Twelve further inscriptions of *Vijaya-Kampavarman* and *Vijaya-Kampavikramavarman* have been copied at *Uttaramallūr*, and two of *Kampavarman* at *Kāvētanḍalam*; see my *Annual Reports* for 1897-98 and 1900-01, pp. 18-20 and p. 23, respectively.

(Vishnu) at Kāṭṭuttumbūr (i.e. Śōlapuram), which must be identical with the temple of Perumāḷ (Vishnu) on which the inscription is engraved. The temple was named Kanakavalli-Vishnugriha after the village of Kanakavalli, in which some land was granted to it. The name of the person who built the temple and granted land to it is lost.

TEXT.

- 1 Svasti ār[i] [i]* Kō V[i]śaiya-[Ka]mpavikkiramaparumarkk-iyāṇḍu
irubattu-mu(mū)ṇāvaḍu [Pa]ḍuv[ā]r-kkōṭṭattu=Ppa[ā]-
- 2 gaḷa-nāṭṭu=Kkāṭṭuttumbūr Nārāyaṇa-bhaṭṭāragarkku śrī-kōy[i]ḷ eḍuppittu
Ka[ṇa]kava[ḷi]-Vishnu-griham eṇṇu-
- 3 m nāmathē(dhē)yattāl amaippittu idaṇukku [tri]kālam ārādhippaḍarkku
tri[kā]lam tiru-amurdukkum na-
- 4 ndā-vilakkum ārādhippāṇukku jīvitamum āga i-kkōṭṭattu i-nāṭṭu Kanakavalli
ēri ki(kī)ḷ bhūmi i-¹

TRANSLATION.

Hail! Prosperity! (In) the twenty-third year of king Vijaya-Kampavikramavarman a sacred temple was caused to be built to the god Nārāyaṇa (at) Kāṭṭuttumbūr in Paṅgaḷa-nāḍu, (a subdivision) of Paḍuvūr-kōṭṭam; (it) was endowed with the name Kanakavalli-Vishnugriha; and, for the worship at the three times (of the day), for offerings at the three times (of the day), (for) a perpetual lamp, and as a living for the worshipper, [there was granted] to it land below the tank of Kanakavalli in the same kōṭṭam (and) in the same nāḍu.

C.—INSCRIPTION OF SAKA-SAMVAT 871.

This Tamil inscription (No. 428 of 1902) is engraved on a rock near a pond called Kaḷḷaṅguṭṭai, south-west of Śōlapuram.

The date of this inscription is expressed in three different ways, viz. (a) "the year two;" (b) the Śaka year 871 (in words); and (c) "the year in which the emperor Kannaradēva-Vallabha, having pierced Rājāditya, entered the Tonḍai-maṇḍalam." The second and third portions of the date furnish an interesting confirmation of the Ātakûr inscription, according to which the Rāshtrakûṭa king Kṛishṇa III. had killed the Chōḷa king Rājāditya at Takkōlam in Śaka-Samvat 872 current, the Saumya-samvatsara = A.D. 949-50.² As the date of the Śōlapuram inscription does not contain a cyclic year, it is impossible to say if its Śaka year has to be taken as expired or current. In the former case the date would be the same as that of the Ātakûr inscription, and in the second case it would be A.D. 948-49. The "year two" with which the Śōlapuram inscription opens cannot refer to the reign of Kṛishṇa III., because we know from the Dēḷi plates that Amoghavarsha, the father of Kṛishṇa III., had died and that the latter was reigning³ in A.D. 940.⁴ Hence, as far as I can see, the "year two" can only refer to the reign of the Chōḷa king Rājāditya. This would indirectly confirm Professor Kielhorn's calculation of the date of an inscription at Kûram, according to which the 40th year of Parāntaka I., the father and immediate predecessor of Rājāditya, corresponded to A.D. 946.⁵ It may now be provisionally assumed that Parāntaka I. reigned from about A.D. 907 to at least 946, and that Rājāditya was crowned in about A.D. 948 and was killed by Kṛishṇa III. in about A.D. 949.

The purpose for which the subjoined inscription was engraved was to record the construction of the pond near which it is found, and which was called the Kaḷḷinaṅgai pond

¹ The remainder of the inscription is lost.

² Above, Vol. V. p. 195, vv. 27 and 28.

³ See p. 1 above.

⁴ See above, Vol. VI. p. 51.

⁵ Dr. Fleet's *Dyn. Kan. Distr.* p. 420.

Scale One-fifteenth.



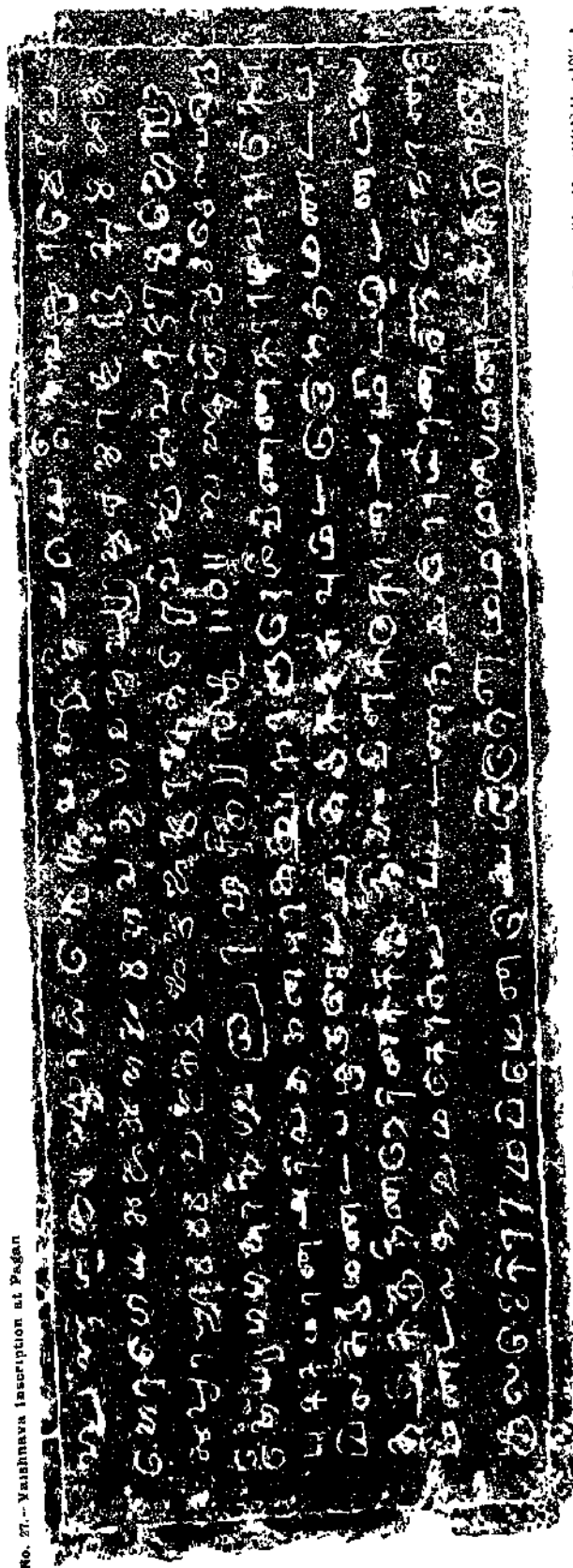
No. 26A.-Solapuram Inscription of Vijaya-Kampa.

Scale One-fifteenth.



No. 26B.-Solapuram Inscription of Vijaya-Kampa-Vikramavarmam.

Scale Three-tenths.



No. 27.-Vaishnava Inscription at Pagan

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in memory of a woman named Kallinaṅgai. The present name Kallaṅguṭṭai, i.e. 'the robber's pond,' is evidently a popular corruption of the original one. Kallinaṅgai had died at Aruṅguṇṇam, a village in the modern Arcot taluka.¹ She was the daughter of the Gaṅga chief Attimallar (i.e. Hastimalla) alias Kannaradēva-Prithivigaṅgaraiyar. This chief was the son of Vayiri-Adiyaṇ, the lord of Paṅgaḷa-nāḍu.² Hence he seems to be different from the Gaṅga-Bāna chief Hastimalla alias Prithivipati II., who was the son of Mārasiraha.³ The word Kannaradēva, which is prefixed to the name of Prithivigaṅgaraiyar, characterises the latter as a subordinate of the conqueror Kṛishṇa III. His wife Kāmakkaṇār bore the title Gaṅgamādēvi and was the daughter of Vāṇakōvaraiyar Orriyūr-Adiyaṇ. Vāṇakōvaraiyar is known to have been the title of certain chiefs.⁴ Orriyūr-Adiyaṇ means 'the devotee of the temple at Tiruvorriyūr.'⁵

TEXT.

- 1 Svasti sṛī [||*] Yāṇḍu iraṇḍu Śaka-varsham eṇṇūrr-eḷubatt-opṇu
- 2 sa(cha)kravartti Kannaradēva-Vallabhan⁶ Rājādittarai eṇṇu Tonḍai-maṇḍalam
- 3 puṇ[da]-
- 4 [v=ā]ṇḍu Paṅgaḷa-nāḍ-ūḍaiya Vayiri-Adiyaṇ maganār Attimallar-āgiya
- 5 Kannaradēva-Prithivigaṅga-
- 6 [raiya]ṅku [Vāṇa]kōvaraiyar Orriyūr-Adiyaṇ magalār Kā[mak]kaṇār-āṇa
- 7 Gaṅgamādēviyār vayiṇṇu[ṭ=pi]ṇḍu Aruṅguṇṇattir=[svargga]-
- 8 rāyina Kallinaṅgaiyārkkku-kka[n]ḍa Ka[ḷi]naṅgai-kulam [||]

TRANSLATION.

Hail! Prosperity! (In) the year two, the Śaka year eight-hundred and seventy-one, the year in which the emperor Kannaradēva-Vallabha, having pierced Rājāditya, entered the Tonḍai-maṇḍalam,—the Kallinaṅgai pond was constructed for (the merit of) Kallinaṅgaiyār, who died at Aruṅguṇṇam, having been born by Kāmakkaṇār alias Gaṅgamādēviyār, the daughter of Vāṇakōvaraiyar Orriyūr-Adiyaṇ, to Attimallar alias Kannaradēva-Prithivigaṅgaraiyar, the son of Vayiri-Adiyaṇ, the lord of Paṅgaḷa-nāḍu.

D.—INSCRIPTION OF SAKA-SAMVAT 875.

This Tamil inscription (No. 346 of 1901) is engraved on the base of the ruined Išvara temple at Śōlapuram. It is dated in Śaka-Samvat 875 (in words), while Hastimalla alias Kannaradēva-Prithivigaṅgaraiyar⁷—the same chief who was mentioned in C.—was ruling the Kallaḍuppūr-maryādā. This may have been a subdivision of Paṅgaḷa-nāḍu, the lord of which his father is stated to have been (C. line 3); but I cannot find Kallaḍuppūr on the map.⁸

The inscription records grants to the two temples of Nandikampīśvara and Guṇamālai at Kaṭṭuttumbūr (i.e. Śōlapuram) by Hastimalla's minister Puttaḍigal alias Aḷivina-Kaḷakaṇḍa-Prithivigaṅgaraiyar. The last portion of this name is evidently derived from that of his master; kaḷakaṇḍa is the Tamil form of kalakapṭha, 'a kōkila'; aḷivina means 'devoid

¹ See above, Vol. IV. p. 271.

² South-Ind. Inscr. Vol. II. p. 380 f., and above, Vol. IV. p. 222 f.

³ See p. 139 above.

⁴ Above, Vol. V. p. 103; South-Ind. Inscr. Vol. II. p. 230, note 1, and Vol. III. p. 132.

⁵ The engraver seems to have written at first Vallabhar, and then to have cancelled the r and added an a after it.

⁶ In line 9 he is called simply Prithivigaṅgaraiyar.

⁷ A village of the same name is referred to in South-Ind. Inscr. Vol. I. No. 83, line 5. No. 83 mentions a village of a slightly different name, viz. Kallaḍuppūr, which must be different from Kallaḍuppūr, because it belonged to Viṇṇepu-nāḍu (see above, Vol. VI. p. 228 and note 5), a subdivision of Kāḷiyūr-kōṭṭam.

of destruction; and Puttaḍigaḷ means 'a devotee of Buddha.' Hence the donor seems to have been a Buddhist.¹

Nandikampiśvara must have been the ancient name of the temple of Śvara (Śiva) in which this inscription is engraved. As no other Śiva temple exists at Sōlapuram, it may be also identified with the Śvara temple that was founded during the reign of Vijaya-Kampa according to the inscription A., and the Nandi-Kampa, after whom the Nandikampiśvara temple was called, may be identical with Vijaya-Kampa. As the alphabet of the inscriptions of Vijaya-Kampa, Kampavarman or Vijaya-Kampavikramavarman resembles that of the inscriptions of Vijaya-Dantivikramavarman, Vijaya-Nandivikramavarman and Vijaya-Nripatuḍgavikramavarman,² I feel tempted to explain Nandi-Kampa by 'Kampa, the son of Nandi,' and to assume that Kampavarman was a son of Nandivikramavarman and a brother of Nripatuḍgavikramavarman. The temple of Guṇamālai may have been a shrine in the Nandikampiśvara temple or another name of the Viṣṇu temple referred to in B. above.

TEXT.

- 1 Svasti śrī ||— Śagar yā[ḍu] [ḷuba]tt-aiñjāvadu ar[i].
Att[i]mallar-āg[i]ya [Kannara]d[ēva-P]ri[thivi]gaṅga[rai]yar Kall[e]ḍu-
- 2 ppūr-majjādi ālav-irukka [i]var=adigāri Puttaḍigaḷ=āgiya Aḷivi(vi)ṇa-Kaḷakaṇḍa-
Ppiridigaṅgaraiyaṇ-ēṇ Kāṭṭuttumbūr Nandi-
- 3 kampiśvara-dēvarck=oru-nandā-vi[la]kku [cha]nd[r]āḍitya-prisiddham=⁴erippadāga-
chchāvā mu(mū)vā=ppēr-āḍu toṇṇūṅ=āḍum Guṇamālai-
- 4 pperumāṇukk=oru-nandā-vilakk=⁵erippadaṅkku=ttōṇṇūṅ=āḍum=ivv-ār nagarattār-vaḷi=
kkāṭṭi=kkuḍuttēṇ
- 5 Aḷivi(vi)ṇa-Kaḷakaṇḍa-Ppiridigaṅgaraiyaṇ-ēṇ[*] i-Nnandikampi(mpi)śvara-dēvarcku
niśada[m*] [u]laku=ttumbai-ppūvum Guṇa[m]jā-
- 6 l[ai]-pperumāṇukku [u]laku=ttumbai-ppūv=attuvadāga chandrāḍitya-pramāṇam
kalañju poṇ kuḍuttēṇ=i-dēvar ti-
- 7 [ru*][vu]ṇāḷigai-pperumakkaḷ [a]ttuvippadāga [kuḍuttēṇ] [*] Guṇamālai-
pperumāṇukku [mū]ṇu sandhi[y]um tirumavidu⁶ kāṭṭuvadāga Amalaṅga[va]-
- 8 li-Attimalla-chohatuvvédimaṅgalam-eṇ[ṇa] nāḷ=ūraiym=⁷ēka-grāma[m]=āga=
choheyya [A]ḷivi(vi)ṇa-Kaḷakaṇḍa-Prithvigaṅga[ṇ]garaiyaṇ-⁸e-
- 9 ṇ [u]ḍaiyār Prithviga[m]garaiyarkku viṇappaṇ=jeyya [u]ḍaiyāram=⁹ēka-
grāmaṇ=jeygiṇa [pō]ḷdu i[ṇa].¹⁰Kkuṇamālai-pperumāṇu-⁸

TRANSLATION.

(Line 1.) Hail! Prosperity! (In) the [eight-hundred-and-]seventy-fifth year of the Śaka (king), while the glorious Attimallar alias Kapparaḍēva-Prithivigaṅgaraiyar was ruling the Kalleḍuppūr-majjādi,⁹—I, his minister (adhikārī) Puttaḍigaḷ alias Aḷiviṇa-Kaḷakaṇḍa-Piridigaṅgaraiyaṇ, exhibited and gave to the citizens of this town ninety undying (and) unaging big sheep¹⁰ for burning (with ghee prepared from their milk) one perpetual lamp in the Nandikampiśvara temple (at) Kāṭṭuttumbūr as long as the moon and the sun shall last, and ninety sheep for burning one perpetual lamp in the Guṇamālai temple.

¹ For another instance in which the same person worshipped both Śiva and Buddha, see above, Vol. VI. p. 138.

² See above, Vol. VI. p. 321, and Vol. VII. p. 139 f.

³ Read -pramāṇam= as in line 6.

⁴ Read -Prithvigaṅgaraiyaṇ.

⁵ The remainder of the inscription is lost.

⁶ This word is a corruption of the Sanskrit *maryādā*.

⁷ See above, p. 134 and note 2.

⁸ Restore *enṇūṅ-ēḷabati*.

⁹ Read *tirumavidu*.

¹⁰ Cancel the *ga*.

A date of the month of Sūmha (July-August) of the 7th year of Vikrama-Chōla would be expected to fall in A D 1124, and this date actually corresponds to Thursday, the 7th August A D 1124. This was the 12th day of the month of Sūmha, and on it the 11th *tithi* of the dark half (of Śrāvaṇa) ended 20 h 6 m, while the *nakṣatra* was Ārdra, by the equal space system for 15 h 46 m, by the Brahma-siddhānta for 1 h 58 m, and according to Garga for 3 h. 56 m., after mean sunrise.

B — RAJARAJA II.

85 — In the Kapardiśvara temple at Tiruvalaṅjūl.¹

1 Svasti śri [||*] Pā maruviya [T]iru-mādam
4 kō=Pparakēsaripāmar=ā[na Tri]bhuvanachchakravatt[i]ga[l] śr[i]-Rājarājad[ē]vaṛku
yāpdu 4āva[du] Vriśchika-nāyarru apa[ra-pa]kshattu [sa]ptam[ī]yu[m]
[B]uda[n]-[kī]lam[ai]yum [p]eṛra [P]ūra[t]t[u] nā[l].

"In the 4th year (of the reign) of king Parakēsarivarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājarājadēva,— on the day of Pūrva-Phalgunī, which corresponded to a Wednesday and to the 7th *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Vriśchika."

My examination of the four dates Nos 85-88 has yielded the result that the reign of Rājarāja Parakēsarivarman, i.e. Rājarāja II., commenced between (approximately) the 27th March and the 28th November A D. 1146.

This date, No 85, corresponds to Wednesday, the 23rd November A.D. 1149, which was the 27th day of the month of Vriśchika, and on which the 7th *tithi* of the dark half (of Mārgaśīrṣa) ended 14 h. 10 m, while the *nakṣatra* was Pūrva-Phalgunī, by the equal space system for 22 h 20 m, by the Brahma-siddhānta for 5 h. 55 m, and according to Garga for 10 h. 30 m, after mean sunrise.

86 — In the Karavandiśvara temple at Udayārkōyil.²

1 Svasti śri [||*] Pā maruviya Tīru-mādam
8 k[ō]=Ppara]kēsa-
9 [r]ipatmar=āna Tribu[va]nachchak[ka]ravattiga[l] śrī-Rāja[r]ājadēvaṛku yāp[du]
āp[va]d[u] Ku-
10 m[bha]-nāyarru apara-paksha[t]tu pratham[ai]yu[m] Vi[y]āla-kkīlamaiyum peṛra
Maga[t]t[u] nā[l]

"In the sixth year (of the reign) of king Parakēsarivarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājarājadēva,— on the day of Maghā, which corresponded to a Thursday and to the first *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Kumbha."

The date corresponds to Thursday, the 24th January A D. 1152,³ which was the first day⁴ of the month of Kumbha, and on which the first *tithi* of the dark half (of Māgha) ended 15 h 27 m, while the *nakṣatra* was Maghā, by the equal space system for 22 h 20 m, by the Brahma-siddhānta for 7 h 53 m., and according to Garga for 10 h. 30 m, after mean sunrise.

87.— In the Kapardiśvara temple at Tiruvalaṅjūl.⁵

1 Svasti śri || Pā maruviya Tīru-mādam
5 [k]ō=Pparakēsaripāmar=āna Tir[ī]bhuvanachchak[ka]ravattiga[l] śrī-
Rājarāja-

¹ No 622 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1902

² No 407 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1902.

³ Between A D 1131 and 1178 this is the only day for which the date is correct.

⁴ The Kumbha-mūkrānti took place 20 h 58 m after mean sunrise of the 23rd January A D 1152

⁵ No 628 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1902.

6 dēvaṅku y[āu]ḍu paṇṇandāvaḍu Mēsha-n[āya]ṇṇu apara-pakshattu navamiyūm
B[ūda]n-kijamaiyu[m] p[er]ra Tī-
7 ruvōna[itu nā]l

"In the twelfth year (of the reign) of king Parakēsarivarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājārājadēva,—on the day of Śravana, which corresponded to a Wednesday and to the ninth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Mēsha "

The date corresponds to Wednesday, the 26th March A.D. 1158, which was the 2nd day of the month of Mēsha, and on which the 9th *tithi* of the dark half (of Chaitra) ended 6 h 35 m, while the *nakṣatra* was Śravana, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 12 h 29 m, and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 13 h 47 m, after mean sunrise

88 — In the Ēkāmrānātha temple at Conjeeveram.¹

1 Svasti śri [||*] Pū maruviya Tīru-māḍum
2 kō=Pparakēsaripatmar-ana Tribhuvanaachchakkaravattigal śri-
Rājārājadēvaṅku yāḍu paḍiṇaṇjāvaḍu Tai-māsattu pūrvva-pakshattu
Punarpusamum chatu[r]ddāṣiyum Viyaḷa-kkijamaiyum=a[na] nāl

"In the fifteenth year (of the reign) of king Parakēsarivarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājārājadēva,—on the day of Punarvasu, which was a Thursday and the fourteenth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Tai "

The date corresponds to Thursday, the 12th January A.D. 1161, which was the 19th day of the month of Tai (or Makara), and on which the 14th *tithi* of the bright half (of Māgha) ended 19 h 3 m, while the *nakṣatra* was Punarvasu, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 11 h 10 m, and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 10 h 30 m, after mean sunrise

89 — In the Āpatsahāyēśvara temple at Ālangudi.²

1 Svasti śri [||*] Pū maruviya Tīru-māḍum
6 kō=Pparakēsaripatmar-ana
7 Tribhuvanaachchakkaravattigal
8 śri-Rājārājadēvaṅku yā-
9 ḍu ājāvaḍu
14 Mīna-nāyaṇṇu pū-
15 rva-pakshattu septamiyūm Viyaḷa-k-
16 kijamaiyum peṇṇa Orōṣani-nā-
17 l

"In the sixth year (of the reign) of king Parakēsarivarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājārājadēva,—on the day of Rōhini, which corresponded to a Thursday and to the seventh *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Mīna "

Between A.D. 1136 and 1299 the only days for which this date would be correct, are Thursday, the 26th February A.D. 1159, and Thursday, the 27th February A.D. 1186, neither of which could have fallen in the 6th year of the king's reign. Guided by the results of my calculations, I therefore assume that the month of Mīna has been wrongly quoted in the date instead of the immediately preceding month of Kumbha. For this month the date regularly corresponds to Thursday, the 14th February A.D. 1152, which was the 22nd day of the month of Kumbha, and on which the 7th *tithi* of the bright half (of Phālguna) ended 17 h 26 m after

¹ No. 9 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1893, compare *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. III p. 79 and note 4

² No. 5 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1899

mean sunrise, while the *nakshatra* was Rôhini, by the Brahma-siddhânta and according to Garga during the whole day, and by the equal space system from 6 h 34 m after mean sunrise.

C.—KULOTTUNGA-CHOLA III.

90.—In the Pâtâlîśvara temple at Aridvâramangalam.¹

1 . . . [cha]kkaravattigal śrī ra² Madurai kond aru[]iya śrī-Kulô[t]tunga-
Śôladêva[r*]kku yându 10vadu pattâvadu Ma[gn]ra-nâyarru apara-pasha(ksha)ttu
pañchamiyum Śevvâ[y*]-kkilamaiyum perra Utitattâdi-nâl

“In the 10th—tenth—year (of the reign) of the emperor [of the three worlds], the glorious Kulôttunga-Chôladêva, who was pleased to take Madurai,—on the day of Uttara-Bhadrapadâ, which corresponded to a Tuesday and to the fifth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Makara.”

The wording of this date is intrinsically wrong. As in the dates of the inscriptions Nos 480 and 604 of my *Southern List*, either the *nakshatra* Uttara-Bhadrapadâ has been quoted erroneously instead of Uttara-Phalgunî, or the second fortnight instead of the first. My calculation has shown that really the latter is the case.

The intended day undoubtedly is Tuesday, the 5th January A D 1168, which was the 11th day of the month of Makara, and on which the 5th *tithi* of the bright half (of Mâgha) ended 19 h 42 m after mean sunrise, while the *nakshatra* was Uttara-Bhadrapadâ, by the Brahma-siddhânta and according to Garga the whole day, and by the equal space system from 5 h 55 m. after mean sunrise

91.—In the Arunâchalêśvara temple at Tiruvannâmalai.⁴

1 Svasta [||*]
2 Tirubuvanavi(vî)radêvayku yându 35va[du]
3 M[]duna-nâyarru eṭṭân=diyaḍiyum A[nu]lamum perra tiru-Nâ[ya]rru-
kkilamai-nâl.

“In the 35th year (of the reign) of Tirubhuvanaviradêva,—on a sacred Sunday which corresponded to (the day of) Anurâdhâ and to the eighth solar day of the month of Mithuna.”

The date should fall in A.D 1218. In this year the Mithuna-samkrânti took place 3 h. 1 m after mean sunrise of Sunday, the 26th May, which was the first day of the month of Mithuna. The 8th day of the same month therefore was Sunday, the 2nd June A D 1218; and on this day the *nakshatra* was Anurâdhâ, by the Brahma-siddhânta for 22 h 20 m, and by the equal space system and according to Garga from 3 h 17 m., after mean sunrise

92.—In the Kapardiśvara temple at Tiruvalaṅjuli.⁵

1 Svasta śr[ī] [||*]
2 T[]bhuvanachchakkara[va]tt[]ga[l] Maduraiyum I[]la]-
3 mun Karuvânum Pâ[n]diyanai mudi-ttalay[u]-
4 n=goṇḍ-aru[]i virar=abhushêkamum vi-
5 jayar=abhushêkam[um] paṇṇi-a[]u[]iya śrī-Tir-
6 [b]uva[na]v[ira]dêvayku yâ[n]du mu[p]pat[t]ârâ-

¹ No 611 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1902

² The beginning of the inscription is built in

³ Cancel the syllables *śrī ra*.

⁴ No 557 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1902

⁵ No 631 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1902

- 7 vadu Mēsha-nāya[r] pū[rva]-pakshattu
8 tri(tri)tiyaikum Tīngal-k[ī]lam[ai]yum per-
9 ra Rōśam-nāl

"In the thirty-sixth year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Tribhuvanaviradēva, who was pleased to take Madurai, Īlam, Karuvūr and the crowned head of the Pandya, and was pleased to perform the anointment of heroes and the anointment of victors,—on the day of Rōhinī, which corresponded to a Monday and to the third *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Mēsha "

The date corresponds to Monday, the 14th April A D 1214, which was the 21st day of the month of Mēsha, and on which the 3rd *tithi* of the bright half (of Vaiśākha, i.e. the *akṣaya-tritīyā*) ended 19 h 29 m, while the *nakṣatra* was Rōhinī, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 14 h 27 m, and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 13 h 47 m, after mean sunrise

93 — In the Kailāsanātha temple at Kalappāl¹

- 1 Svasti śrī [||*] Tribhuvanachchakravattiga[l] Ma]dhuraiyum Īlamun=Garuvūra[m]
Pāndiyaṇ mudi-ttalaikum-gondu [vi]rar-abhūṣhēkamum vijai[ya]r-abhū[sh]ē-
2 kamu[m] paṇṇiy-araiya śrī-Tri[bhu]va[ra]viradēvaṅku yāndu 37du
Vri(vri)śchika-nāya[r] pū[rva]-pakshattu [cha]ta(tu)[r]ddā[śi]yūn=Dingal-
kūlamaiyū[m] per[ra]
3 Kārttagai-nal

"In the 37th year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Tribhuvanaviradēva, who took Madurai, Īlam, Karuvūr and the crowned head of the Pandya, and was pleased to perform the anointment of heroes and the anointment of victors,—on the day of Krittikā, which corresponded to a Monday and to the fourteenth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Vriśchika "

The date corresponds to Monday, the 17th November A D 1214, which was the 21st day of the month of Vriśchika, and on which the 14th *tithi* of the bright half (of Mārgaśīrṣa) commenced about sunrise, while the *nakṣatra* was Krittikā, by the Brahma-siddhānta for 11 h 50 m, according to Garga for 13 h 8 m, and by the equal space system from 0 h 39 m, after mean sunrise

94 — In the Kapardiśvara temple at Tiruvalaṅḡuḷi.²

- 1 Svasti [śrī][||*] Tirib[a]vaṇachchak[k]ava[r]ttigal Madurai[ya]m Īlamun Karuvūrum
Pāndiyaṇ mudi-ttalaikum kondu virar-abhūṣhē[ka]mmum³ vijayar=
abhūṣhēkamum³ paṇṇi[y-a]raiya śrī-Tribhuvana[vira]dēvaṅku yāndu 39āvadu
Kumba-nāya[r] a[pa]ra-pakshattu prathamaiyum [Bu]dan-kūlamaiyum⁴ per[ra]
Magattu nal

"In the 39th year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Tribhuvanaviradēva, who took Madurai, Īlam, Karuvūr and the crowned head of the Pandya, and was pleased to perform the anointment of heroes and the anointment of victors,—on the day of Maghā, which corresponded to a Wednesday and to the first *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Kumbha "

The date corresponds to Wednesday, the 25th January A D 1217, which was the 3rd day of the month of Kumbha, and on which the first *tithi* of the dark half (of Māgha) ended 12 h 54 m, while the *nakṣatra* was Maghā, by the equal space system for 11 h 50 m, after mean sunrise

¹ No 659 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1902

² No 618 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1902

³ Read -abhūṣhēkamum

⁴ Read -kūlamaiyum

D.— RAJARAJA III.

95 — In the Kapardiśvara temple at Tiruvalaṅḡuli.¹

- 1 Tribuvanachohakkaravattiga[1] śrī-Rā[ja*]rā[ja*]dēvarkku yāṇḍu eṭṭāvaḍin o[ḍuā]m=
āṇḍu Tul[ā nā]yayru apāra pakshattu na[vam]i[ya]m] Tiu-
2 ga[1]-kīlamai[yum] peṇṇa Pū[śattu] n[ā]

"In the year opposite the eighth year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rā[ja]rā[ja]dēva,— on the day of Pushya, which corresponded to a Monday and to the ninth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Tula."

The date undoubtedly corresponds to Monday, the 7th October A D 1224, which was the 11th day of the month of Tula, and on which the *nakshatra* was Pushya, by the equal space system and according to Gaṅga for 15 h 46 m, and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 13 h 47 m, after mean sunrise. But the *tithi* which ended on this day, 14 h 40 m after mean sunrise, was the 8th, not the 9th, *tithi* of the dark half (of Āśvina) — The result shows that, instead of the word na[vam]i[ya]m] of the original date, we ought to read *ashṭamīyum*.

96 — In the Arunāchalēśvara temple at Tiruvannāmalai.²

- 1 Svasti śrī [11*] Tribuvanachohakkaravatt[1]gal śrī-Iṭṭārajadēvarkku [y]āṇḍu
32vaḍu Kumba-nāyayru pū[rva]-pakshattu tu[vāda]śīyum Vel[h]-kk[1]lāmai-
yum peṇṇa Pūnai[p]ūśattu nā

"In the 32nd year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājarājadēva,— on the day of Punarvasu, which corresponded to a Friday and to the twelfth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Kumbha."

The date corresponds to Friday, the 7th February A D. 1248, which was the 15th day of the month of Kumbha, and on which the 12th *tithi* of the bright half (of Phālguna) ended 21 h 23 m, while the *nakshatra* was Punarvasu, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 13 h. 47 m, and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 13 h 8 m, after mean sunrise.

97 — In the Arunāchalēśvara temple at Tiruvannāmalai.³

- 1 Svasti[1] śrī[1] [11*] T[1]ribuvanachohakkaravatt[1]gal śrī-Rājarājadēvarkku yāṇḍu
32vaḍu Mēsha-nāy[1]ayru apāra-pakshattu trayōdaś[1]yum Budan-k[1]lāmayum
peṇṇa Irēba(va)d[1]-nā.

"In the 32nd year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājarājadēva,— on the day of Rēvatī, which corresponded to a Wednesday and to the thirteenth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Mēsha."

The date corresponds to Wednesday, the 22nd April A D. 1248, which was the 29th day of the month of Mēsha, and on which the 13th *tithi* of the dark half (of Vaiśākha) commenced 6 h 40 m, while the *nakshatra* was Rēvatī for 21 h 1 m, after mean sunrise.

E — RAJENDRA-CHOLA III.

98 — In the Prēmapuriśvara temple at Anbil.⁴

- 1 T[1]i[1]bu[va]nachohakkaravatt[1]ga]l śrī[1]-Irā[śā]ndira-
ś[ā]jadēva[r]kku yāṇḍu 4vaḍu Kann[1]-nāyayru pū[rva]-pakshattu paūchamīyum
Nāy[1]ayru-kk[1]lāmayum peṇṇa A[m]i[1]attu nā[1]

¹ No 629 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1902

² No 491 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1902

³ No 503 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1902

⁴ No. 596 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1902.

"In the 4th year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājendra-Chōladēva,— on the day of Anurādhā, which corresponded to a Sunday and to the fifth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Kanyā "

The date corresponds to Sunday, the 12th September A.D. 1249, which was the 16th day of the month of Kanyā, and on which the 5th *tithi* of the bright half (of Āṣvina) commenced 1 h 42 m, while the *nakṣatra* was Anurādhā, by the Brahma-siddhānta for 22 h 59 m, and by the equal space system and according to Garga from 3 h 56 m., after mean sunrise

99.— In the Śākṣināthasvāmī temple at Avalivanallūr¹

- 1 . . . Tribu[ra]ṇasakkara[ra]-
- 2 tugal śr[i]-Iraśēndira-Ś[ō]-
- 3 ḷadava[r*]kku yāndu 22[ra]ḍu
- 4 Mēla-nāyayru apara-pakṣattu
- 5 de(da)ṣam[i]yūm Budan kīlamaiyūm [p]e-
- 6 yra [Śa]ḍa[yattu] n[a]!

"In the 22nd year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājendra-Chōladēva,— on the day of Śatabhishaj, which corresponded to a Wednesday and to the tenth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Mēsha "

The date will be expected to fall in A.D. 1267 or 1268. It actually corresponds to Wednesday, the 20th April A.D. 1267, which was the 26th day of the month of Mēsha, and on which the 10th *tithi* of the dark half (of Vaiśākha) ended 13 h 40 m, while the *nakṣatra* was Śatabhishaj, by the equal space system for 4 h 36 m, after mean sunrise

This result reduces the time² during which Rājendra-Chōla III must have commenced to reign to the period between approximately the 21st March and the 20th April A.D. 1248

F.— TRIBHUVANAVIRA-CHOLA.

100 — In the Arunāchalēśvara temple at Tiruvannāmalai³

- 1 Svasti śrī [i*] T[r]ibhuvanavira-Śōladēvaṅku yāndu llāvaḍu
- 2 Chitrabhānu-varuṣattu Simha-nāyayru apara-pakṣattu la-
- 3 pmaiṅum Ve[l]l-kīlamaiyūm perṅa Uroṣani-nā-
- 4 l

"In the 11th year (of the reign) of Tribhuvanavira-Chōladēva,— on the day of Rōhini, which corresponded to a Friday and to the seventh *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Simha of the year Chitrabhānu "

If the Tribhuvanavira-Chōladēva of this date were identical with Kulōttunga-Chōla III who bears the name Tribhuvanavirādēva, the date would fall in A.D. 1188, but for that year it is in every respect incorrect. Between A.D. 1000 and 1500 the only day for which the date is correct is Friday, the 23rd August A.D. 1342. This day by the southern luni-solar system fell in the Jovian year Chitrabhānu (Śaka-samvat 1264 expired). It was the 26th day of the month of Simha, and on it the 7th *tithi* of the dark half (of Bhādrapada) ended 10 h 8 m., while the *nakṣatra* was Rōhini, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 19 h 42 m, and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 19 h 3 m., after mean sunrise.

¹ No. 605 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1902

² See above, Vol. VII p. 176

³ No. 522 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1902.

If correctly recorded, the date would prove that there was a king or chief Tribhuvanavira-Chôla who commenced to reign between approximately the 24th August A.D. 1331 and the 23rd August A.D. 1332 (in Śaka-samvat 1253-54).

No 2.—TIRUVADI INSCRIPTION OF RAVIVARMAN,
A.D. 1313

By Professor E. HULTZSCH, Ph.D.; HALLE (SAALE).

This inscription (No. 34 of 1903) is engraved on the south wall of the Virattānēśvara shrine at Tiruvadi near Panguṭṭa in the Cuddalore tāluka of the South Arcot district. It consists of a passage in the Sanskrit language and the Grantha alphabet, and of a sentence in the Tamil language and alphabet.

The Sanskrit portion (ll 1-3) is identical with the first four lines of the Ranganātha inscription of Ravivarman, which has been published and translated by Professor Kielhorn,¹ as far as the word *Kulaśekhara-dēva*. The Tamil portion (l 3 f) records that Ravivarman *alias* Kulaśekhara-dēva bathed and repaired the central shrine of the Tiruvirattānam temple at Tiruvadigar² in the fourth year of his reign, the Kaliyuga year 4414 and the Śaka year 1235, on the day of Rôhini, Saturday, the eleventh *tithi* of the first fortnight of Makara.

Professor Kielhorn kindly informs me that this date corresponds to Saturday, the 20th December A.D. 1313, when the 11th *tithi* of the bright half ended 6h 14m, and the *nakṣatra* was Rôhini for about 21 hours, after mean sunrise.

In verse 4 of the Arulāla-Perumāl inscription of the same king we are told that he stayed at Kāñchi in his fourth year.³ The subjoined inscription is dated in the same year, and adds the information that this year corresponded to A.D. 1313.

TEXT.⁴

- 1 Svasti śrī-Jayam[m]ha ity=abhihitas=Śōmānvay-ōttamsako rāj=āsīd=iha Kēralēshu
vishayā nāthō Yadu-kshmābhritam || jātō=smād=Raviva[r]mma-bhūpatir=
Um[ā]dēvyām kumārāś=śivād=dēhavyāpya-Śakābda-bhāṇi samayō dōh=iya
vīdō ra[su]bh ८ [1*] Kahayan-nitvā sō-yam kali-bala[m=iv=ār]jāta-nivaha[ñ]=
ja[ra]v[ar]ivat kritvā nija-sahacharīm Pāndya-tanayām || trayastrimśad-va[r]shō
y[as] 1[10] yayau Kērala-padam(dam) raraksha svam rāshtra[n-na]garam=iva
Kōlambam=adh[1]pah ८ [2*] [Ji]tvā Samgrāmādhirō nripatir=adhura[nam]m(ṇam)
vidvisham(ṣam) Vira-Pāndyam(ndyam) kritv=āsau Pāndya-Chōlēn=naya iva
tanum[u]n Kēralēbhyō=py=adhi[n]jān || shatcha-
- 2 tvārimśad-abdas=tata-bhuvi mukutan=dhārāyan=Vēgavatyaḥ kridām smhāsana-sthas=
chiram=akrita mahi-kirti-vānī-ramābhūh ८ [3*] Ā Mātr=ā Malayād=ā
pūrvād=ā cha pāschimād=acha[1]āt || Yadukula-sēkhara ēsha kshōnīm
Kulōśēkharas=svayam bubhujē || ८ [4*] ८ Svasti śrī [11*] Chandrak[ula-
maingal]pindipa || Yādava-Nārāyana || Kēraladēśa-punyaparīnāma || Nāmāntara-
Kairṇa || Kūpaka-[s]urvvabhauma || Kulaśekhara-pratishthāpita-Garudaddhvaja ||
Kōlamba-purnavai-ādhisvara [11] Sri-Patma(dma)nābha-padakamala paramārādhaka [11]
Prapatarāja-pratishthācharyya || Vīmatarāja-bandikāra || Dharmamatara-
mūlaka[nda] || Satga(dga)n-ālamkāra || [Oha]tushshashti-

¹ Above, Vol IV p 149

² Above, Vol IV p 147

³ For this ancient name of Tiruvadi see above, Vol VII p 162

⁴ From an inked stampage prepared by Mr. G. Venkoba Rao.

- 3 kalā-va[lla]bha || Dakshina-Bhōjarāja | Sa[m]grāmadhira || Mahārājādhirāja-
paramēśvara || Jayasimhadēva-nandana || Ravivarmma-mahārāja || [6.] Śrī
[11] 6. Śrī-Kulaśēkharadēva || 6. [1]vaṅku yāndu nālāvadu Kalyuga-varsham
4414 idil ningiya Śa . . . 35¹ idan mēl sellānigra Magara-
nāyaru pūrvva-pakshattu śkādaśiyum Śaṇi-kka[ia]m[aiyum] p[ē]ṇa
Rōśan[ī]-nāl Tiruvadī[g]ai udaiyār Tiru[vira]ttānam-udaiya nāyanār kōyil
Vāpa-Kaiyilāya-Tirumalai stūpi-paryyantamāga tūramaṇḍanamum panna
[pu]rachchāraṇai tūrkallam ś[āt]ta-
- 4 y-arul[ī]nār Raviva[r]mma-ma[h]ārā[ja]r-āṇa perumāl Kulaśēgaradēvar 6. Svasti
śrī 6.

TRANSLATION OF THE TAMIL PORTION.

(Line 3) (In) the fourth year of this (king),—the Kalyuga year 4414,—the Śa[ka] year 12]35 separated from this,²—on the day of Rōhini, which corresponded to a Saturday and to the eleventh *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month Makara current after this (Śaka year),—Ravivarma-Mahārāja alias the lord Kulaśēkharadēva was pleased to bathe up to the pinnacle the Vāpa-Kaiyilāya-Tirumalai³ (in) the temple of the lord of Tiruvirattānam, the god of Tiruvadīgai, and to fix the stones which were bulging out Hail! Prosperity!

No 3 — MADRAS MUSEUM PLATES OF VEMA, A D 1345

By J RAMAYYA, B A, B L

This inscription is engraved on five copper-plates which are deposited in the Madras Museum, and I edit it from ink-impressions kindly furnished to me by Prof Hultzsch. The plates are engraved on both sides, except the first plate which is engraved on one side only. The ring and seal are missing. The letters are bold and legible. The characters are of the old Telugu type. The language is Sanskrit, except the portion describing the boundaries of the village of Ātukūru, which is in Telugu.

The inscription opens with an invocation to the boar-incarnation of Vishnu (verse 1), whose feet gave birth to the fourth caste (v 2). In that caste was born Vēmaya, the founder of a family (*vaṁśa-kartā*, v 3). To him was born the great hero Kōmatī-Prōla (v 4), whose wife was Annemāmbā (v 5). To Kōmatī-Prōla, Annemāmbā bore five sons — Mācha, Vēma, Doddāya, Annāya and Mallāya (v 6). Of these Vēma ruled the earth (v 8). He was the torrent of a mighty river to the trees which were rebellious neighbouring kings, the full-moon to the water-lilies which were friendly kings, the wind to the cotton which was the mad *manne* chiefs,⁴ a very Agastya to the ocean which was the Mlēcchōhhas⁵ (v 9), and bore the *biruda* Rāyachēkōṅganda (v 10). King Vēma restored all the *agrahāras* of Brāhmanas, which had been taken away by the wicked Mlēcchōhha kings from (the time of) king Vira-Budra of the Kākati-vaṁśa (v 12). King Vēma, surnamed Śrī-Pallava-Trinētra, was a bee on the lotus-flowers which were the feet of the preceptor named Ghōḍerāya-Gaṅga⁶ (v 13). Vēma's

¹ Restore Śakābdam 1235

² The meaning of this expression is perhaps 'separately stated along with this (Kalyuga year)'

³ I.e. 'the holy mountain of the heavenly Kailāsa'. This seems to have been the name of the central shrine in the Tiruvirattānam temple.

⁴ The reference seems to be to the hill-chiefs whom Vēma vanquished.

⁵ I.e. the Mahammadans.

⁶ This person seems to have been the family Guru of the Reddis. He is referred to in Śrinātha's *Bhīmākhaṇḍam* and *Kāśikhaṇḍam* as Ghōḍerāya-Bhūmaya-Guru and Ghorarāya Bhūmēśvara, respectively.

capital was the city of Addanki in the country of Pūṅgi, which extended from the eastern slopes of Śrīgiri¹ to the eastern sea² on both sides of the river Kundi (vv. 14 and 15). At an eclipse of the moon on Chaitri³ in the Śāka year counted by the mountains (7), the seasons (6) and the suns (12),—in figures 1267,—in the presence of Māṇḍūka-Śambhu,⁴ king Vēma gave as an *agrahāra* to several Brāhmanas the village of Ātukūru, which was situated on the northern bank of the river Kṛishnā, and which was renamed Vēmapuram after the donor (vv 17 and 18). After this comes a list of the donees, which is followed by a detailed account of the boundaries of Ātukūru,—boundaries which were entirely of a temporary nature, and which must have disappeared centuries ago. The inscription ends with the usual imprecatory verses and the signature *Śrī-Pallava-Trinētra* (line 87).

This is the earliest inscription of the Reddi dynasty as yet discovered. There is another inscription of Vēma at Amarāvati, also dated in the Śāka year 1267,⁵ but in the month of Kārttika. The Śāka year quoted in the subjoined inscription was the expired and not the current year, and the date of the grant corresponds to Friday, the 18th March A.D. 1845, on which date there was, according to Professor Kiehlhorn, "a total eclipse of the moon from 18 h. 49 m. to 22 h. 27 m. after mean sunrise, and therefore visible in India." In the Amarāvati inscription the corresponding cyclic year is given as Pārthiva.

I have not met with the name of Pūṅgi elsewhere and cannot say whether it has anything to do with Ongole, which is a contraction of Vangavōlu—the town of Vanga. It would perhaps be more fanciful to derive the word from Pāka in Pākanādu. The country of Pūṅgi comprised parts of the modern districts of Kurnool, Nellore and Kistna. The village Ātukūru I identify with Gani-Ātukūru—west of Bezvāda. Addanki is the well-known village of that name in the Ongole tāluka of the Nellore district and is the head-quarters of a Deputy Tahsildar. The river Kundi is the Gundlakamma of the map and is called Brahma-Kundi and Kundi-Prabha in the Amarāvati inscription.

All the accounts hitherto published of the genealogy of the Reddi chiefs open with Kōmati-Prōla. This inscription gives us the name of Prōla's father Vēma, after whom his illustrious grandson was named. This account is corroborated by the Telugu *Harivamśam*, which was dedicated to Vēma, the donor of the present grant. In this book Vēma is called indiscriminately Vēma, Kōmati-Vēma, Prōlaya-Vēma, or Annama-Vēma. The second and third names are combinations of Vēma's own name with those of his father, and the last name he derived from his mother. From the *Harivamśam* we learn that Prōla's wife Annamā was the daughter of Dodda, who had three sons, viz Pōta, Chitta and Nāga. Chitta had a son named Nūka who is said to have been a very dear friend of Vēma. He is perhaps identical with Nallanūka, who married Vēma's daughter Vēmasāni.⁶ From the same book we learn that Vēma's younger brother Malla took Mōtupalli⁷—from whom it is not stated—and that he was of great help to Vēma. The latter statement derives corroboration from the Amarāvati inscription already referred to, which says that Vēma fixed five golden pots on the top of the temple of Amarēśvara for the eternal benefit (*punya*) of his younger brother Malla-Reddi. Before taking leave of the *Harivamśam*, it may be pointed out that that book mentions only two sons of Vēma, viz Pōta (afterwards called Anapōta or Anavōta) and Kōmati. Anavēma, Doddāmbikā and Vēmasāni were apparently not yet born when the *Harivamśam* was composed, and Kōmati probably died while yet a boy.

¹ Srīśaalam in the Kurnool district.

² The Bay of Bengal.

³ *I.e.* the full moon day in the month of Chaitra.

⁴ *I.e.* at the Siva temple called Māṇḍūkāśvara.

⁵ No 268 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1897.

⁶ See above, Vol. III p. 287, and the genealogical tree published in the *Report on Epigraphy for 1899-1900*.

⁷ In the Bāpāṭa tāluka of the Kistna district.

The statement in the inscription that Vēma restored the *agrahāras* wrested by the Muhammadans from Pratāparudra is, so far as I am aware, the only epigraphical reference as yet discovered to the Muhammadan conquest of Warangal. It also shows, as has been already pointed out by Mr V. Venkayya in his *Report on Epigraphy for 1899-1900*, that the Reddis were the political successors of the Kākatiyas. There is, however, no satisfactory evidence for determining exactly when the Reddis came into power. The account of the Kākatiya dynasty compiled for Colonel Colin Mackenzie and deposited in the Madras Library of Oriental Manuscripts says that Pratāparudra's generals were all Padmanayakas or Velamas, and this is confirmed by the poem entitled *Velugōtivarī Paṁśāvali*, i.e. 'Genealogy of the Velugōti family (of Venkatagiri).' The only reference made by the former book to the Reddis is a short passage in which one Tērāla-Būchā-Reddi is said to have fought for Pratāparudra in his final battle against the Muhammadans. It is not known whether this Būchā-Reddi had anything to do with the Reddis of Kondavīdu.

According to the traditional history of Kondavīdu preserved in the *Kondavīṭṭi Dandakavilī*, the Reddis became suddenly rich in the time of one Donti Ailāda-Reddi, who robbed a man named Vēma of the Kōmatī caste, who was his guest, of a piece of philosopher's stone (*parāśarīdī*). When the stone in securing which he had spent the best part of his life, was stolen, the Kōmatī, the book says died of broken heart, and on his death-bed he enjoined that his name should be perpetuated in the family of the Reddis, and that the wealth obtained through the stone should be spent on charity. The account proceeds to state that, with the money thus obtained, Pōlaya-Vēma raised troops, seized Dharanikōta and the neighbouring country from the officers of Pratāparudra, and subsequently established himself at Kondavīdu. It is difficult to say what truth there is in this story. It may have been suggested by the fact that Kōmatī was a recognised name of several members of the family. From Śrinātha's *Haravilāsam* we learn that a Kōmatī named Avāchi-Dēvaya, son of Pāvāni, a great merchant of Sūbhavikramapattana (Nellore), was the chief source of support (*prāpu*) to Vēma. Avāchi-Dēvaya's son Tippa, to whom the book was dedicated, was also a great merchant and was purveyor to Kumārāgiri-Reddi. It would seem that Avāchi-Dēva supplied Vēma with the sinews of war and thereby enabled him to found and extend his kingdom, and that his descendants rendered similar assistance to the descendants of Vēma.

The original sphere of influence of the Reddis was Pākanādu or Pūngidēśa. It may be that they originally governed this province subject to the authority of the kings of Warangal, though no proof of it exists. When the power of the Kākatiyas began to decline, the Reddis became independent and made Addanki their capital. It seems to have been the fashion with the Reddis to have a surname for each. Vēma signed as Pallavatrinnētra, Kumārāgiri was Vasantarāja, and Kōmatī-Vēma was Viranārāyana.

According to the *Dandakavilī*, Vēma was the first independent Reddi chief, and there is no evidence that any of his predecessors was such. The present inscription shows that Vēma himself extended his dominions at least up to the northern bank of the Krishnā, while the Amarāvati inscription shows that his territories extended up to the banks of the Godāvarī.¹ There are no means of knowing when the capital was removed from Addanki to Kondavīdu. That this was not done prior to the Śaka year 1283 is clear from the Amarāvati inscription of that year,² which refers to Addanki as the capital. This inscription also shows that Vēma, son of Malla, was at that time governor of Dharanikōta or Dhānyavāti under Anapōtā-Reddi. I

¹ He is described as having granted to Brāhmanas villages on both sides of the Brahmanudi, the Krishnā and the Godāvarī, and also in the country between these rivers (*Brāhmanudi-Krishnānand-Gōddavari-mahanadī-tatādāyā-tanmadhyadēśa-dakṣiṇā-āgrahāra*).

² No 253 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1897.

presume that Kōṇḍavidu did not become the capital till the time of Anavōma, and that, prior to this, Dharaṇikōṭa was the chief seat of Reddī power in what is now the Kistna district. The fact of Vēma building steps leading to the temples at Śrīsaḷam and Alōḍḍalam is not mentioned in this inscription, though it is mentioned in the Amarāvati one. This omission can hardly be regarded as due to oversight, seeing that the act was considered so meritorious as to be mentioned in almost all the subsequent inscriptions of this dynasty. A more probable explanation seems to be, that the work was not finished when this inscription was composed.

Vēma was succeeded by his eldest son Anapōta, and he by his younger brother Anavēma. Both these kings were, according to the *Danḍakavilī*, wise and strong rulers, and they consolidated the kingdom founded by their father. In the *Velugōṭivāri Vamsāvalī*, Anapotanidu and Mādānidu, sons of Singa who was a general of Pratiaparudra, claim to have defeated Anapōta-Reddī at Dharaṇikōṭa about the Śaka year 1283, which is also the year of an inscription at Amarāvati,¹ in which Anapōta's minister is referred to.² I know only of two inscriptions of the time of Anavēma, both dated in Śaka 1299 (expired). One of them is at Drākahārāma in the Gōḍāvarī district,³ and the other on a stone pillar in the compound of the temple of Agastyēśvara at the junction of the Mūsi and the Kṛishṇā in the village of Vādapalli in the Miriyālagūdem tāluka of the Nallagonda district in the Nivam's dominions. The poet Śrinātha seems to have first flourished at the court of Anavēma, in whose praise there are several verses extant.

On the demise of Anavēma, the crown passed on to Anapōta's son Kumāragiri, who, according to the *Danḍakavilī*, was an unpopular and wicked prince. From the *Haratilāsam* we learn that Kumāragiri was a contemporary of Harihara II of Vijayanagara (A.D. 1379-1399) and of the Bahmani king Firūz Shāh (A.D. 1397-1422). Tippa, to whom the book was dedicated, is said to have had the monopoly of supplying perfumes and spices for the great annual spring-festival (*vasantōtsava*) which Kumāragiri seems to have instituted. It is interesting to note that, at this period, the Telugu country had extensive trade relations—not only with other parts of India, but also with foreign countries. For, Tippa is said to have imported camphor trees from the Panjāb, golden sprouts (*bangaru-molaka*) from Jālanogī,⁴ elephants from Simhala (Ceylon), horses from Hurumāñji (Ormuz or Persia), essences (*drava*) of civet (*sankumada*) from Gōva (Goa), pearls from Āpaga,⁵ musk from Chōtangi,⁶ and silk cloths from China. It was in the time of Kumāragiri that the kingdom was divided into two and the Eastern part with Rajahmundry as capital was given to his brother-in-law and minister Kātaya-Vēma.⁷ This separation seems to have been effected not later than the Śaka year 1308, for we have inscriptions of Kātaya-Vēma issued in that year.⁸

Kumāragiri seems to have been the last of Vēma's branch of the family, and on his death the crown passed to Vēma or Peda-Kōmatī-Vēma, grandson of Vēma's elder brother Maṇḍa. I know of two inscriptions of Kōmatī-Vēma, one dated in the Śaka year 1331⁹ and the other in 1334. The latter is a copper-plate inscription recently sent to the Collector of Kistna by the Tahsildar of Guntūr. Both the inscriptions purport to have been composed by Śrinātha, who is described as the *Vidyādhibhāṇī* to Kōmatī-Vēma. The *Danḍakavilī* says that Kōmatī-Vēma was a wise prince and walked in the ways of Anavēma, and it proceeds to state that Kōmatī-Vēma was succeeded by his younger brother Bācha-Vēma, who was the last of the dynasty. In

¹ No. 253 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1897.

² An inscription of Anapōta dated in the Śaka year 1281 is at Mōṭupalli.

³ No. 505 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1893.

⁴ I am not able to identify these places.

⁵ Above, Vol. III p. 319.

⁶ No. 277 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1899.

⁷ No. 162 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1899.

the village of Aminābād in the Sattenapalli tāluka of the Kistna district there is an inscription¹ of Rācha-Vēma, son of Vēma, who is said to have, in the year Manmatha corresponding to the Śaka year 1337 (expired), excavated a channel to feed the tank called Santāna-Sāgara, which had been dug by his mother Sūrāmbā. We know from the Phirangipuram inscription² that Peda-Kōmati-Vēma's wife Sūrāmbā had a tank excavated and called it Santāna-Sāgara. The two inscriptions are about two miles distant from each other, and they, no doubt, refer to the same tank. This establishes the fact that Peda-Kōmati's successor Rācha was his son and not his brother, and the same conclusion is pointed to by the *Velugōṭivārī Vamśavalī*. This book says that Mācha (who was the only brother Peda-Kōmati-Vēma seems to have had), son of Kōmati, was killed in battle by Pina-Vēdagiri or Kumāra-Vēdagiri, great-grandson of Mādānidu who had fought with Anapōta-Reddi at Dharamkota, and that Mācha's elder brother Vēma killed Pina-Vēdagiri and was himself killed by Pina-Vēdagiri's younger brother Langa. When Peda-Kōmati-Vēma died, he had, therefore, no brother to succeed him.

The *Dandahavilī* says that the Reddis of Kondavidu ruled for 100 years and distributes the period as follows —

Pōlaya-Vēma or Vēma, Śaka 1242 to 1253 (both years inclusive)
Anapōta, Śaka 1253-1283.
Anavēma, Śaka 1284-1295
Kumāragiri, Śaka 1296-1309.
Peda-Kōmati-Vēma, Śaka 1310-1337
Rācha-Vēma, Śaka 1338-1341

This distribution conflicts with the dates furnished by some of the inscriptions quoted above. Taking 100 years as the approximate total of the reigns of the six Reddi chiefs, I would redistribute it as follows, so as to make the distribution accord with the latest information available on the subject —

Pōlaya-Vēma or Vēma, Śaka 1242-1271 (30 years)
Anapōta, Śaka 1272-1283 (12 years).
Anavēma, Śaka 1284-1299 (16 years)
Kumāragiri, Śaka 1300-1320 (21 years)
Peda-Kōmati-Vēma, Śaka 1321-1337 (17 years).
Rācha-Vēma, Śaka 1338-1341 (4 years).

TEXT³

First Plate

- 1 श्रीमत्कोमलनीलनीरजश्चिलीलावराहचिर नातिप्रौढमृणालकांद-
- 2 ऋलसद्द्राक्षुरः पातु वः । यस्मिन्नुद्दति क्रमेण विगच्छत्यायोधिनीलांश-
- 3 का रागादारद्रतनूरिव क्षणमभूदानीदिनी नेदिनी । [१*] आसीत्कीर्त्तु[भर]-
लमं-
- 4 डिततनोर्द्वयस्य लक्ष्मीपतेः पादात्पद्मनिभत्वयो भगवती गंगिव पुण्योदया ।
- 5 आकल्पस्त्रिजीवना त्रिजगतीसतारणोद्योगिनी पर्यायेण चतुर्थ-

¹ This inscription consists of a Telugu verse in the Sisa metre and is engraved on the western side of a billock named Pullaribōdu, north east of Aminābād which adjoins Phirangipuram. At the end of the verse are the words *Śrīnātha kṛti*, i.e. 'Śrīnātha's composition'.

² No 162 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1899.

³ From ink impressions.

तद् धरिणी धरणिमरो लङ्घ्यो वलय[39]म् तुह भुए सहइ ।
 कुम्भपसुहेहिं सो वि हु चडिओ भारी व्य पडिहाइ ॥१०३॥
 धरणी सहावगरुआ भोएणं धारिअ त्ति अइगरुआ ।
 एहिं इमीए समुह को पेच्छइ पेच्छित्तारइ ॥१०४॥
 अणिमालहिमाइगुणे तुह आयत्ते मए हु विनायं ।
 लङ्घ्याविआ वि धरणी क[40]ह यु तए सा वि गौरविआ ॥१०५॥
 लङ्घ्याविआ हु धरणी लङ्घ्याविअं मन्नए न अप्पाणं ।
 तद् लङ्घ्यअ त्ति एसा गरुअं अत्ताणय सुणइ ॥१०६॥
 दिओ वि हु कन्हेण इमीए इह गारओ हु खोणीए ।
 पडिहाइ नेअ गरुओ लङ्घ्यत्तं तद् कयं गरुअं ॥१०७॥
 मिलवि [41] पसुहिं धरिआ संकिअवित्तासकंपिरी यका ।
 धरणी कपुम्मुक्का अलपरं भोअ सपत्ता ॥१०८॥
 कुलगिरिणी भूमिहरा सयला वि हु लङ्घ्यआ इहं जेण ।
 तेण सयं निम्भविअ एअ सिरिभोअराएण ॥१०९॥ ॥

No 26.— DATES OF CHOLA KINGS.

By PROFESSOR F KIELBORN, C.I.E., GÖTTINGEN.

(Continued from page 8.)

From the Government Epigraphist's collection of inscriptions Mr. Venkayya again has sent me for examination a large number of dates, of which I here publish 36 dates of Chôla kings. The most important of them is No 101, which has only quite lately been discovered by Mr Venkayya. It is of the reign of Parāntaka I. and, together with my date No 55, proves that this king commenced to reign between (approximately) the 15th January and the 25th July A.D. 907. Of the other dates, one (No 102) is of the reign of Rājendra-Chôla I., and one (No. 106) of the reign of Rājārāja II, 3 dates (Nos 103-105) belong to Vikrama-Chôla, 8 (Nos 107-114) to Kulōttunga-Chôla III. (Virarājendra-Chôladēva, Tribhuvanaviradēva), 16 (Nos. 115-130) to Rājārāja III, and 6 (Nos. 131-136) to Rājendra-Chôla III. These dates in every way confirm the correctness of the general results previously obtained, at the same time, they enable us to give within narrower limits the times during which some of the kings to whom they belong must have commenced to reign. Thus it may be affirmed now that Rājendra-Chôla I. commenced to reign between (approximately) the 27th March¹ and the 7th July A.D. 1012; Rājārāja II. between (approximately) the 27th March and the 11th July² A.D. 1146, Kulōttunga-Chôla III. between (approximately) the 6th³ and 8th July A.D. 1178, and Rājārāja III. between (approximately) the 27th June and the 10th July A.D. 1216.⁴

१०३. Read वलय न. सहइ, He 4, 100 Read °हेहिं

१०४. Read एहिं न्हुम समुह=संमुख Read पेच्छित्त तरइ and compare note on A. 50

१०५ Read गौर°.

१०६ Read कपुम्मुक्.

¹ See No 102

² See No. 108

१०८ मिलवि, Gr § 588 For यका see note on A. 40

³ See No 108

⁴ See Nos. 129 and 119

Mr Venkayya has discovered and sent to me a third date of the king Parāntaka I, which should admit of verification, and which I have examined but do not venture to publish yet. I am also keeping back a number of dates of Kulōttunga-Chōla II and Rājādhirāja II, because I am not fully convinced of the correctness of my general results. The discovery of additional dates of these kings is highly to be desired and would be of considerable importance. Mr Venkayya has kindly checked the readings of the original dates here published, after they were in print.

A.—PARANTAKA I.

101.—In the Sivalokanātha temple at Grāmam.¹

16 Stasti ri [i*] Kali[j*]uga-va[r*]-ham nllayirattu nā[pa]-
17 'na nala Madiraskoḍa ko=Pparakēsarpamag-
13 ka ,j-du Joradu Kali[j*]u . . . [pa] nāl
19 padigga-naga[j*]ura'ta [u]la . . . [i]ratu
20 mappatta [u]
22 i[v]v āttai Ma-
23 [gara-na]jara-Cholani kbi[am]u p[ra] 'Iravadi-n[ā]

"(In) the Kaliyuga year four thousand and forty-four, the 36th year (of the reign) of king Parakesarivarman who took Madurai,—on the fourteen hundred-thousand, seven[ty] . . . [thousand] forty-four day Kaliyuga on the day of Revati, which corresponded to a Saturday of the month of Ma[kara] in this year"

For the current year 1044 of the Kaliyuga this date corresponds to Saturday, the 14th January A.D. 913, which by the Ārya-siddhanta was the 23rd day of the month of Makara, and on which (the 14th day) of the bright half of Māgha ended 18 h 21 m, while] the nakṣatra was Revati for 9 h 12 m, after mean sunrise. The preceding Makara-samkranti, according to the Ārya-siddhanta, had taken place 8 h 33 m after mean sunrise of Friday, the 23rd December A.D. 912, when the *śārya*, calculated by Warren's Table, was 147701¹ 8 h 33 m. That Friday, therefore, was the 147701¹th day of the Kaliyuga, and Saturday, the 14th January A.D. 913, the 147703¹th day, the day which, without any doubt, was put down in the original date.

Above, Vol VII p 1, I have stated that between A.D. 900 and 985 the Chōla date No 55, which is of the 10th year of the reign of Parāntaka I, must correspond to either the 24th July A.D. 913 or the 25th July A.D. 915. The present date No 101, which is of the 36th year of the same reign and corresponds to the 14th January A.D. 913, shows that the second alternative given by me really furnishes the true equivalent of the date No 55. And the two dates together prove that Parāntaka I. commenced to reign between (approximately) the 15th January and the 25th July A.D. 907.

I may add that this is the earliest known Chōla date which can be verified, and that of the 136 dates hitherto examined it is the only one in which the era of the Kaliyuga is quoted. Among the same dates, 18 quote the Śaka era; and of these, 12 are in Kanarese, 4 in Telugu, and only 2 (No 6 of S 1030, and No. 16 of S 1119) in Tamil inscriptions. The Śaka year 991 is quoted in the date of a Tamil inscription of Virarajendra, which does not admit of verification.

B.—RAJENDRA-CHOLA I.

102.—In the Dārukāvanēśvara temple at Tiruppalātturai.²

1 Sta[sti] ri [i*] Tura mang[i] valara kō-
[Ppa][ra*]līśaripa[nma]r-āṇa arī-Rājēntro[ndra]-Chōlādōvayku [yāṇdu] 5avadu

¹ No 735 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1906

² Read *Iravadi*.

³ No 275 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1903

2 ivv-āṇḍu Mōsha-nā[ya*]ṛu Śev[vā][y*]-kki|aman
peṇṇ Śadaiya-ttir[unā]!¹

"In [the 5th year] (of the reign) of king Parakēsarivarman *alias* the glorious Rājendra-Chōladēva,—on the auspicious(?) day of Śatabhishaj, which corresponded to a Tuesday of the month of Mēsha in this year."

According to the result previously² found for the commencement of the reign of Rājendra-Chōla I, this date will be expected to fall in A.D 1016 or A.D 1017. In A.D 1016 the month of Mēsha contained no Tuesday, on which the *nakshatra* was Śatabhishaj. The date therefore apparently corresponds to Tuesday, the 26th March A.D 1017, which was the 4th day of the month of Mēsha, and on which [the 11th *tithi* of the dark half of Chaitra ended 21 h 33 m, while] the *nakshatra* was Śatabhishaj, by the equal space system from 5 h 55 m after mean sunrise to the end of the day, according to Gaṅga from 5 h 55 m to 21 h 40 m, and by the Bṛahma-siddhānta from 6 h 34 m to 19 h 3 m, after mean sunrise.—I can give no special reason why the day should be described as 'the auspicious day of Śatabhishaj'.

The date would prove that the reign of Rājendra-Chōla I. could not have commenced before (approximately) the 27th March A.D 1012.

C — VIKRAMA-CHOLA

103 — In the Tyāgarājasvāmin temple at Tiruvārūr.³

1 Svasti [āi][*] Pū-mālai midamdu . . .
5 . . . kō=Pparakēsaripanmar-ōṇa Tribhu[va*]nachakravattigal śrī-Vikrama-
Śōladēva[k*]ku y[ā]ndu
6 nāḷavatu lshabha-nāyayru [p]ū[ivva]-pakshattu tū[tū]yayum [Bu]dan-[kī]lamai-
yū[m*] perī. Tiruvāḍuṇai-nāḷ

"In the fourth year (of the reign) of king Parakēsarivarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Vikrama-Chōladēva,—on the day of Ārdra, which corresponded to a Wednesday and to the third *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Rishabha."

The date corresponds to Wednesday, the 10th May A.D 1122, which was the 16th day of the month of Rishabha, and on which the 3rd *tithi* of the bright half (of Jyāishtha) ended 16 h 22 m, while the *nakshatra* was Ārdra, by the equal space system for 12 h 29 m, and according to Gaṅga for 0 h 39 m, after mean sunrise.

104 — In the Tyāgarājasvāmin temple at Tiruvārūr.⁴

1 Pū-mādu pu[nā]ia . . .
2 . . . kō=Pparakēsaripan[ma]r-ōṇa Tribhuvanachakravattigal [Vi]kkūnama-
[Ś]ōladēvarkku yā-
3 ndu [n]āḷavatu Rishabha-nāyayru a[para-pakshat]tu [tū]yayum Budha[n] kīlamai-
yū[m] perī. Tiruvāḍuṇai-nāḷ

"In the fourth year (of the reign) of king Parakēsarivarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, Vikrama-Chōladēva,—on the day of Ārdra, which corresponded to a Wednesday and to the [third] *tithi* of the [second] fortnight of the month of Rishabha."

There can be no doubt that this date is identical with the preceding one, and that the reading in line 3 of the original should have been *pūrva-pakshattu*, not *apara-pakshattu*.

¹ According to Mr Venkayya the reading to all appearances is as given above, but he adds that 'in nāḷ' may be intended.

² See above, Vol VII p 7

³ No. 564 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1904

⁴ No. 565 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1904

105 — In the Tyagarajasthambam temple at Thuvayal.

1 Svasti srī [i] [i*] Pū-mala panna

2 . . . kō=Pparakeśaripannama . . . Tr . . . [tu]ga'
Vi[k]krama-Śoladevaṅku yān . . . Ś . . .
tṛtiyaṁ Śevay-kīlāma . . .

"In the 8th year (of the reign) of King Parakeśarivarman, emperor of the three worlds, Vikrama-Chōladeva,—on the day of Revati . . . Tuesday, and to the third tithi of the second fortnight of the month of Simha . . ."

The date corresponds to Tuesday, the 18th August A.D. 1123 which was the 22nd day of the month of Simha, and on which the 3rd tithi of the dark half of Śukla-pada commenced 0 h 34 m, while the *nakṣatra* was Revati . . . 3 h 56 m after mean sunrise.

D — RAJARAJA II

106 — In the Kapardisvara temple at Tiruvallaṅṇu.

1 || Svasti srī [i] [i*] Pu maruvya Tiru-madu[m]

5 . . . kō=Pparakeśaripannama . . . T . . .
srī-Rajarajadēva[r*] . . . padin[a]ra . . .

6 [p e]dirām=ānda Karkā[da]ga . . .
ki[la]mayum perra Pu[na]rpaṭatu . . .

"In the year opposite the sixteenth year (of the reign) of King Parakesarivarman alias the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rajarajadeva,—on the day of Punarvasu, which corresponded to a Wednesday and to the twelfth tithi [of the second fortnight] of the month of Karkataka . . ."

According to the result previously found for the commencement of the reign of Rajaraja II, this date would be expected to fall in either A.D. 1162 or A.D. 1163. For A.D. 1163 my calculation has yielded no result that could be at all acceptable. Nor can a perfectly correct result be obtained for A.D. 1162, but in this year the error would be only between Wednesday, the 11th July, and Thursday, the 12th July, as may be seen from the following details —

Wednesday, the 11th July A.D. 1162 was the 15th day of the month of Karkataka. The 12th tithi of the dark half (of Āśādhā) ended on this day 0 h 26 m after mean sunrise, but the *nakṣatra* was Ārdra (by the Brahma-siddhanta for 3 h 22 m according to Garga for 10 h 30 m, and by the equal space system for 22 h 20 m, after mean sunrise), followed by Punarvasu. On the other hand—

Thursday, the 12th July A.D. 1162, was the 16th day of the month of Karkataka. On this day the *nakṣatra* was Punarvasu, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 22 h 59 m, and by the Brahma-siddhanta for 22 h 20 m, after mean sunrise, but the tithi which ended on it, 1 h 0 m after mean sunrise, was the 13th, not the 12th, tithi of the dark half (of Āśādhā).

Obliged to choose between the two, I would decide in favour of Wednesday, the 11th July A.D. 1162, and assume that in the original date the *nakṣatra* Punarvasu has been erroneously quoted instead of the immediately preceding *nakṣatra* Ārdra.

¹ No. 556 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1904

² Read -palla'.

³ Compare below, No 121

⁴ No. 626 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1902

⁵ See above, p. 2

I may add that between A.D. 1146 and 1173 the only days for which the original date would be perfectly correct are Wednesday, the 27th July A.D. 1155, and Wednesday, the 23rd July A.D. 1169, but that with neither of these days could the other dates of Rājārāja II be reconciled.

The date would appear to show that the reign of Rājārāja II. could not have commenced after (approximately) the 11th July A.D. 1146.

E.—KULOTTUNGA-CHOLA III

107.—In the Vēdāranyēśvara temple at Vēdāranyam¹

- 1 [Sva]sti śrī [||*] T[1]r[1]buvāṇachchakkaravattigal śrī-Kulottu[ṅga-Śō]a-
dēvar]kku yāndu n[ā]-
2 lāvadu Miṇa nāyaru [pā*]vva-pakshattu paṇṇamiyum V[1]yāla-kkīlamai-
yum per[ra*]
3 [U]rōśa[m]-nā

"In the fourth year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulōttunga-Chōladēva,—on the day of Rōhini, which corresponded to a Thursday and to the fifth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Mīna."

The date corresponds to Thursday, the 11th March A.D. 1182, which was the 17th day of the month of Mīna, and on which the 5th *tithi* of the bright half (of Chaitra²) ended 9 h 25 m., while the *nakṣatra* was Rōhini for 20 h 21 m or 21 h 1 m, after mean sunrise

108.—In the Vāllīśvara temple at Rāmāgiri³

- 1 Svasti śrī [||*] Tīr[1]buvāṇach[cha][kka*]ravattiga] śrī-[Vī]raśē[nda]ra-
Śō[la]dēva[k]ku yāndu ā[rā]vadu Kaykadaga-nāyaru apara-pakshat[ta*]
dū]vāśaiyum [Vī]yāla-kkīlamaiyum per[ra] Urōśa[m]-nā[1]

"In the sixth year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Virarājendra-Chōladēva,—on the day of Rōhini, which corresponded to a Thursday and to the twelfth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Karkataka."

The date undoubtedly corresponds to Thursday, the 5th July A.D. 1184, which was the 9th day of the month of Karkataka, and on which the *nakṣatra* was Rōhini the whole day. But the *tithi* which ended on this day, 18 h 7 m after mean sunrise, was the 11th, not the 12th, *tithi* of the dark half (of Āśāḍha) — The result shows that in the original the 12th *tithi* has been wrongly quoted instead of the 11th

The result would also show that the reign of Kulōttunga-Chōla III. could not have commenced before (approximately) the 8th July A.D. 1178.

109.—In the Vāllīśvara temple at Rāmāgiri.⁵

- 1 Svasti śrī [||*] Tīmbuvāṇachchakkarava[r]ttigal śrī-Vīrarāśēnd[1]ra-Śō[la]-
dēva[k]ku yāndu ā[rā]vadu Kaykadaga nā[ya]ru apara-
pakshattu [dū]vā[da]śa[śi]y[u]m Vīyāla-kkīlamaiyum per[ra] Urōśa[n]nā

¹ No. 415 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1904

² This *tithi* is a *Kalpda*

³ No. 644 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1904.

⁴ Read *-pakshattu dēva*

⁵ No. 651 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1904.

⁶ The engraver has corrected *pa* into *na*.

"In the sixth [year] (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Virarājendra-Chōla[dēva],— on the day of Rōhini, which corresponded to a Thursday and to the twelfth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Karkāṣaka."

This date is practically identical with the preceding one, and contains the same mistake.

110.— In the Chāndramanīśvara temple at Tiruvakkara.¹

1 k[o]nd-arū[i]ṇa śrī-Kul[ō]ttuṅga-
 Śōladēvaṅku iy[ā]ṇḍu lōvaḍu Magara-nāyya(ya)ṅgu urubattunālān=
 diyadyum Tīngal-[k]lamaiyum ama(pa)ra-pakshattu navamiyum peṅra
 Aṇḍattu nāl.

"In the 16th year (of the reign) of the glorious Kulōttunga-Chōladēva, who was pleased to take, — on the day of Anurādhā, which corresponded to the ninth *tithi* of the second fortnight, to a Monday, and to the twenty-fourth solar day of the month of Makara."

The date corresponds to Monday, the 17th January A.D. 1194. The preceding Makara-samkrānti took place 6 h 45 m after mean sunrise of Saturday, the 25th December A.D. 1193, which was the first day of the month of Makara. The 24th day of the same month therefore was Monday, the 17th January A.D. 1194, and on this day the 9th *tithi* of the dark half (of Māgha) ended 19 h 8 m, while the *nakṣatra* was Anurādhā, by the Brahma-siddhānta for 22 h 40 m, and by the equal space system and according to Garga from 3 h. 17 m., after mean sunrise.

111.— In the Vēdāranyēśvara temple at Vēdāraṇyam.²

1 [Sva]sta śrī [i] Tribh[ū]vanachchakkaravat[ti]ga Maduraiyum Iḷamum
 Pāṇḍiyan muḍi-ttala[yum]
 2 k[o]nd-arūpya śrī-Kulōttunga-Śōladēvaṅku [yā]ṇḍu i[ru]ba[d]āvaḍu Ishaba-nāyaggu
 3 apara-pakshattu ākāda[ā]yum [N]āyar[ru-kk]lamaiyu[m] peṅra U[t]tarāḍa[t*]u-nāl

"In the twentieth year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulōttunga-Chōladēva, who was pleased to take Madurai, Iḷam and the crowned head of the Pāṇḍya,— on the day of Uttarāshādhā, which corresponded to a Sunday and to the eleventh *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Rishabha."

The date corresponds to Sunday, the 3rd May A.D. 1198, which was the 9th day of the month of Rishabha, and on which the 11th *tithi* of the dark half (of Vaiśākha) ended 14 h. 40 m after mean sunrise. But the *nakṣatra* on this day was Uttara-Bhādrapadā, for 7 h. 53 m. after mean sunrise — The result shows that in the original U[t]tarāḍa[t*]u-nāl is an error for Utiwāḍādi.³

112.— In the Kailāsanāthasvāmī temple at Kallā-Perumbūr.⁴

1 [Ha]ra Svast[i] śrī [i] T[ri]b[hu]vaṇa[ch]cha[kkaravatt]i[ga] Ma-
 2 duraiyum Iḷa[mu]m Pāṇḍiyan m[u]ḍi-ttala[yu]n=
 3 [Garu*]vū[ru*]n-gond-arūpya śrī-Kulōttunga-Śōladēvaṅku
 4 . . . du yāṇḍu lōvaḍu Vriśchika-nāyaggu apara-pakshattu tray[ō]-
 5 dā[ī]yum T[ri]n[ga]t-k[i]lamai[yum] [p]eṅra Viśā[ga]t[ti]n [nāl]

¹ No 193 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1904.

² No 430 of the same collection

³ In the month of Rishabha an 11th *tithi* of the dark half cannot possibly be joined with the *nakṣatra* Uttarāshādhā (*Utiwāḍādi*)

⁴ No. 585 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1904

"In the 28rd year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulōttunga-Chōlādēva, who was pleased to take Madurai, Iḷam, the crowned head of the Pāṇḍya and Karuvūr,—on the day of Viśākṣā, which corresponded to a [Monday] and to the thirteenth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Vṛiśchika."

The date corresponds to Monday, the 6th November A.D. 1200, which was the 11th day of the month of Vṛiśchika, and on which the 13th *tithi* of the dark half (of Kārttika) ended 11 h. 46 m., while the *nakṣatra* was Viśākṣā, by the Brahma-siddhānta from 1 h. 58 m., according to Garga from 5 h. 55 m., and by the equal space system from 18 h. 24 m., after mean sunrise.

113.—In the Kailāsanāthasvāmīn temple at Kaḷḷa-Perumbūr.¹

- 1 [Ha]ra Svasti śrī [||*] Tiribuvana[oh]ohakkaravattiga| Madu[r]a[ya]*-
- 2 [m*] [I]lamum Pāṇḍiyaṇ mudī-talaiyu[m*] konḍu aruḷi-
- 3 [ya] śrī-Kulō[t]tunga-Śōlādēvaṅku. yāṇḍu 25-
- 4 vadu Kaṅkadaga-nāyaṅ[xu*] [pū]rvva-pakṣa[t*]tu pa[ñ]ja[m]iyum Budan-ki[a-
[m]ai po[rra*]
- 5 Utt[ra]ra[tta nā].

"In the 25th year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulōttunga-Chōlādēva, who was pleased to take Madurai, Iḷam and the crowned head of the Pāṇḍya,—on the day of Uttara-Phalguni, which corresponded to a Wednesday and to the fifth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Karkātaka."

The date corresponds to Wednesday, the 24th July A.D. 1202, which was the 23th day of the month of Karkātaka, and on which the *nakṣatra* was Uttara-Phalguni, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 11 h. 10 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 7 h. 53 m., after mean sunrise. But the *tithi* which ended on this day, 21 h. 31 m. after mean sunrise, was the 4th, not the 5th, *tithi* of the bright half (of Śrāvaṇa²).—Accordingly, we should have expected *chaturthiyum* in the original instead of pa[ñ]ja[m]iyum.

114.—In the Vēdāraṇyēśvara temple at Vēdāraṇyam.³

- 1 Svasti śrī [||*] T[ir]i[bu]vaṇachchakkaravarttiga| Madurai[y]u[m]
- Ka[ru]vūrum Pāṇḍi[ya]ṇ mud[i]-
- 2 ttalaiyuṅ-gonḍu virar abishēgamum viśāyar abishēgamum panniy-a[ru]ḷiṇa Tiri-
- 3 buvaṇaviradēvaṅku yāṇḍu 3[2]vadu Dagn-nāyaṅṅu apara-pakṣaṭta na[va]mi-
yum Ti-
- 4 ngat-k[ā]maiyum poṅga Sitturai-nā

"In the 3[2]nd year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, Tribhuvanaviradēva, who took Madurai, Karuvūr and the crowned head of the Pāṇḍya, and was pleased to perform the anointment of heroes and the anointment of victors,—on the day of Chitrā, which corresponded to a Monday and to the ninth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Dhanuṣ."

The date corresponds to Monday, the 21st December A.D. 1209, which was the 27th day of the month of Dhanuṣ, and on which the *nakṣatra* was Chitrā, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 21 h. 1 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 17 h. 44 m., after mean sunrise. But the *tithi* which ended on this day, 12 h. 28 m. after mean sunrise, was the 8th, not the 9th, *tithi* of the dark half (of Pausa).—Accordingly, we should have expected *aṣṭamiyum* in the original instead of na[va]m[ai]yum

¹ No 584 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1904.

² I.e. the Gandīa *chaturthi*.

³ No 227 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1904.

F — RAJARAJA III

115 — In the Agastyēśvara temple at Agattiyaṅṇa¹

- 1 Svasti śrī [||*] Tiriba(bu)va[ṇa]chchakkara[va]rt[ti]gal śrī-Rājarājadēva[k]ku
yāṇḍu iran[d]āvaṇḍu Kumba-nāyaru-ppūrva-pakkasha(paksha)-dudigaiyum²
Tingal-kaḷamaiyum peṇṇa Śadaiyattu nā!

"In the second year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājarājadēva,—on the day of Śatabhishaj, which corresponded to a Monday and to the second *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Kumbha."

The date corresponds to Monday, the 29th January A.D. 1218, which was the 6th day of the month of Kumbha, and on which the 2nd *tithi* of the bright half (of Phālguna) commenced 5 h. 15 m., while the *nakshatra* was Śatabhishaj, by the equal space system for 9 h. 51 m., and according to Garga for 1 h. 19 m., after mean sunrise.

116.— In the Āmalakēśvara temple at Tirunellikkāval³

- 1 Svasti śrī [||*] Tiruvana[ṇa]chchakkaravattugal śrī-Irāja[r]ājadēva[r]kku yāṇḍu
ettāvaṇḍu edirām-āṇḍu Kumma(mba)-nāyar[ru] pūrva-pakshattu chaturdeśaiyum
Nāyaru-kkiḷa-
2 maiyum⁴ peṇṇa Pārat[ti] nā!

"In the year opposite the eighth year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājarājadēva,—on the day of Pūrva-Phalguni, which corresponded to a Sunday and to the fourteenth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Kumbha."

The date undoubtedly corresponds to Sunday, the 23rd February A.D. 1225, on which the 14th *tithi* of the bright half (of Phālguna) ended 18 h. 4 m., while the *nakshatra* was Pūrva-Phalguni, by the equal space system from 7 h. 53 m., by the Brahma-siddhānta for 15 h. 6 m., and according to Garga for 20 h. 21 m., after mean sunrise. The day, however, did not fall in the month of Kumbha, but was the first day of the immediately following month of Mīna.⁵

117 — In the Akshayaṅgēśvara temple at Kivalūr.⁶

- 1 Svasti [śrī] [||*] Tiriba[va]ṇachchakkara[va]ttugal [śrī-Rāja*?]rājadēvarkku
yāṇḍu pa[t]tāvaṇḍu Mēsha-nāyaru apara-pakshattu chatutthiyum Velh-
kaḷamaiyum peṇṇa Mālatu nā!

"In the tenth year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, [the glorious Rāja]rājadēva,—on the day of Māla, which corresponded to a Friday and to the fourth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Mēsha."

The date corresponds to Friday, the 17th April A.D. 1226, which was the 24th day of the month of Mēsha, and on which the 4th *tithi* of the dark half (of Vaiśākha) ended 20 h. 45 m., while the *nakshatra* was Māla, by the equal space system from 1 h. 19 m., by the Brahma-siddhānta for 7 h. 53 m., and according to Garga for 13 h. 8 m., after mean sunrise.

¹ No 505 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1904

² *Dudiga* is a Tamil corruption of the Sanskrit *dudhyā*

³ No 523 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1904

⁴ The *as* of *mai* is engraved at the end of the preceding line

⁵ The Mīna-samkrānti took place 13 h. 35 m. after mean sunrise of Saturday, the 22nd February A.D. 1225

⁶ No 517 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1904

118.— In the Kapardiśvara temple at Tīruvalaṇḍi.¹

- 1 Tiruvanaṇḍa[k]karava[t]taga| śrī-[Rāja*]rā[ja*]dēvarkku yāndu
12ā[va]du Śinna-nā[ya]ṅṅu apara-pakkashat[t]u² [śa]duttu[ya]m Tīngal-
[k]lamayum peṅga Uṭṭa

"In the 12th year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious [Rāja]rā[ja]dēva,— [on the day of] Uṭṭa, which corresponded to a Monday and to the fourth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Śimha."

The date corresponds to Monday, the 2nd August A.D. 1227, which was the 6th day of the month of Śimha, and on which the 4th *tithi* of the dark half (of Śrāvana) ended 17 h. 13 m., while the *nakṣatra* was Uttara-Bhadrpadā for 7 h. 13 m., after mean sunrise — The result shows that the last words of the original date must have been *Uṭṭiraffādi-ndi*.

119 — In the Vāliśvara temple at Rāmagiri.³

- 1 [Sva]stī śrī [||*] Tiruvanaṇḍa[k]karavattaga| śrī-Irājairājadēvarkku yāndu
pad[ī]nārāvadu Karkadaga-nāyaṅṅu padinālān=d[ī]-
2 yady-āṇa Vīyāla-kk[ī]lamayum pūrvva-pakshattu daṣam[ū]m Aṇ[ī]lamum=āṇav-
aṅṅu

"In the sixteenth year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājarājadēva,— on the day of Anurādhā, which was the tenth *tithi* of the first fortnight and a Thursday, corresponding to the fourteenth solar day of the month of Karkātaka."

The date will be expected to fall in A.D. 1231 or 1232, and it actually corresponds to Thursday, the 10th July A.D. 1231. In A.D. 1231 the Karkata-samkrānti took place 9 h. 21 m. after mean sunrise of Friday, the 27th June, which was the first day of the month of Karkātaka; and the 14th day of the same month therefore was Thursday, the 10th July. On this day the 10th *tithi* of the bright half (of Śrāvana) ended 15 h. 48 m., while the *nakṣatra* was Anurādhā, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 23 h. 38 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 18 h. 24 m., after mean sunrise

The date shows that the reign of Rājarāja III. could not have commenced after (approximately) the 10th July A.D. 1216.

120.— In the Aruṇāchalēśvara temple at Tiruvannāmalai.⁴

- 1 Svasti śrī [||*] Tiruvannāchalēśvara[n]nachakkara[va]ttaga| śrī-Rājarājadē[vakku] yāndu
16vadū Ishapa(ba)-nāyaṅṅu iru[ba]ttettān=diyadiyam Śaṇ[ī]-k[kī]lamayum peṅga
Mīrugaś[ī]rshattu nā].

"In the 16th year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājarājadēva,— on the day of Mīrugaśīras, which corresponded to a Saturday and to the twenty-eighth solar day of the month of Rishabha."

The date corresponds to Saturday, the 23rd May A.D. 1232. In A.D. 1232 the Rishabha-samkrānti took place 15 h. 22 m. after mean sunrise of Saturday, the 24th April. The first day of the month of Rishabha therefore was Sunday, the 25th April, and the 28th day of the same month was Saturday, the 22nd May, on which day the *nakṣatra* was Mīrugaśīras, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 10 h. 30 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 9 h. 12 m., after mean sunrise

¹ No. 630 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1903

² Read *-pakkashat*.

³ No. 646 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1904

⁴ No. 486 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1903

121.— In the Aruṇāchalēśvara temple at Tiruvannāmalai.¹

- 1 Svasti śri [||*] T[1]r[1]buvapachchakkaravatt[1]gal śri-Irājarājadēvaṅku yāndu
18vaḍu Kārttigai-mādam piṇḍa padinēlāṇ(n)=diyaḍu[y]=āṇa Nāyaṅgu-
kk[1]lamaiyum Rēvatīyum daśamiyum [p]eṇṇa
2 iṇṇu

“In the 18th year (*of the reign*) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājarājadēva,— on this day, which corresponds to the tenth *tithi*, to (*the day of*) Rēvatī and to a Sunday, which is the seventeenth solar day after the commencement of the month of Kārttigai.”

The date will be expected to fall in A.D. 1233, and it actually corresponds to Sunday, the 13th November A.D. 1233. In A.D. 1233 the Vṛ̥schika-samkrānti took place 18 h 28 m after mean sunrise of Thursday, the 27th October. The first day of the month of Vṛ̥schika or Kārttigai therefore was Friday, the 28th October, and the 17th day of the same month was Sunday, the 13th November. On this day the 10th *tithi* (of the bright half of Mārgaśīra) ended 2 h 16 m, and the *nakṣatra* was Rēvatī from² 3 h 17 m, after mean sunrise.

122.— In the Akṣayaṭīgēśvara temple at Kivalūr.³

- 1 Om svasti śr[i] [||*] Tr[1]bhuvanachchakravatt[1]gal śr[i]- Rājarājadēvaṅku
yāndu pad[1]p[1]e[1]tāva[du] Dha]nu-[n]āyaṅgu apara-pakṣhattu aṣṭamiyum
Nāya-
2 iṇṇ-kk[1]lamaiyum peṇṇa Atta[t*]tu nāl

“In the eighteenth year (*of the reign*) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājarājadēva,— on the day of Hasta, which corresponded to a Sunday and to the eighth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Dhanuṣ.”

The date corresponds to Sunday, the 25th December A.D. 1233, which was the last day of the month of Dhanuṣ (and the day of the Uttarāyana-samkrānti that took place 15 h 5 m after mean sunrise), and on which the 8th *tithi* of the dark half (of Pauṣa) commenced 5 h. 27 m., while the *nakṣatra* was Hasta, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 4 h 36 m., and by the Brahma-middhānta for 1 h 19 m., after mean sunrise.

123.— In the Vēdāranyēśvara temple at Vēdāranyam.⁴

- 1 . . . [ṇa]chcha[k]karavatt[1]ga[1] śri-Rājarājadēva[r]ku y[ā]ndu 19[ā]vaḍu
Mi[du]ṇa-nāyaṅgu=pp[ū]rva-pakṣhattu tiraiyōdeśiyum Nāyaṅgu-kk[1]lamaiyum
peṇṇa Kēt[t]ai-nāl.

“In the 19th year (*of the reign*) of the emperor of [the three worlds], the glorious Rājarājadēva,— on the day of Jyēṣṭhā, which corresponded to a Sunday and to the thirteenth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Mithuṇa.”

The date corresponds to Sunday, the 11th June A.D. 1234, which was the 17th day of the month of Mithuṇa, and on which the 13th *tithi* of the bright half (of Āṣāḍha) ended 7 h 22 m after mean sunrise, while the *nakṣatra* was Jyēṣṭhā, by the equal space system the whole day,

¹ No 494 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1902

² As there can be no doubt whatever here about the proper equivalent of the date, it may be specially noted that the day of the date is combined, not with the *nakṣatra* (Uttara Bhādrapadā) at the commencement of the day, but with the *nakṣatra* (Rēvatī) which only commenced 3 h 17 m after mean sunrise. Compare above, Nos 102, 105 and 112

³ No. 515 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1904

⁴ No 496 of the same collection

by the Brahma-siddhānta for 7 h. 13 m., and according to Garga for 11 h. 50 m., after mean sunrise — By the result previously¹ found for the commencement of Rājārāja's reign this day fell in the 18th, not the 19th, year of the king's reign.

124.— In the Vaidyanāthasvāmin temple at Tittagudi.²

- 1 Svasti śrī [||*] Tirubuvānachchakkaravattiga| śrī-Rāja-
- 2 rājādēvaṅku yāṇḍu pattu-onbādāvadu Vriśh-
- 3 chiga-nāyaṅgu pūrvva-pakshattu trayōdaśiyum
- 4 Nāyaṅgu- kīlamaiyum [peṅga Aśva]ti- nāl.

“In the nineteenth year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājārājadēva,— on the day of Aśvinī, which corresponded to a Sunday, and to the thirteenth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Vṛiśchika.”

The date corresponds to Sunday, the 5th November A.D. 1234, which was the 9th day of the month of Vṛiśchika, and on which the 13th *tithi* of the bright half (of Kārttika) ended 8 h. 22 m, while the *nakshatra* was Aśvinī for 7 h. 13 m, after mean sunrise.

125.— In the Vighnēśvara temple at Apbil.³

- 1 Svasti śrī [||*]
- 15 Ti[r]i[bn]vānach[cha]kkaravattiga[|]
- 16 śrī-Rājārājādēvaṅku yāṇḍu pat-
- 17 *to[n]bādāvadu Kumbha-nā[ya]ṅgu pū-
- 18 [r*]va- pakshattu pañjam[i]yum Vīyāḷa-[k]ki-
- 19 lamaiyu[m] peṅga Rēvatī- nāl.

“In the nineteenth year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājārājadēva,— on the day of Rēvatī, which corresponded to a Thursday and to the fifth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Kumbha.”

The date corresponds to Thursday, the 25th January A.D. 1235, which was the 2nd day of the month of Kumbha, and on which the 5th *tithi* of the bright half (of Māgha) ended 6 h 44 m, while the *nakshatra* was Rēvatī for 4 h. 36 m, after mean sunrise.

126.— In the Rajatagirīśvara temple at Tiruttengūr.⁴

- 1 Svasti śrī [||*] Tribhuvanachchakkaravattiga[|]
- 2 tuga| śrī- Rājārājādēva[|ku*]
- 3 yāṇḍu 21 edirām=āṇḍu [Ma*]-
- 4 gara-nāyaṅgu apara-pakshattu [ohatn*]-
- 5 rddāśiyum Śani-kīlamaiyum [pe*]-
- 6 yra Uttarādattu nāl.

“In the year opposite the 24th year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājārājadēva,— on the day of Uttarāśādhā, which corresponded to a Saturday and to the fourteenth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Makara.”

The date corresponds to Saturday, the 12th January A.D. 1241, which was the 20th day of the month of Makara, and on which the 14th *tithi* of the dark half (of Pausa) ended 15 h 22 m, while the *nakshatra* was Uttarāśādhā, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 21 h. 40 m, and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 15 h. 6 m, after mean sunrise

¹ See above, p 1

² No. 20 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1903

³ No. 601 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1902.

⁴ Part of the o of to is entered at the end of the preceding line.

⁵ No. 531 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1904.

127.— In the Vaidyanāthasvāmin temple at Tiṭṭagudi.¹

- 1 Svasti śrī [||*] Tīribuvanaṇchchakkaravattigal śrī-Īrājarājadēvaṅku yāndu 27vadu
Simha-
- 2 nāyarku pūrvva-pakshattu prathamai[yum] [B]udan-ki]amariyum perṛa Magattu
nāl

"In the 27th Year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājarājadēva,— on the day of Maghā, which corresponded to a Wednesday and to the first *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Simha "

The date corresponds to Wednesday, the 30th July A.D 1242, which was the 2nd day of the month of Simha, and on which the 1st *tithi* of the bright half (of the first Bhādrapada) ended 6 h. 6 m., while the *nakṣatra* was Maghā, by the equal space system for 5 h 55 m, after mean sunrise

128 — In the Vēdāraṇyēśvara temple at Vēdāraṇyam²

- 1 Sva[stī] śrī [||*] Tīribuvanaṇchchakkaravattigal śrī-Rāja[rā]jadē[va]ṅku [yā]ndu
27[ā]vadu Ma[ga]ra-[n]āyark[u] [apa*]-
- 2 [ra]-pakshattu paṇḍadēsayum Tīngal-ki]amari[yum] perṛa Pūṣattu nā[ī]

"In the 27th year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājarājadēva,— on the day of Pushya, which corresponded to a Monday and to the fifteenth *tithi* of [the second] fortnight of the month of Makara."

In the month of Makara a fifteenth *tithi* of the second fortnight cannot possibly be combined with the *nakṣatra* Pushya, and the probability therefore is that the second fortnight has been quoted erroneously for the first. But even with the first fortnight the date would be incorrect for the 27th year of the king's reign, a calculation for which and for the first fortnight has yielded Wednesday, the 7th January A.D 1243

In my opinion it is highly probable that this date really belongs to the 21st year of Rājarāja's reign.³ For that year it would correspond to Monday, the 12th January A.D 1237, which was the 20th day of the month of Makara, and on which the fifteenth *tithi* of the bright half (of Māgha) ended 20 h 11 m, while the *nakṣatra* was Pushya, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 16 h. 25 m, and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 14 h 27 m, after mean sunrise — It may be noted that on this 12th January A.D 1237 there was a total eclipse of the moon, visible in India.

129.— In the Valisvara temple at Rāmagiri⁴

- 1 Svasti śrī [||*] Tīr[ī]buvana[ṇ]chcha]kkara[va]ttigal śrī-Īrājarāja-
- 2 dēvaṅku⁵ yāndu [2]9[va]du Mīduna-ñ[ā*]yarku muppatturand[ā]-
- 3 n-diyadiy-āṅa Tīngat-ki]amariyum pūrvva-pakshat-
- 4 tu pradamaiyum Pā[śa]mam āṅa aṅṅu

"In the [2]9th year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājarājadēva,— on the day of Pushya, which was the first *tithi* of the first fortnight and a Monday, corresponding to the thirty-second solar day of the month of Mithuna."

¹ No 19 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1903

² No 495 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1904

³ Mr Venkayya now informs me that the reading in line 1 of the original may really be 20, and that, what was taken for 7, may be part of the flourish which denotes *āṇadu*. On the other hand, he states that *apara-pakṣattu* probably is the actual reading

⁴ No 546 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1904

⁵ The *ś* of *dē* is engraved at the end of the preceding line

This date would be expected to fall in A.D. 1244 or 1245, and it actually corresponds to Monday, the 26th June A.D. 1245. In A.D. 1245 the Mithuna-samkrānti took place 9 h. 41 m. after mean sunrise of Friday, the 26th May, which was the first day of the month of Mithuna; and the 32nd day of that month therefore was Monday, the 26th June¹. On this day the first *tithi* of the bright half (of the second Āshādhā) ended 16 h. 5 m. after mean sunrise, and the *nakshatra* was Pushya, by the equal space system and according to Garga the whole day, and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 22 h. 59 m. after mean sunrise.

The date shows that the reign of Rājārāja III. could not have commenced before (approximately) the 27th June A.D. 1216.

130.—In the Aruṇāchalēśvara temple at Tiruvannāmalai.²

- 1 Svasti [śrī] [||*] [Ti]rūbuvaṇachchakkaravattiga| śrī-Irājarājadēvar[k*]ku
yāṇḍu 30vadu Daṇu-nāyarkku apara-paksha[t]tu trayō[dasi]yum
- 2 Anḷamum peṇṇa Nāyarkku-kkūlamai-nāḷ.

"In the 30th year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājārājadēva,—on a Sunday, which corresponded to (the day of) Anurādhā and to the thirteenth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Dhanu."

The date apparently corresponds to Sunday, the 17th December A.D. 1245, which was the 22nd day of the month of Dhanu, and on which the *nakshatra* was Anurādhā, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 17 h. 44 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 12 h. 29 m., after mean sunrise. But the *tithi* which ended on this day, 15 h. 44 m. after mean sunrise, was the 12th, not the 13th, of the dark half (of Mārgaśīra).—The word *trayōdasiyum* of the original therefore would be a mistake for *tuvōdasiyum*.

G.—RAJENDRA-CHOLA III.

131.—In the Vēdāranyēśvara temple at Vēdāranyam.³

- 1 Sva[sti] śrī [||*] Tirubuvanaachchakkaravattiga| śrī-Irāṇḍira-Śōḷadēvaṅku
yāṇḍu
- 2 nāḷavadu Magara-nāyarkku-ppūrvva-pakshattu prathamayum Budan-kūlamai-
- 3 yum peṇṇa Tiruvōnattu nāḷ.

"In the fourth year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājendra-Chōḷadēva,—on the day of Śravaṇa, which corresponded to a Wednesday and to the first *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Makara,"

The date corresponds to Wednesday, the 5th January A.D. 1250, which was the 12th day of the month of Makara, and on which the 1st *tithi* of the bright half (of Māgha) ended 12 h. 45 m., while the *nakshatra* was Śravaṇa, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 13 h. 47 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 15 h. 6 m., after mean sunrise.

132.—In the Vēdāranyēśvara temple at Vēdāranyam.⁴

- 1 [Ti]r[ī]buvaṇachchakkaravatt[ga]| śrī-Rāṇḍ[ī]ra-Śōḷadē[va]ṅku [y]āṇḍu [o]ṇ-
- 2 badāvadū Magara-nāyarkku pūrvva-[pa]kshattu dvitīyayum Śev[vā-kki]lāmai pe-
- 3 ṅga Śadaiyattu nāḷ.

¹ The Karkāṣa- or Dakṣiṇāyana samkrānti took place 0 h. 16 m. after mean sunrise of the 27th June.

² No. 504 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1902.

³ No. 423 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1904.

⁴ No. 418 of the same collection.

"In the ninth year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājendra-Chōladēva,— on the day of Śatabhishaj, which corresponded to a Tuesday and to the second *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Makara."

The date corresponds to Tuesday, the 12th January A.D. 1255, which was the 19th day of the month of Makara, and on which the 2nd *tithi* of the bright half (of Māgha) ended 1 h 21 m, while the *nakshatra* was Śatabhishaj, by the equal space system for 17 h 4 m, by the Brahma-siddhānta for 5 h 55 m., and according to Garga for 8 h. 32 m., after mean sunrise

133.— In the Rajatagiriśvara temple at Tiruttengur.*

- 1 Svasti śri ||— Tribhu[va*]nachchakravattigal śri-Rājendra-Śō[adē[va*]]i[ku]yāndu llvadiṇ ediram-āndu Kaṛkadaga-nā[ya]ṛu apara-pakshattu T[ī]-
- 2 ngat-k[ā]m[ai]yum Urdānīyum perṛa nā[ī]

"In the year opposite the 11th year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājendra-Chōladēva,— on the day of Rōhinī, which corresponded to a Monday of the second fortnight¹ of the month of Karkataka"

The date corresponds to Monday, the 9th July A.D. 1257, which was the 13th day of the month of Karkataka, and on which [the 11th *tithi*] of the dark half (of Āshādhā) ended 10 h 59 m, while the *nakshatra* was Rōhinī, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 11 h 10 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 10 h 30 m, after mean sunrise

134.— In the Vēdāranyēśvara temple at Vēdāranyam.²

- 1 Svasti śri ௨ Tribhuva[nachchakkaravatt[igal] śr[ī-Rājē]ndira-Śō[ā]dēvarkku y[ān]-
- 2 ḍu 16[āvadu] Rishaba-nā[ya]ṛu [p]ū[rva]-pakshattu ākāś[ī]yu[m] Tingat-k[ā]mai[um] per[ṛa]
- 3 Uthratu nāl.

"In the 16th year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious [Rā]jendra-Chōladēva,— on the day of Uttara-Phalgunī, which corresponded to a Monday and to the eleventh *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Rishabha."

The date clearly corresponds to Monday, the 1st May A.D. 1262, which was the 7th day of the month of Rishabha, and on which the 11th *tithi* of the bright half (of Vaiśākha) ended 17 h 0 m, while the *nakshatra* was Uttara-Phalgunī, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 1 h. 19 m, after mean sunrise — By the result previously⁴ found for the commencement of the reign of Rājendra-Chōla III. this day fell in the 17th, not the 16th, year of the king's reign.

135.— In the Vēdāranyēśvara temple at Vēdāranyam.⁵

- 1 Svasti śri [ī*] Tir[ī]bhuva[nachcha[kka]ravattigal śr[ī-Rājē]nd[ī]ra-Śō[ā]dē[va]rkku [y]āndu 1[8ā]vadu Māga[ra]-[n]āyaṛu [a]pa[ra]-pakshattu [ḍu]ḍi[ya]iy[um] Buday-k[ī]lamai[um] perṛa T[ī]r[ī]rvō[nat]tu [nāl]

* No 531 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1904

¹ The *tithi* is omitted in the original

² No 460 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1904

³ See above, p 7

⁴ No 494 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1904.

⁵ The *rd of rdss* seems to have been written twice in the original.

"In the 1[8th] year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājendra-Chōladēva,— on the day of Śravana, which corresponded to a Wednesday and to the second *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of [Maka]ra."

In the month of Makara a second *tithi* of the second fortnight cannot possibly be combined with the *nakshatra* Śravana, and the probability again is that the second fortnight has been quoted erroneously for the first. Undoubtedly the date corresponds to Wednesday, the 2nd January A.D. 1264, which was the 9th day of the month of Makara, and on which the 2nd *tithi* of the bright half (of Māgha) commenced 0 h 51 m., while the *nakshatra* was Śravana, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 9 h 12 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 10 h 30 m., after mean sunrise — Accordingly, the reading in the original should have been *pūrva-pakshattu*, not *apara-pakshattu*.

136.— In the Tyāgarājāsavāmin temple at Tiruvārūr.¹

1 Svasti ériṭṭi ௨ Tiruvaynāchachakkaravarttigal éri-Rājendra-Śōladēvarkku yāndu
20[4]vadu Ma[ga]ra-nāyaru pūrva-pakshattu trayōdaśiyum Budha-
klamayum [p]eṇṇa Punarpūṣattu nāl

"In the 20th year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājendra-Chōladēva,— on the day of Punarvasu, which corresponded to a Wednesday and to the thirteenth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Makara."

The date corresponds to Wednesday, the 20th January A.D. 1266, which was the 27th day of the month of Makara, and on which the 13th *tithi* of the bright half (of Māgha²) ended 19 h 29 m., while the *nakshatra* was Punarvasu, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 21 h. 40 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 21 h. 1 m., after mean sunrise

No 27.— DATES OF PANDYA KINGS.

By PROFESSOR F. KIELHORN, O.I.E., GÖTTINGEN.

(Continued from Vol. VII page 17)

Of the nineteen new Pāndya dates here published, Nos 44-56 confirm the general results previously arrived at concerning the kings Jātavarman Kulasēkhara, Māṇavarman Sundara-Pāndya I., Māṇavarman Kulasēkhara I., and Jātavarman Sundara-Pāndya II, and reduce the periods during which the first and third of these kings commenced to reign to the times from (approximately) the 30th March to the 29th November A D 1190, and from (approximately) the 19th March to the 27th June A D 1268, respectively. The date No. 47 of Māṇavarman Kulasēkhara I, which expressly connects a day in the 40th year of the king's reign with Śaka-samvat 1229,³ has been particularly gratifying to me, because I had independently found another date of his 40th year to fall in exactly the same Śaka year. The dates Nos. 57-59 belong to a king Kōṇērimālkondān Vikrama-Pāndya, who commenced to reign between (approximately) the 13th January and the 27th July A.D. 1401, and Nos. 60-62 to a king Māṇavarman Vira-Pāndya, who apparently commenced to reign between (approximately) the 18th March and the 28th July A D. 1443

I have 35 other dates which seem to belong to 18 different Pāndya kings. These cannot be published till more dates of the same kings have been discovered

No 555 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1904

² This *tithi* is a *Kalpādi*.

³ This until recently was the earliest known Śaka year, quoted in a Pāndya date. Quite lately Mr. Venkayya has discovered a date of the 8th year of the Pāndya Viraṅga coupled with the Śaka year 792.

A.—JATAVARMAN KULASEKHARA.

44.—In the Agastyēśvara temple at Tiruchchunai.¹

- 1 Tir[ibn]va[pa]chchakkara[va]tt[ī]gal śrī-Kulaśēgaradē[va]rku yā[ndu] 13 edir
14va-
- 2 du 2Mē[la-n]āya[ru] a]para-pakkattu pañjamyum Budan-k[ī]la[m]amyum
perra Mu(mā)lattu
- 3 [n]āi

"In the 14th opposite the 13th year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulaśēkharadēva,—on the day of Mūla, which corresponded to a Wednesday and to the fifth tithi of the second fortnight of the month of Mēsha."

The manner in which the regnal year is given in this date—'the 14th opposite the 13th year'—in my opinion renders it highly probable that the date belongs to Jatāvarman Kulaśēkhara of whom I have examined two dates, 'of the twelfth year opposite to the thirteenth,' and of 'the year opposite to the thirteenth,' i.e. of the 25th and 14th years, and whose reign I have found to commence between (approximately) the 27th February and the 29th November A.D. 1190.² If this should really be the case, the date, being of the 14th opposite to the 13th, i.e. of the 27th year, would have to fall in either A.D. 1216 or A.D. 1217. It is actually correct for Wednesday, the 29th March A.D. 1217. This was the 5th day of the month of Mēsha, and on it the 5th tithi of the dark half (of Chaitra) ended 9 h. 38 m., while the *nakshatra* was Mūla, by the Brahma-siddhānta for 9 h. 12 m., according to Garga for 14 h. 27 m., and by the equal space system from 2 h. 38 m., after mean sunrise.

With this result, I would definitely assign the date to Jatāvarman Kulaśēkhara,³ the time for the commencement of whose reign would be reduced by it to the period from (approximately) the 30th March to the 29th November A.D. 1190.

45.—In the Agastyēśvara temple at Tiruchchunai.⁵

- 1 o|| Svasti śrī [||*] Tribuvanaachchakkaravattaga] śrī(śrī)-Kula[la]śēgaradēva[ī]kn 1-
- 2 y[ā]ndu padim[ū]gga(gā)vaṇṇu Tulā-nāya[ru] . . . -[pakshat]tu ashtam-
- 3 yum Viyāla-kkūlama(mai)yum perra Pūṣattu nāi

"In the thirteenth year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulaśēkharadēva,—on the day of Pūshya, which corresponded to a Thursday and to the eighth tithi of the . . . fortnight of the month of Tulā."

This date is in the same temple as the preceding date, and is also one of the *Tribhuvana-chakravartin* Kulaśēkharadēva. It may therefore be reasonably assumed that here also Kulaśēkhara is identical with Jatāvarman Kulaśēkhara. A date of that king's 13th year would be expected to fall in A.D. 1202 or A.D. 1203, but for either year the date would be quite incorrect.

My calculations have led me to suspect that the date may be one, not of the 13th, but of the 13th opposite the 13th year of Jatāvarman Kulaśēkhara, and that its equivalent may be Thursday, the 6th October A.D. 1216. This was the 10th day of the month of Tulā, and on it the *nakshatra* was Pūshya, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 3 h.

¹ No. 181 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1903

² The *śa* of *Mēša* is entered below the *m* of *mē*

³ See above, Vol. VI. pp. 301 and 302, Nos. 1 and 2

⁴ In the Pāndya date No. 14, above Vol. VI. p. 307, Jatāvarman Sundara-Pāndya I. is simply called the *Tribhuvana-chakravartin* Sundara-Pāndyadēva.

⁵ No. 182 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1903

56 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 1 h. 58 m., after mean sunrise. The only difficulty is, that by our Tables the 8th *tithi* of the [dark] half (of Kārttika) had ended 0 h. 26 m. *before* mean sunrise of the Thursday, and that therefore we should have expected the writer to quote the 9th *tithi*, not the 8th.

B.—MARAVARMAN SUNDARA-PANDYA I.

46.—In the Sundarēśvara temple at Madura.¹

120 śrī-kō Mā.²
 121 rapanmar=āpa ³Trabhuvaṇa-
 122 chchakkaravattigal Śōnā-
 123 ḍu kondu Muḍigo[n]-
 124 ḍaṣḍḍapurattu virar=ava-
 125 ⁴bhishēgamum vijaiya[r=a-
 126 ⁴va]bhishēgamum pa[n]ni-
 127 [y-a]ruḷiya śrī-Sundara-Pāṇḍi-
 128 yadē[vaṅku] yāṇḍu l-
 129 ḍvadu Dhanu-nāyargu a-
 130 para-pakshattu trayōḍa-
 131 aiyum Śevvāy-kkūla-
 132 maiyum perra [V₁]śā-
 133 gattu [n]ḍ[!].

"In the 15th year (of the reign) of the glorious king Māravarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Sundara-Pāṇḍyadeva, who took the Chōḷa country and was pleased to perform the anointment of heroes and the anointment of victors at Muḍigonḍa-ḍḍapuram,—on the day of Viśākhā, which corresponded to a Tuesday and to the thirteenth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Dhanus."

I have previously⁵ found that Māravarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I. commenced to reign between (approximately) the 29th March and the 4th September A.D. 1216. With that commencement of his reign this date of the 15th year regularly corresponds to Tuesday, the 3rd December A.D. 1230, which was the 8th day of the month of Dhanus, and on which the 13th *tithi* of the dark half (of Mārgaśīra) commenced 4 h. 53 m., while the *nakṣatra* was Viśākhā, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 10 h. 30 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 5 h. 55 m., after mean sunrise.

C.—MARAVARMAN KULASEKHARA I.

47.—In the Tyāgarājasvāmin temple at Tiruvārūr.⁶

1 Svast[1] śr[1] [!]^{*} [Kō Mā]rapan[mar Tirubu]vaṇachchakkaravattigal śrī-
 Kulasekaradē[va]kkū yāṇḍu 40vadu Mīna-nāyargu apa[ra]-pakshattu
 ḍaṣamaiyum Tūngal-kkūla[m]aiyum perre Tiruvōnattu nā
 2 i-ṇṇāḍvadu Śakādh[ti]tam 1229.

"In the 40th year (of the reign) of king Māravarman (*alias*) the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulasekharadeva,—on the day of Śravana, which corresponded to a Monday and to the tenth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Mīna . . .
 this day (i.e. year) corresponds to Śaka 1229 expired "

¹ No 61 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1905.

² The *ś* of Mā is engraved at the beginning of the next line.

³ Read *Trishu*.

⁴ Read *-abhisēga*.

⁵ See above, Vol. VI. p. 314.

⁶ No. 551 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1904

Above, Vol. VI. p 310, No 22, I have found that a date of the 40th year of Māṇavarman Kulaśekhara I corresponded to Saturday, the 24th February A D 1308 (in Śaka-samvat 1229) This date No. 47, which also is of the 40th year, and which is expressly stated to have fallen in Śaka-samvat 1229, regularly corresponds to Monday, the 18th March A.D 1308, which was the 24th day of the month of Mīna, and on which the 10th *tithi* of the dark half (of Phālguna) ended 11 h 29 m, while the *nakṣatra* was Śravana, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 11 h. 10 m, and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 12 h 29 m, after mean sunrise

48.—In the Jagannāthasvāmīn temple at Tirupullāṇi.¹

- 1 k[ō] Mārapan[ma]r-ā[na Tribhū]
gal [e]mmandalamum kond-arul[i]ya śr[i]-Kulaśēgaradēvaṅku yāndu
[2]vadu Kaṅkadaga-nāyaṅṅ mudal tyaḍ[i]yum
2 . . . [ttu] a[ṣṭam]i[yu]m [T]iṅgal-ki[lamayum Śi]ttirayum perṛa
nāi

"In the [2]2nd year (of the reign) of king Māṇavarman (alias the emperor of the three worlds), the glorious Kulaśēkharadēva, who was pleased to take every country,— on the day which corresponded to (the day of) [Ch]itrā, to a Monday, to the eighth *tithi* of the [fortnight], and to the first solar day of the month of Karkataka."

The date corresponds to Monday, the 27th June A.D. 1289, which was the first day of the month of Karkataka,² and on which the 8th *tithi* of the [bright] half (of Āshāḍha) ended 19 h 46 m, while the *nakṣatra* was Chitrā, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 20 h 21 m, and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 17 h. 4 m, after mean sunrise

49 —In the Ādivarāha-Perumāi temple at Singavaram.³

- 1 Svasti śrī [i] Mārapanmar Tribhuvana-
chchakkaravatt[i]ga] [śrī]-Kulaśēgara[d]ēvaṅku yā-
2 ndu 30āvadu Sumha-nayaṅṅ=ppūrvva-pakshattu ēkādaśa(śi)yum perṛa
Mu(mū)lattu nāt-

"In the 30th year (of the reign) of king Māṇavarman (alias) the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulaśēkharadēva,— on the day of Mūla, which corresponded to the eleventh *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Sumha "

The date corresponds to [Wednesday], the 31st July A D 1297, which was the 4th day of the month of Sumha, and on which the 11th *tithi* of the bright half (of Śravana) ended 18 h 38 m., while the *nakṣatra* was Mūla, by the equal space system for 17 h. 4 m, and according to Garga for 4 h. 36 m., after mean sunrise

50 —In the Āpaikāṭṭa-Perumāi temple at Kaḷappā.⁴

- 1 Svasti śrīh — [K]ō [M]ārupan[mar Tm]buvagachchakkaravatt[i]gal śr[i]-Kulaśēgara-
dēvark[ku] yāndu 3[4]vadu Kaṅkadaga-nayaṅṅ pūrvva-paksha[t]tu tr[i]ṣṭ[i]-
yayyum Śaṅ[i]-kkilamayum perṛa Magattu nāi

"In the 34th year (of the reign) of king Māṇavarman (alias) the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulaśēkharadēva,— on the day of Maghā, which corresponded to a Saturday and to the third *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Karkataka "

¹ No. 107 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1903

² The Karkāṣṭha or Dakṣiṇāyanasamkranti took place 9 h 28 m after mean sunrise

³ No. 231 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1904.

⁴ No. 661 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1902.

*The date apparently corresponds to Saturday, the 8th July A.D. 1301, which was the 12th day of the month of Karkataka, and on which the *nakshatra* was Maghā, by the Brahma-siddhānta for 13 h 47 m, according to Garga for 16 h. 25 m., and by the equal space system from 3 h 56 m, after mean sunrise. But the *tithi* which ended on this day, 12 h. 24 m after mean sunrise, was the 2nd, not the 3rd, *tithi* of the bright half (of Śrāvana).—Accordingly, the word *ti* [t] [i] *yayyum* of the original seems to be a mistake for *dvitīyayyum*.

51.—In the Paśupatiśvara temple at Allūr.¹

- 1 Svasti śrī [I*] Kō [M]ārapanmar=āna
- 2 Tiribuvana[eh]chakkaravattiga-
- 3 1 śrī-Kulaśōgaradēvarku y[ā]-
- 4 ndu 29vadu Kaṅkada-
- 5 ga-nāyarra apara-pakshattu tra-
- 6 yōdeśiyum Śani-k[ī]lamaiyum pe-
- 7 rra Punapūśattu nāl

"In the 29th year (of the reign) of king Māṇavarman alias the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulaśēkhara-dēva,—on the day of Punarvasu, which corresponded to a Saturday and to the thirteenth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Karkataka."

For the 29th year of Māṇavarman Kulaśēkhara I² this date would be expected to fall in A.D. 1296 or A.D. 1297, but neither of these years yields a satisfactory result. I can therefore only suggest that the date may be one of the 39th year of the king's reign. For that year it would regularly correspond to Saturday, the 9th July A.D. 1308, which was the 12th day of the month of Karkataka, and on which the 13th *tithi* of the dark half (of Āshādha) ended 8 h. 34 m after mean sunrise, while the *nakshatra* was Punarvasu, by the Brahma-siddhānta the whole day, according to Garga from 2 h. 38 m, and by the equal space system from 14 h. 27 m, after mean sunrise.

The two dates Nos. 47 and 48 reduce the period, during which Māṇavarman Kulaśēkhara I. must have commenced to reign, to the time from (approximately) the 19th March to the 27th June A.D. 1288.

D.—JATAVARMAN SUNDARA-PANDYA II.⁴

52.—In the Dēvanāyaka-Perumāḷ temple at Tiruvēndipuram.⁵

- 1 6. Svasti śrī [I*] Kōr=Chchada[pa]nmar Tiribuvana[eh]chakkaravattigal śrī-
- Śundara-Pāndiyadēvarckku yāndu 10[ā]vadu patti[va]du Kaṅkadaga-nāyarra
- 2 apara-pakshattu paṇjamaiyum Tīngal-kīlamaiyum perra Rēvati-nāl

"In the 10th—tenth—year (of the reign) of king Jātavarman (alias) the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Sundara-Pāndya-dēva,—on the day of Rēvatī, which corresponded to a Monday and to the fifth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Karkataka."

For Jātavarman Sundara-Pāndya II, whose reign has been found to commence between (approximately) the 13th September A.D. 1275 and the 15th May A.D. 1276,⁶ this date corresponds to Monday, the 28th July A.D. 1285, which was the 27th day of the month of

¹ No. 379 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1903.

² Part of the 6 of 90 is engraved at the end of the preceding line.

³ For Māṇavarman Kulaśēkhara II the date would be incorrect.

⁴ No. 56 may be a date of Jātavarman Sundara-Pāndya I.

⁵ No. 137 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1902.

⁶ See above, Vol. VI, p. 314. Page 450

Karkataka, and on which the 5th *tithi* of the dark half (of Śrāvana) ended 9 h 4 m, while the *nakshatra* was Rēvati for 18 h 24 m, after mean sunrise

For Jatāvarman Sundara-Pāndya I the date would be incorrect

53.— In the Dēvapuriśvara temple at Tēvūr¹

1 Sva[s]t[i] śr[i] [||*] Kōr-[Ch]chadaipanna[r]-āṇa [Tribuva]nāchchakkaravatt[i]gal
2 sri-Sundara-Pāndyaadēvaṅku yāṇḍu 1[1]vaṇḍu Mīchchya-nā.
3 [ya]ṅgu apara-pakshattu shashti(shthi)yum [Buda]n-kīamayum perṛa Pū-
4 śattu nāi

"In the 1[1]th year (of the reign) of king Jatāvarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Sundara-Pāndyaadēva,—on the day of Pushya, which corresponded to a Wednesday and to the sixth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Vriśchika "

For Jatāvarman Sundara-Pāndya II this date apparently corresponds to Wednesday, the 28th October A D 1287, which was the first day of the month of Vriśchika,² and on which the 6th *tithi* of the dark half (of Kārttika) ended 7 h 52 m, while the *nakshatra* was Pushya, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 15 h 46 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 13 h 47 m, after mean sunrise But by the previously³ found result this day would fall in the 12th, not the 11th, year of Jatāvarman Sundara-Pāndya II *

For Jatāvarman Sundara-Pāndya I the date would be quite incorrect

54.— In the Kāliśvara temple at Kālayārkōvīl⁴

1 . . . [sri]-kō-Chchadaipa[n]mar-āṇa stri(tri)[bhūva]na-
chchakka[rava]ttigal [sri]-Sundara-Pāndi-
2 yadēvaṅku yāṇḍu 12vaṇḍu Simṇa(mha)-nāyargu [3]1 tēdi⁷ [apa]ra-[pa]ksha[t]tu
tri[t]iyai[ya]m Buda-
3 n-kīa[m]aiyu[m] perṛa Irēba(va)di-nāi

"In the 12th year (of the reign) of the glorious king Jatāvarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Sundara-Pāndyaadēva,—on the day of Rēvati, which corresponded to a Wednesday, to the third *tithi* of the second fortnight (and) to the [3]1st solar day of the month of Simha "

For Jatāvarman Sundara-Pāndya II the date apparently corresponds to Wednesday, the 27th August A D. 1287, when the 3rd *tithi* of the dark half (of Bhādrapada) ended 16 h 22 m., while the *nakshatra* was Rēvati for 8 h 32 m, after mean sunrise But this day was the 30th, not the 31st, day of the month of Simha, the Simha-samkrānti having taken place

¹ No 518 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1904

² Read *Vriśchika*-

³ The Vriśchika samkrānti took place 17 h 43 m after mean sunrise of Tuesday, the 28th October A D 1287

⁴ See above, Vol VI p 314

⁵ Mr Venkayya, who has checked the readings of the original dates after they were in print, has informed me that the second figure of the regnal year cannot be read 2, but may be 9 And I find that for the 19th regnal year of Jatāvarman Sundara-Pāndya II the above date would regularly correspond to Wednesday, the 10th November A D 1294, which was the 14th day of the month of Vriśchika, and on which the 6th *tithi* of the dark half (of Kārttika) ended 17 h 17 m., while the *nakshatra* was Pushya, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 1 h 10 m, after mean sunrise Nevertheless, I am not fully convinced that the date really belongs to the 19th year of Jatāvarman Sundara-Pāndya II For the 19th year of Jatāvarman Sundara-Pāndya I it would be incorrect

⁶ No 575 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1902

⁷ The word *tēdi* is denoted by a symbol.

8 h 15 m after mean sunrise of Tuesday, the 29th July A.D. 1287 (which was the first day of the month of Simha).

For Jatavarman Sundara-Pāndya I the date would be quite incorrect.

55.—In the Akshēśvara temple at Acheharapākkam.¹

- 1 Svasta śrī [||*] Kōḥ=Chatapanmar Tiri[buṇa]chehaka.ṣvatti śrī-Śu[n]dara-
[Pān]diyadēva[r][k*]ku yā[n*]du 13ku edir [2āva]du Kaṇ-
- 2 nī-nāyaru apara-[pa*]kshattu Tingat-kūla[m]aiyu[m*] saptamiyum perṇa
Rō[śa]ni-nā[|]

"In the [2nd] opposite the 13th year (of the reign) of king Jatavarman (*alias*) the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Sundara-Pāndyadēva,—on the day of Rōhiṇi, which corresponded to a Monday and to the seventh *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Kanyā."

For Jatavarman Sundara-Pāndya II. the date apparently corresponds to Monday, the 28th August A.D. 1290, when the 7th *tithi* of the dark half (of Bhādrapada) ended 9 h 38 m, while the *nakṣatra* was Rōhiṇi, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 9 h. 51 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 9 h. 12 m, after mean sunrise. But this day was the last day of the month of Simha, which immediately precedes the month of Kanyā.²

For Jatavarman Sundara-Pāndya I. the date would be quite incorrect.

56.—In the Dārukāvanēśvara temple at Tiruppalātturai³

- 1 Svasta śrī [||*] K[ō= Ohhad]aipanmar=ā[ṇa] Tribhuvannochohakkarakavattigal
śrī-Śundara-[P]āndiyadēvarkku yāṇdu
- 2 9[āva]du on[ba]dāvaṇu [M]ēsha-[nā]yaru pū[rva]-pakshattu tṛiti(tī)yaiyum
Vellu-kkūlamaiyum perṇa Kāṭṭa(tti)gai-nā.⁴
- 3 [1]

"In the 9th—ninth—year (of the reign) of king Jatavarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Sundara-Pāndyadēva,—on the day of Kṛittikā, which corresponded to a Friday and to the third *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Mēsha."

My examination of this date does not enable me to decide whether it belongs to Jatavarman Sundara-Pāndya I or to Jatavarman Sundara-Pāndya II. According to the previously obtained result,⁵ the 9th year of Jatavarman Sundara-Pāndya I. should have commenced between (approximately) the 20th and 28th April A.D. 1259, but there is no day from April A.D. 1259 to the end of A.D. 1260 for which the date would be correct. The date *would* be correct for Friday, the 28th March A.D. 1259, which was the 3rd day of the month of Mēsha, and on which the 3rd *tithi* of the bright half (of the second Chaitra) ended 16 h. 56 m, while the *nakṣatra* was Kṛittikā, by the Brahma-siddhānta for 6 h. 34 m., according to Garga for 7 h. 53 m., and by the equal space system for 19 h. 42 m., after mean sunrise. By what we have found before, this day would fall in the 8th, not the 9th, year of Jatavarman Sundara-Pāndya I.

If the date were one of Jatavarman Sundara-Pāndya II., it should fall in either A.D. 1284 or A.D. 1285. Here again it would be incorrect for either year. It *would* be correct for

¹ No 252 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1901.

² The Kanyā-samkrānti took place 3 h. 43 m after mean sunrise of Tuesday, the 29th August A.D. 1290, which was the 1st day of the month of Kanyā.

³ No 283 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1903.

⁴ The α of nā- is engraved at the beginning of the next line.

⁵ See above, Vol. VI. p. 314.

Friday, the 29th March A.D. 1286, which was the 4th day of the month of Mēsha, and on which the 3rd *tithi* of the bright half (of the first Vaisakha) ended 19 h 8 m. after mean sunrise while the *nakṣatra* was Kṛttikā exactly as stated above under the other date. But this day would fall in the 10th or 11th, not in the 9th, year of Jatavarman Sundara-Pandya II.

The result is that the date is one of either the 8th year of Jatavarman Sundara-Pandya I, or the 10th (or 11th) year of Jatavarman Sundara-Pandya II.

E.—KONERANMAIKONDAN¹ VIKRAMA-PANDYA.

57 — In the Vriddhapuriśvara temple at Tiruppuṇāvāśal²

- 1 Svasti śr[i] [i]* Śakabdam
- 2 1339ṇ mēl śri-
- 3 Kōṇeramaiko[n]-
- 4 dan-Tribhuvāṇachchakravartī
- 5 sri-Vikrama-Pandyaḍēvar
- 6 [2avadu e]dir 15 Makara-nāyargu
- 7 pūrvva-pakṣhattu pañjamiyū
- 8 Budha-v[a*]ramum peṇṇa Uttara(rā)-
- 9 tt[ādi]-nal

"In the 15th opposite the [2nd year] (of *his reign*) (of) the glorious Kōṇeramaikondān, the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Vikrama-Pāndyadeva, (*which was current*) after the Śaka year 1339,—on the day of Uttara-Bhādrapadā, which corresponded to a Wednesday and to the fifth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Makara."

For Śaka-samvat 1339 expired this date regularly corresponds to Wednesday, the 12th January A.D. 1418, which was the 17th day of the month of Makara, and on which the 5th *tithi* of the bright half (of Māgha) ended 11 h 12 m, while the *nakṣatra* was Uttara-Bhādrapadā for 11 h 10 m, after mean sunrise.

58 — In the Virattaneśvara temple at Kīlūr³

- 1 Svasti śr[i] [i]* Kōṇerimēlkondān Tribhuvāṇachchakravartīgal s[i]-
- Vikk[i]rama-Pandyaḍē[va]rku
- 2 yāndu 8avadu Kaṭkadiga-nāyargu pūrvva-pakṣhattu pañjamiyū Velli-
- kk[i]lamaiyū [p]eṇṇa
- 3 Attattu nal

"In the 8th year (of *the reign*) of Kōṇerimēlkondān, the emperor of the three worlds the glorious Vikrama-Pāndyadeva,—on the day of Hasta, which corresponded to a Friday and to the fifth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Karkātaka."

Judging by the preceding date, this date would be expected to fall in about A.D. 1408, and it actually corresponds to Friday, the 27th July A.D. 1408, which was the 30th day of the month of Karkātaka, and on which the 5th *tithi* of the bright half (of Śrāvana) ended 12 h 16 m, while the *nakṣatra* was Hasta, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 9 h. 51 m, and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 6 h. 34 m, after mean sunrise.

¹ Kōṇeramaikondān or Kōṇerimēlkondān

² No. 612 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1902.

³ No. 287 of the same collection.

59 —In the Śivāṅkurēśvara temple at Tirthanagari.¹

- 1 Svasti śrī [—] Kōṇḍi[1]-
- 2 mēlkond[ā]n Tīribuvanaśchakkaravattiga]
- 3 śrī-Vikkira[ma*]-Pāṇḍiyadēvarkku yāṇḍu nā-
- 4 l[ā]vadu Kumba-nāyayṛu pūrvva-pakshattu tṛiti(tī)yaṇḍum
- 5 N[āya]ṛṛu-kkīlamaiy[n]m perṛa Uttirattu nāl.

“In the fourth year (of the reign) of Kōṇḍērimēlkondān, the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Vikra[ma]-Pāṇḍiyadēva,—on the day of Uttara-Phalguni, which corresponded to a Sunday and to the third *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Kumbha.”

The date is intrinsically wrong because in the month of Kumbha a *tithi* of the first fortnight cannot be joined with the *nakṣatra* Uttara-Phalguni, and the probability is, that either the first fortnight has been erroneously quoted instead of the second, or Uttara-Phalguni instead of Uttara-Bhādrapadā. For the month of Kumbha² of the king's 4th year the choice of an equivalent of the date lies between Monday, the 2nd February, and Sunday, the 15th February, A.D. 1405.

Monday, the 2nd February A.D. 1405, was the 9th day of the month of Kumbha, and on it the 3rd *tithi* of the bright half (of Phālguna) ended 14 h. 27 m., while the *nakṣatra* was Uttara-Bhādrapadā for 17 h. 44 m., after mean sunrise. On the other hand—

Sunday, the 15th February A.D. 1405, was the 22nd day of the month of Kumbha, and on it the 2nd *tithi* of the dark half (of Phālguna) commenced 6 h. 18 m., while the *nakṣatra* was Uttara-Phalguni, by the equal space system and according to Gaṅga for 18 h. 21 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 15 h. 6 m., after mean sunrise.

I am inclined to assume that this second day, Sunday, the 15th February A.D. 1405, is the true equivalent of the date, and that the writer of the original has wrongly quoted the first fortnight instead of the second, and the third *tithi* instead of the second (*duṭṭiyaṇḍum*).

Under any circumstances the two dates Nos. 57 and 58 would prove that Kōṇḍērimēlkondān Vikrama-Pāṇḍya commenced to reign between (approximately) the 13th January and the 27th July A.D. 1401.

F.—MARAVARMAN VIRA-PANDYA.

60 —In the Viśvanātha temple at Tenkāśi.³

- 1 Svasti śrī [11*] Kō Māravarmanmaṇa Tīribuvanaścha(cha)kravattiga] śrī-Vira-Pāṇḍiyadēvarkku yāṇḍu irandāvaḍiñ eḍu pad[1]nonrāvadu Karkataka-nāyayṛu muppadān=diyadiyum pū[rn]aṇḍum Sōma-vāramum perṛa Tīruvō[na]ttu nāl.

“In the eleventh opposite the second year (of the reign) of king Māravarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Vira-Pāṇḍiyadēva,—on the day of Śravaṇa, which corresponded to a Monday and to the full-moon *tithi* and to the thirtieth solar day of the month of Karkataka.”

Between A.D. 1300 and 1500 the only year for which this date would be correct is 1455. In this year the Karkata-samkrānti took place 8 h. 1 m. after mean sunrise of Sunday, the 29th June, which was the first day of the month of Karkataka. The 30th day of the same month

¹ No. 124 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1904.

² For the month of Makara and the 3rd *tithi* of the dark half the date would correspond to Sunday, the 18th January A.D. 1405, with Uttara-Phalguni.

³ No. 130 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1895.

therefore was Monday, the 28th July A D 1455, and on this day the full moon *tithi* (of Śravana) ended 21 h 25 m, while the *nakshatra* was Śravana, by the equal space system and according to Gaiga for 13 h 8 m, and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 14 h 27 m, after mean sunrise

61 — In the Kaliśvara temple at Kālayārkōvil¹

- 1 Svasti śri [[*] Kō [M]ara[pa]nmar-āṇa [Tt]bhuvā[na]śa[kra]vatti[gal] śri-
[Vi][ra*]-Pa[n]diya[ra]rku [y]an[du] lāva[du] Ma[gara]-nā[ya*]rū
[a]para-pakshattu=[ppaṇ]am[ī]yum Nā[ya]ru-kk[ī]ama[ī]yum per[ra] Attattu
- 2 nāl

“In the 14th year (of the reign) of king Māravarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Vi[ra]-Pāndyadēva,—on the day of Hasta, which corresponded to a Sunday and to the fifth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Makara”

If the day given under No 60 is the true equivalent of that date, and if the present date belongs to the same king, this date will be expected to fall in about A D 1456 And the date would actually be correct for Sunday, the 16th January A D 1457, which was the 21st day of the month of Makara, and on which the 5th *tithi* of the dark half (of Māgha) ended 5 h 36 m, while the *nakshatra* was Hasta, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 10 h 30 m, and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 7 h 13 m, after mean sunrise

62 — In the Virattānēśvara temple at Thruvadi

- 2 [K]o M[ā]ra[pa]nmar T[irib]uvana-
- 3 chchakkaravattigal si-V[i]ra-Pā³
- 4 ndiyadevarku yan-
- 5 du padinālavadu Mina-nāyar-
- 6 ru apara-pakshattu prathamai-
- 7 [ya]m Śaṇi-kk[ī]ama[ī]yum⁴ [per]ra Attattu nāl.

“In the fourteenth year (of the reign) of king Māravarman (*alias*) the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Vira-Pāndyadēva,—on the day of Hasta, which corresponded to a Saturday and to the first *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Mina”

Judging by the two preceding dates, this date, if the three dates belong to one and the same king, would be expected to fall in A.D 1456 or 1457, and the date would actually be correct for Saturday, the 12th March A D 1457, which was the 16th day of the month of Mina, and on which the first *tithi* of the dark half (of Phālguna) ended 10 h 21 m, while the *nakshatra* was Hasta, by the equal space system and according to Gaiga for 1 h 19 m, after mean sunrise

The results set forth under Nos 60-62 would appear to prove that the three dates really belong to one and the same king, and that this king, Māravarman Vira-Pāndya, commenced to reign between (approximately) the 13th March and the 28th July A D 1443

I may state here that I have a date,⁵ which does not admit of verification, of the 17th opposite the 2nd, i.e. the 19th year, and of Śaka samvat 1361, of a king Māravarman, *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, Tirunelveli-Paṇmai, the glorious Vira-Pāndyadēva This king would have commenced to reign about A D 1421, and cannot be identical with the Māravarman Vira-Pāndya of Nos 60-62

¹ No 578 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1902

² No 57 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1903

³ The secondary a is repeated at the beginning of the next line

⁴ The word Śaṇi-kk[ī]ama[ī]yum is entered above the line

⁵ No 178 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1895 Compare also Mr Venlayya's Report for 1904-05, p 50

No 29 — DATES OF CHOLA KINGS

BY THE LATE PROFESSOR F KIELHORN, O.L.E., GÖTTINGEN

(Continued from Vol VIII, page 274)

From the materials supplied to me by Rāi Bahadur V Venkayya I publish here, with the results of my calculations, twenty-two more dates of Chōla kings (Nos 137-158), and two dates (Nos 159 and 160) of the king Peruñjinaḍēva, "who claims to be a Pallava and who subverted the Chōla sovereignty about A D 1231-32"¹ Five of these dates (Nos. 145-149) belong to the king Rājādhirāja [II] Rājakēsarivarman, of whom no dates have yet been published, and whose reign these dates with great probability show to have commenced between (approximately) the 28th February and the 30th March A D 1163 The other dates in general merely confirm the correctness of the results previously found for the commencement of the reigns of the kings to whom they belong, but No 142 reduces the period, during which Rājārāja II must have commenced to reign, to the time from (approximately) the 6th April to the 11th July A D 1148²

I am still keeping back a number of dates of Kulōttunga-Chōla II Rājakēsarivarman in the hope that more dates of this king may be discovered before long

At the end of this article I give a list of all published dates of Chōla kings that have been examined by me, with approximate statements of the time when each king commenced to reign

A.—RAJARAJA I.

137.—In the Śivayōganāthasvāmīn temple at Tiruvīsālūr³

- 1 Svasti śri [|| —] Kō-Rājārājakēsarivarmmakku yāndu 5 āvadu ivv-ātt[ai]
[Dha]nu-[n]āyaru Nāyaru-kk[ai]amaayum Mūlamum pakka-
2 m⁴ prathipadamum kōḍina vara yōgatt[ai]ṇ pōdu

"In the 5th year (of the reign) of king Rājārājakēsarivarman,—on the day of the auspicious yōga which was combined with the first tithi of a fortnight,⁵ (the nakshatra) Mūla and a Sunday in the month of Dhanu of this year"

I have previously found⁶ that Rājārāja I. commenced to reign between (approximately) the 25th June and the 25th July A D 985. This date of the 5th year of his reign corresponds to Sunday, the 1st December A.D. 989, which was the 8th day of the month of Dhanu, and on which the first tithi (of the bright half of Pausa) commenced 5 h 6 m, while the nakshatra was Mūla, by the equal space system for 16 h. 25 m, and according to Garga for 3 h 56 m, after mean sunrise.

For dates with the auspicious yōga—also called amṛta-yōga⁷—of a Sunday with the nakshatra Mūla, see above, Vol VI p 21, No 83, and note Compare also Hēmachandra's Śabdānuśāsana-vṛtti, end of Adhyāya II Pāda 2. Mūlārkaḥ⁸ śrūyatē tāstṛ sarvakalyāṇa-kāraṇam | ādhunā Mūlārjās=tv chitraṁ lōkēṣu gīyatē ||

¹ See Mr. Venkayya's *Annual Report* for 1906-07, p 89.

² Compare above, Vol VIII p 264

³ No 19 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1907.

⁴ Read *prathipada*^o

⁵ It is not stated whether it was the bright or the dark fortnight.

⁶ See above, Vol VII p 6

⁷ See *Ep Cars* Vol IV p 114, No 10.

⁸ I.e. Mūla-nakshatrēna yuktē 'rkaḥ śrūyatē.

138 and 139 — In the Amṛitaghatśvara temple at Tirukkadayūr¹

- 1 Svasti śrī [||*] [Tiru-ma]ga]
 2 śi-kōv=Irājarājakēsaripanmaṛku yānd[u]
 16 vada āgum yāndu Pi-
 3 [ra]ttādi=ttu[nga]l pīr=pakkattu=[p]pakkam [8 ettu]=kkī[la]mai² Tingal nāl
 Pu[na]rpūsam
 9 i[v*]v-[āndēy] Tulā-nāyaṛu pū[r]vva-bha[k]hat[tu]
 dvā[da]śayum Nāya[r]u-kīla[m]ai[yum] perṛa Iraivadi . . .³

"In the year which was the 16th year (of the reign) of the glorious king Rājarājakēsarivarmaṇ,— on the day of Punarvasu, the week-day (being) Monday, (and) the day of the fortnight being [8— eight—] of the second half of the month Purattādi on [the day of] Rēvati which corresponded to a Sunday and to the twelfth tithi of the first fortnight of the month of Tulā in this year "

The first of these two dates regularly corresponds to Monday, the 23rd September A D. 1000, which was the 29th day of the month Purattādi (i.e. the month of Kanyā), and on which the 8th tithi of the dark half (of Āśvina) commenced 0 h 55 m., while the nakṣatra was Punarvasu, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 22 h 20 m, and by the Bṛahma-siddhānta for 21 h 40 m, after mean sunrise

The second date apparently corresponds to Sunday, the 13th October A D. 1000. This was the 18th day of the month of Tulā, and on it the 12th tithi of the bright half (of Kārttika)⁴ ended 1 h 17 m after mean sunrise, but as the nakṣatra was Rēvati only from 11 h 10 m after mean sunrise, I should have expected the day to be described as the day of (the preceding nakṣatra) Uttara Bhādrapadā

140.— In the Śiva temple at Pērangiyūr⁵

- 1 Svasti śrī [||*] śrī-Rāja-Rājarājadēvarku yāndu
 2[4]āvadu i-yāndu⁶ Mṛnūchika-nāyaṛu pū[r]vva
 pakṣhattu=P[pudan]-kīlamaryum pañjamyum perṛa Ti[ru]vō[na]ttan nā[1]

"In the 2[4]th year (of the reign) of the glorious Rāja-Rājarājadēva,— on the day of Śravana, which corresponded to the fifth tithi and to a [Wednesday] of the first fortnight of the month of Vṛiśchika in this year."

For the given week-day (Wednesday) and the nakṣatra Śravana the date would be wrong for all the ten years from the 20th to the 29th year of Rājarāja's reign. Irrespectively of the week-day, the date for the 24th year would correspond to Saturday, the 6th November A D. 1008, which was the 12th day of the month of Vṛiśchika, and on which the 5th tithi of the bright half (of Mārgaśīrṣa) ended 3 h 33 m. after mean sunrise, while the nakṣatra by all systems was Śravana the whole day. I have little doubt that this Saturday is the proper equivalent of the date and that the week-day, if not misread, has been wrongly given in the original

¹ No. 27 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1906

² The letter *la* is engraved below the line

³ Read *Rēvati-nāl*

⁴ I.e. the *utthāna-dvādāśī tithi* (the tithi of the awakening of Viṣṇu)

⁵ No. 208 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1906

⁶ Read *Vṛiśchika*.

B.—VIKRAMA-CHOLA.

141.—In the Amritaghatéśvara temple at Tirukkadaiyūr ¹

1 Svasti śrī [||*] Pū-mālai m[i]damdu . . .
16 kō-Pparakēśaripatmar-ā[na] Tribhuvana-
chchakravatti-
17 gal śrī-Vikrama-Śōladēvarku yāndu 6 ā[r]ā[vadu V[r]i[ś]chi
. . . ²[y]aiyum [Bu]dan-k[ī]lamaiyum peṇṇa Mrigaśīrshatti-nāl

“In the 6th—sixth—year (of the reign) of king Parakēśarivarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Vikrama Chōladēva,—on the day of Mrigaśīrsha, which corresponded to a Wednesday and to the [second?] *tithi* of the . . .
[of the month of] Vriśchi[ka]”

The reign of Vikrama-Chōla has been found ³ to commence on the 29th June A.D. 1118, and this date of the 6th year of his reign undoubtedly corresponds to Wednesday, the 7th November A.D. 1123. This was the 11th day of the month of Vriśchika, and on it the second *tithi* (of the dark half of Kārttika) ended 4 h 45 m, while the *nakshatra* was Mrigaśīrsha, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 7 h 13 m, and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 5 h 55 m, after mean sunrise.

C.—RAJARAJA II.

142 — In the Grāmārdhanāthéśvara temple at Elvānāśūr ⁴

1 Svasti śrī [||*] Pū mauiya Tnu-mādam . . .
13 kō-Pparakēsar[pa]tmar-āna Tribhuvanachchakravat-
14 tugal śrī-Rājarājadēvarku yāndu ⁵ [1]5[vadu] ⁶ Mē-
15 sha-nāyargu pūrvva-pakshattu ashtam[ya]m Budan-ki-
16 lamaiyum peṇṇa Pūśatti-nāl

“In the [1]5th year (of the reign) of king Parakēśarivarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājarājadēva,—on the day of Pushya, which corresponded to a Wednesday and to the eighth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Mēsha”

With the result previously obtained ⁷ for the commencement of the reign of Rājarāja [II.] Parakēśarivarman, this date regularly corresponds to Wednesday, the 5th April A.D. 1161, which was the 13th day of the month of Mēsha and on which the 8th *tithi* of the bright half (of Vaiśākha) ended 12 h 54 m, while the *nakshatra* was Pushya, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 11 h 10 m, and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 9 h 12 m after mean sunrise.

143 — In the Grāmārdhanāthéśvara temple at Elvānāśūr ⁸

4 . . . kō-Pparakēsaripatmar-āna
[Tri]bu-
5 vanachchakravattugal śrī-Rājarājadēvarku yāndu 1[7]vadu Dha[nu-nāya]ru
[a]para-pa-
6 ksha[t*]tu navamium Nāyargu-ki[ā]maiyeum peṇṇa A . . .

¹ No 30 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1906.

² Perhaps *devityaiyum* is meant

³ See above, Vol VII p 8

⁴ No 140 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1906

⁵ The letter n is engraved below the line

⁶ The letters vadu are written in a group

⁷ See above, Vol VIII pp 2 and 264

⁸ No 129 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1906

"In the 1[7]th year (of the reign) of king Parakésarivarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Râjarâjadéva,— on the day of A . . . ,¹ which corresponded to a Sunday and to the ninth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Dhanu²

The date corresponds to Sunday, the 2nd December A.D. 1162, which was the 7th day of the month of Dhanu, and on which the 9th *tithi* of the dark half (of Mârgaśīrsha) ended 16 h 56 m, while the *nakshatra* was Hasta, by the equal space system and according to Garga 13 h 47 m, and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 10 h 30 m, after mean sunrise

The result shows that the *nakshatra*, of the name of which only the initial vowel *a* remains in line 6 of the original, was Attam (Hasta)—The date is the latest one hitherto examined of the reign of Râjarâja II

144 — In the Grāmārdhanāthēśvara temple at Elvānāśūr³

1 Svasti śrī [||*] Pū maruviya Tiru-mādum . . .

8 P[p]ara[k]ésaripātmar-āna . . . Tribhuvana[ch]chakrava[1]tgal . . . śrī-Râjarâjadēva[k]t
yādu 15[vadu]⁴ M[ī]na-

9 nāyarru p[ā]rva-pakshattu . . . pañ[am]y[u]m . . . Tingal-kiḷamaiyum . . . peṇṇ
M[ā]rgaśī[r]shattu-nā

"In the 15th year (of the reign) of king Parakésarivarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Râjarâjadéva,— on the day of Mrgaśīrsha, which corresponded to a Monday and to the fifth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Mīna."

In accordance with the previously obtained results, this date should fall in A.D. 1161, some time before the 24th March (the first day of the month of Mēsha), but with the actual reading of the original it would be incorrect. In my opinion, the fifth *tithi* (pañ[am]y[u]m) has here been quoted erroneously instead of the seventh (*saptamiyūm*), and the date corresponds to Monday, the 6th March A.D. 1161, which was the 12th day of the month of Mīna, and on which the 7th *tithi* of the bright half (of Chaitra) ended 3 h 41 m., while the *nakshatra* was Mrgaśīrsha, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 4 h 36 m, and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 3 h 17 m, after mean sunrise

Of the three dates, the date No. 142 would show that the reign of Râjarâja II. could not have commenced before (approximately) the 6th April A.D. 1146⁴

D.—RAJADHIRAJA II.

145 — In the Tyāgarājasvāmin temple at Tiruvārūr⁵

1 Svasti śrī [i] Kadal śūlnda pār-mag[a]lu[m] . . .

2 . . . kō Râjakésaripa[nma]r-āna Tribhuvanachcha[k*]karavattigal . . .
Râjadha(dh)irâjadēvaṅku yādu 2[āvadu]⁶ Mēsha-nāyarru pārva-pakshattu
shashthiyun-Diṅgat-kiḷamaiyum peṇṇ Punarpūśattu-nā

"In the 2nd year (of the reign) of king Râjakésarivarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Râjadhīrâjadéva,— on the day of Punarvasu, which corresponded to a Monday and to the sixth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Mēsha"

¹ The name of the *nakshatra*, which is lost in the original, may be Āsvatī (Āśvini), Attam (Hasta), Anṭam (Dhanuṣṭhā) or Anuḷam (Anurādhā)

² No. 137 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1906

³ The letters *vaḍu* are written in a group

⁴ Compare the date No. 106, above, Vol. VIII. p. 284

⁵ No. 538 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1904

⁶ The word *vaḍu* seems to be denoted by a flourish added to the figure 2

The five dates Nos 145-149 are of the reign of a king Rājādhirāja Rājakesarivarman, and are taken from inscriptions every one of which begins with the words *kadal sūṇḍa*. The first four dates work out regularly on the assumption that this king commenced to reign between (approximately) the 28th February and the 30th March A D 1163. With such a commencement of his reign —

This date, No 145, corresponds to Monday, the 30th March A D 1164, which was the 7th day of the month of Mēsha, and on which the 6th *tithi* of the bright half (of the first Vaisākha) ended 19 h 3 m, while the *nakshatra* was Punarvasu, by the Brahma-siddhānta from 7 h 13 m, according to Garga from 9 h 51 m, and by the equal space system from 21 h. 40 m, after mean sunrise — This equivalent of the original date might perhaps be objected to on the ground that the *nakshatra* was Punarvasu only from 7 h 13 m (or later) after mean sunrise, and in the case of the date No 106, above Vol VIII p 263, where also the *nakshatra* was found to be Punarvasu from 8 h 32 m (or later) after mean sunrise, I have myself stated that that *nakshatra* in the original date might have been quoted erroneously instead of the immediately preceding *nakshatra* Ādrā. But the two dates together now seem to me to show that in either case there was some special reason for quoting the *nakshatra* Punarvasu, instead of the *nakshatra* Ādrā in which the moon was at the commencement of the day¹

146 — In the Kapardīśvara temple at Tiruvallaṅḡḷi.²

- 1 Svast [śrī] [||*] Kadal sūṇḍa pār-mādarum
- 5 [kō] Rājakesari[vanma]r= ā[na] Tribhuvnachechakrava[tt]-
- 6 gal śrī-R[ā]jādhnājadēvaṅku [y]āndu [Sa]vadu Sim[ha]n[ā]y[ru] [a]para-
- pakshattu [dv]ada[śi]y[um] [Tī]-
- 7 [ṅa]t-kīlaman[ya]m perra [Puca]r[pū]śat[ta] nā[1]

“In the [8]th year (of the reign) of king Rājakesarivarman alias the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājādhirājadēva, — on the day of Punarvasu, which corresponded to a Monday and to the twelfth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Simha ”

The date corresponds to Monday, the 10th August A D 1170, which was the 14th day of the month of Simha, and on which the 12th *tithi* of the dark half (of Śrāvana) commenced 2 h. 3 m, while the *nakshatra* was Punarvasu,³ by the equal space system and according to Garga for 17 h 44 m, and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 17 h 4 m, after mean sunrise

147. — In the Tyāgarājasvāmīn temple at Tiruvārūr.⁴

- 1 [Sva*][śrī] śrīh ||— Kadal sūṇḍa pār=ś[ī]n=dīśai
- 7 kōv=Irājakesariparmar=āna Tribhuvanachechakravattagal śrī-Rājādhirājadēvaṅku
- yāndu 10[āvadu]⁵ Mīna-nā[ya]ṅḡn pūrvva-pakshattu trayōdaśiyuñ=Jevvāy-kīlaman-
- yum perra Magattu nāl

“In the 10th year (of the reign) of king Rājakesarivarman alias the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājādhirājadēva, — on the day of Maghā, which corresponded to a Tuesday and to the thirteenth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Mīna ”

¹ For other dates with *nakshatras* which also, if I may say so, commenced some time after sunrise, compare Nos 23, 47, 66, 105, and 121 of this series

² No 627 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1902

³ A 12th *tithi* joined with the 11th, for Punarvasu is called *jyanti*, it is a *mahā-doddasi*. This may be the reason why the 12th *tithi* has been added in the original date (as a current *tithi*)

⁴ No 540 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1904

⁵ The word *doddasi* seems to be added by a flourish added to the symbol for ten

The date corresponds to Tuesday, the 27th February A D 1173, which was the 5th day of the month of Mīna, and on which the 13th *tithi* of the bright half (of Phālguna) ended 10 h 50 m, while the *nakshatra* was Maghā, by the equal space system for 14 h 27 m and according to Garga for 2 h 33 m, after mean sunrise

148 — In the Darbhāranyēśvara temple at Tirunallār¹

- 1 Svasti śī[h] [||*] Kadal sūl[nd]a [pā]r-mā[da]rum
[k]ōv=Irā[śa] [k]śai[ī]parmar=a[na] Turbuva[na] [ch]chakkarava[t*]tigal śī [ī]
[a*] [d] [ī] [a] [a*] dēva[ku] ya[u]-
- 2 du padin-oniyadu Sinna na[ya]rru pū[r]va pasha(ksha)ttu pañjamayam
Budan kilamai[y]um p[ē]ra Śod[ī]-nāl

"In the eleventh year (of the reign) of king Rājakēsarivarman alias the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājādhirājadēva,—on the day of Svāti, which corresponded to a Wednesday and to the fifth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Simha,"

The date corresponds to Wednesday, the 15th August A D 1173, which was the 19th day of the month of Simha, and on which the 5th *tithi* of the bright half (of Bhādrapada) ended 13 h 53 m, while the *nakshatra* was Svāti, by the equal space system for 17 h 44 m, according to Garga for 5 h 16 m, and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 1 h 19 m, after mean sunrise

149 — In the Vṛṣabhapuriśvara temple at Mēl-Śēvūr²

- 1 Svasti śī [||*] Kadal sūlnda pār-m[ā]darum . . .
- 2 . . . kō Irāśakā[śa]ripatmur āra
Tribhuvanachchakkaravattigal śī-Rājā[dhirā*]jadēva[ku] yandu 13āva
Ka[kad]aza nāyarpu=ppadinmu(mū)nrān=dī(di)yadiy=[ā]-
- 3 na Budan-kilamaiyum=apara pakshattu ēkāda[ś]iyum perra R[ō]śam-sa

"In the 13th year (of the reign) of king Rājakēsarivarman alias the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājā[dhirā]jadēva,—on the day of Rōhini, which corresponded to the eleventh *tithi* of the second fortnight and to a Wednesday, the thirteenth solar day of the month of Karkātaka "

In the three hundred years from A D 1000 to A D 1300 there are only two days which would satisfy the requirements of this date, viz Wednesday, the 8th July A D 1097, and Wednesday, the 8th July A D 1181

In A D 1097 the Karkātaka-samkrānti took place 17 h 26 m, after mean sunrise of Thursday, the 25th June, the first day of the month of Karkātaka therefore was Friday, the 26th June, and the 13th day of the same month was Wednesday, the 8th July. On this day the 11th *tithi* of the dark half (of Āshādhā) ended 5 h 36 m, and the *nakshatra* was Rōhini, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 4 h 36 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 3 h, 56 m after mean sunrise

In A D 1181 the Karkātaka-samkrānti took place 10 h 56 m after mean sunrise of Friday, the 26th June which was the first day of the month of Karkātaka; and the 13th day of the same month therefore was Wednesday, the 8th July. On this day the 11th *tithi* of the dark half (of Āshādhā) commenced 4 h, 24 m after mean sunrise, and the *nakshatra* was Rōhini, by the Brahma-siddhānta and according to Garga the whole day, and by the equal space system from 1 h 58 m after mean sunrise

¹ No 394 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1902

² No 222 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1904

It is clear that if as was assumed above, the reign of Rājādhirāja Rājakesarivarman commenced between the 28th February and the 30th March A D 1163, neither of the two Wednesdays given above could have fallen in the 13th year of his reign. On the other hand I may state that if either of the two days really fell in his 13th year, the other dates would be incorrect. In these circumstances, and assuming that, with the exception of the regnal year, the details of the original date have been given correctly, I can only suggest that the year 13 (which is given in figures¹ only) has been quoted erroneously instead of the 19th year, and that the proper equivalent of the date therefore is really Wednesday, the 8th July A D 1181. It might of course be objected that this day would fall in the reign of Kulottunga III Parakēsarivarman, which commenced between the 6th and the 8th July A D 1178. But I have already shown that we have a similar overlapping of two reigns also in other cases. A date (No 94) of the 30th year of Kulōttunga III corresponds to the 25th January A D 1217, while the reign of his successor Rājārāja III commenced in June-July A D 1216, and of this king again we have two dates (Nos 96 and 97) of the 7th February and the 22nd April A D 1243, whereas the reign of his successor Rājendra-Chōla III commenced in March-April A D 1246.

From the materials available I therefore infer that Rājādhirāja Rājakesarivarman, i.e. Rājādhirāja II, commenced to reign between (approximately) the 28th February and the 30th March A D 1163.

E—KULOTTUNGA-CHOLA III

150—In the Grāmārdhanāthēśvara temple at Elvānāśūr²

1 Tibuvanachchakkaravattigal śrī-Vīra[ā]jēndira-Śōladēvar[ku] yāndu 6vadu
Maganai niyarra pūrvva-pakku[h]ittu³ dvit[i]yayum Tingat-kulamai[y]um pe[ra]
A]vittatti=nal

“In the 6th year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Virarājendra-Chōladēva,—on the day of Sravishthā, which corresponded to a Monday and to the second *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Makara.”

The date corresponds to Monday, the 16th January A D 1184, which was the 22nd day of the month of Makara, and on which the 2nd *tithi* of the bright half (of Māgha) commenced 5 h 36 m, while the *nakṣatra* was Śravishthā, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 10 h 30 m, and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 11 h 10 m, after mean sunrise.

151—In the Amritaghatēśvara temple at Tirukkadayūr⁴

1 Svasti śrī [[*] Puyal vāyppa
5 kō=[Ppa]rakēsaripaṇmar=āna
Tibuvanachchakkaravattigal Madu[r]ayum Pāndi[ya]nayum mudittalai-
kond-aruliyā śrī-Kulōttunga-Śōladēvar[ku] yāndu 16 vadu Mēsha-nāyarra pūrvva-
pakshattu [a]ttamiyu[m]
6 Viyāla-kkīlamayum peṇṇa Pūśatti=nāl

“In the 16th year (of the reign) of king Parakēsarivarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulōttunga-Chōladēva, who was pleased to take Madurai and the

¹ Mr Venkayya has informed me, about three years ago, that the figures undoubtedly are ‘13’. I would suggest that ‘the thirteenth’ solar day, which is mentioned closely to the regnal year, may have misled the writer to put down ‘13’ also for the latter.

² No 158 of the Government Epigraphist’s collection for 1906

⁴ No 43 of the Government Epigraphist’s collection for 1906

³ Read -pakshattu

⁵ Read Tribhu

crowned head of the Pāndya,—on the day of Pushya which corresponded to a Thursday and to the eighth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Mēsha.”¹

The date corresponds to Thursday, the 31st March A.D. 1194, which was the 7th day of the month of Mēsha, and on which the 8th *tithi* of the bright half (of the second Chaitra) ended 10 h 50 m, while the *nakṣatra* was Pushya, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 18 h 24 m, and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 16 h 25 m, after mean sunrise.

152 — In the Śivayōganāthasvāmīn temple at Tiruvīśālūr.²

1 Svasti śrī ||— [Pu]yal vāppa kō=P[pa]ra-
16
17 k[āśa]r[pa]rmar=[ā]na T[ri]buva[na]chcha[kka]ravattigal Ma[du]ra[nyu]m [P]ān[di]-
18 yan mudi-ttala[nyu]n-gond-aruh[na] śrī-Kulōttunga-Śō[la]-
19 dēvarkku yāndu padine[t]tāva[du] Kum[bha]-nāya[r]ru pūr[va]-paksha[tta]
20 tri[tri]tiyaiyum Śani-kkila[ma]iyum p[er]ra [Pū]rattu nā[li]

“In the eighteenth year (of the reign) of king Parakēśavarman alias the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulōttunga-Chōladēva, who was pleased to take Madurai and the crowned head of the Pāndya,—on the day of Pūrva-Phalgunī, which corresponded to a Saturday and to the third *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Kumbha.”

The wording of this date is intrinsically wrong because on the third *tithi* of the bright half in the month of Kumbha the *nakṣatra* could not possibly be Pūrva-Phalgunī, and the probability would seem to be that either has the first fortnight been erroneously quoted instead of the second or Pūrva-Phalgunī (*Pūrattu*) instead of Pūrva-Bhādrapadā (*Pūrattīdi*).³ In my opinion, the date corresponds to Saturday, the 3rd February A.D. 1196, which was the 10th day of the month of Kumbha, and on which the 3rd *tithi* of the bright half (of Phālguna) commenced 5 h 40 m, while the *nakṣatra* was Pūrva-Bhādrapadā, by the equal space system for 4 h 36 m, after mean sunrise.

153 — In the Vatāraṇyēśvara temple at Tiruvālangādū.⁴

1 [Sva]sti [śrī] [||*] Tribhuvanachchakkaravattigal Maduraiyu[m] Ī[la]mam
P[ān]d[ya]n mudittala[nyu]n-go-
2 [v]ā-aruh[na] [śrī]-Kulōttunga-Śō[la]d[ē]va[r]kkū yā[du] 2]3 vadu
4 Kannu-nāya[r]ru=ppadina[nyu]n-d[ya]di[y]-ā[pa]
Śevvāy-kka(kk[ka])la[ma]ya(ya)[m] pū[ru]va-[pa]ksha[t]-
5 tu [tri]tiyaiyum per[ra] Śittu[n]-nā[li]

“In the [2]3rd year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulōttunga-Chōladēva, who was pleased to take Madurai, Īlam and the crowned head of the Pāndya,—on the day of Chitrā, which corresponded to the third *tithi* of the first fortnight and to a Tuesday which was the sixteenth solar day of the month of Kanyā.”

The date corresponds to Tuesday, the 12th September A.D. 1200. The preceding Kanyā samkīrnti took place 20 h 58 m after mean sunrise of Sunday, the 27th August, the first day of the month of Kanyā therefore was Monday, the 28th August, and the 16th day of

¹ Another inscription of the [1]8th year of the same king with apparently the same astronomical details is found in the same temple (No. 42 of 1906). But the portion, where the fortnight, the *nakṣatra* and the *tithi* may be expected, is damaged. What is actually found is [pā] miyu
Vigāla-kkalamaiyum per[ra] Pā[tattu] nā[li]

² No. 14 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1907.

³ Compare the date No. 50, above, Vol. VI p. 283.

⁴ No. 456 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1905.

the same month was Tuesday, the 12th September A D 1200 On this day the 3rd *tithi* of the bright half (of *Āśvina*) commenced 7 h 12 m., and the *nakshatra* was *Chitrā*, by the equal space system and according to Gaiga for 2 h 38 m., after mean sunrise —There seems no reason why the second *tithi* (*dvitīyanyum*) should not have been quoted in the original date instead of the third (*tritīyanyum*)

F —RAJARAJA III.

154 —In the Jambukēśvara temple near Trichinopoly ¹

1 Svas[ti] śr[ī] [||*] [Tri]bhuvanachchakravattigal śrī-²Rājarājadēvarkku yāndu
24[āvaḍu³] Mū[ḍ]a-nāyarṇu pūrva-pakshattu ēkādaśayum
Śam-kkīlamay[u]m peṇṇa [Ś]ōḍi-nāl

“In the 24th year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājarājadēva,—on the day of Svāti, which corresponded to a Saturday and to the eleventh *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Mithuna ”

The reign of Rājarāja III has been found to commence⁴ between (approximately) the 27th June and the 10th July A D 1216 This date of the 24th year corresponds to Saturday, the 2nd June A D 1240, which was the 9th day of the month of Mithuna, and on which the 11th *tithi* of the bright half (of Jyāishtha) ended 3 h 37 m., while the *nakshatra* was Svāti, by the equal space system for 5 h 55 m., after mean sunrise

155 —In the Jambukēśvara temple near Trichinopoly ⁵

1 Svas[ti] śiṭh [||*] Tribhu[va]nachchakravarttagal śrī-⁶Rājarājadēvarkku yāndu
2[9⁷ āvaḍu⁸] Tulā nāyarṇu=ppūrva-[pa]kshattu prathamayum [Ś]ēvvāy-
kkīlamayum peṇ-
2 ṛa Śōḍi-nāl

“In the 2[9]th⁷ year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājarājadēva,—on the day of Svāti, which corresponded to a Tuesday and to the first *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Tulā ”

The date, for the 29th year, regularly corresponds to Tuesday, the 4th October A D 1244, which was the 7th day of the month of Tulā, and on which the first *tithi* of the bright half (of Kārttika) ended 12 h 58 m., while the *nakshatra* was Svāti, by the equal space system for 15 h 46 m., and according to Garga for 3 h 17 m., after mean sunrise —For the 26th year of the reign of Rājarāja III the date would be incorrect

156 —In the Jambukēśvara temple near Trichinopoly ⁹

1 Svast[ī] śrī [||*] Tribhu[va]nachcha[kra]vattigal śrī-¹⁰Rājarājadēvarkku yāndu
2[9¹⁰ āvaḍu¹⁰] Tulā-nāyarṇu pūrva-pakshattu prathamayum Śēvvāy-
kka(kkī)[la]mayum peṇṇa Ś[ōḍ]i-nāl

“In the 2[9]th¹⁰ year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājarājadēva,—on the day of Svāti, which corresponded to a Tuesday and to the first *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Tulā ”

¹ No 508 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1905

² This name consists of two abbreviations for the word *rāja* placed side by side.

³ This word seems to be denoted by a flourish added to the second figure of the regnal year

⁴ See above, Vol VIII p 260

⁵ No 501 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1905

⁶ This name consists of two abbreviations for the word *rāja* placed side by side

⁷ The second figure of the date might also be 6

⁸ This word seems to be denoted by a flourish added to the second figure of the regnal year.

⁹ No 502 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1905.

¹⁰ See the notes on the preceding date

The date is identical with the preceding date, and corresponds therefore to Tuesday, the 4th October A.D. 1244.

157 — In the Jambukēśvara temple near Trichinopoly ¹

1 Svast[ī] śr[ī] [||*] Tr[ī]bhuvanachchakravatt[ī]gal śr[ī]-²Rājarājadēvarku
[y]āndu 2[9]āvadu³ Kumbha-nāyarru ppū[r]vva-pakshattu navamiyum
Tingatt-k[ī]la[m]aiyum peṇṇa Urōsan[ī]-nāl.

“In the 2[9]th year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājarājadēva,—on the day of Rōhini, which corresponded to a Monday and to the ninth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Kumbha ”

The date corresponds to Monday, the 6th February A D 1245, which was the 14th day of the month of Kumbha, and on which the 9th *tithi* of the bright half (of Phālguna) commenced 1 h 12 m, while the *nakshatra* was Rōhini, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 7 h. 53 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 7 h 13 m, after mean sunrise.

158 — In the Jambukēśvara temple near Trichinopoly ⁴

1 Svast[ī] śr[ī] [||*] Tr[ī]bhuvanachchakravatt[ī]gal śr[ī]-²Rājarājadē[va]i ku
[y]āndu 2[9]āvadu³ Kumbha nāyarru=ppū[r]vva-pakshattu navam[ī]yum Tingat-
k[ī]la[m]aiyum peṇṇa Urōsan[ī]-nāl

“In the 2[9]th year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājarājadēva,—on the day of Rōhini, which corresponded to a Monday and to the ninth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Kumbha ”

The date is identical with the preceding date, and corresponds therefore to Monday, the 6th February A D 1245

G — PERUNJINGADEVA.

159 — In the Jambunātha temple at Jambai ⁵

1 Svast[ī] śr[ī] [||*] Śa[galabu]vanachchakkaravatt[ī]gal śrī-kō=Pperu[n]j[ī]ngadēva[ī] ku
yāndu 16vadu Dannu-nāyarru pū[r]vva-pakshattu trayōdaś[ī]yum Tingat-
k[ī]lamaiyu[m*] peṇṇa Urōsan[ī]-nāl

“In the 16th year (of the reign) of the emperor of all worlds, the glorious king Perunj[ī]ngadēva,—on the day of Rōhini, which corresponded to a Monday and to the thirteenth *tithi* of the first [fortnight] of the month of Dhanu ”

Above, Vol VII p 165, I have found that the reign of Perunj[ī]ngadēva commenced between (approximately) the 11th February and the 30th July A D 1243 This date, of his 16th year, corresponds to Monday, the 9th December A D 1258, which was the 14th day of the month of Dhanu, and on which the 13th *tithi* of the bright half (of Pausa) commenced 7 h 48 m., while the *nakshatra* was Rōhini, by the Brahma-siddhānta the whole day, according to Garga from 1 h 19 m, and by the equal space system from 13 h 8 m, after mean sunrise —Instead of the 13th, I should have expected the 12th *tithi* to have been quoted, especially as, joined with Rōhini, this *tithi* is a *mahā-dvādaśī* (*pāpa-nāśinī*)

¹ No 500 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1906

² This name consists of two abbreviations for the word *rāja* placed side by side

³ This word seems to be denoted by a flourish added to the second figure of the regnal year

⁴ No 62 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1908

⁵ No 98 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1908

⁶ The syllables *san[t]* are repeated by mistake in the original

160 — In the Grāmārdhanāthēśvara temple at Elvānāśūr.¹

- 1 Svasti śrī [I*] Śāgalabuvansachchakkaravattigal
śrī-kō=²Pparuñ-
- 2 ũngadēvarkku yāndu muppadāvadu Tulā-nāyarū apara-pakshattu
- 3 tri(tri)tāyayum Tūga[1]-kīlamayum perra Kāttigai naī

“In the thirtieth year (of the reign) of the emperor of all worlds, the glorious king **Peruñṅadēva**,— on the day of **Kṛittikā**, which corresponded to a **Monday** and to the third *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of **Tulā**”

The date corresponds to **Monday**, the 10th **October A D 1272**, which was the 13th day of the month of **Tulā**, and on which the 3rd *tithi* of the dark half (of **Āsvina**) commenced 6 h 40 m, while the *nakṣatra* was **Kṛittikā**, by the equal space system for 13 h 47 m, by the **Brahma-siddhānta** for 0 h 39 m, and according to **Garga** for 1 h 58 m, after mean sunrise

A LIST OF THE DATES OF CHOLA KINGS HITHERTO EXAMINED.

A —Parāntaka I Parakēsarivarman

(Between the 15th January and the 25th July A D 907.)

- No 101 (Vol VIII p 261) —Year 36, Kalyuga 4044 (current) Saturday, the 14th January A D 943
No 55 (Vol VII p 1) —Year 40 Saturday, the 25th July A D 946

B —Rājarāja I Rājakēsarivarman

(Between the 25th June and the 25th July A D 985)

- No. 137 (Vol IX p 207) —Year 5 Sunday, the 1st December A D 989.
No 1 (Vol IV p 66) —Year 7 the 26th September A D 991
No 61 (Vol VII p 169) —Year 11 Sunday, the 14th June A D 996
No 25 (Vol V p 48) —Year 15 Tuesday, the 29th August A D 999
No 27 (Vol V p 197) —Year 15 Wednesday, the 15th May A D 1000³
No 138 (Vol IX p 208) —Year 16 Monday, the 23rd September A D 1000.
No 139 (Vol IX p 208) —Year 16 Sunday, the 13th October A D 1000
No. 2 (Vol IV p 67) —Śaka 929 (current) The date is incorrect
No 140 (Vol IX p 208) —Year 24, Saturday, the 6th November A D 1008⁴
No. 3 (Vol IV p 68) —Year 28, Śaka 934 The date would correspond to the 23rd December A D 1012, but contains no details for exact verification.

C —Rājēndra-Chōla I Parakēsarivarman.

(Between the 27th March and the 7th July A.D 1012)

- No 102 (Vol VIII p 261) —Year 5 Tuesday, the 26th March A D 1017
No 32 (Vol VI p 20) —Year 9, Śaka 943 (current) Thursday, the 7th July A D 1020
No 4 (Vol IV p 68) —Śaka 943 (current) Wednesday, the 1st March A D 1021.
No. 5 (Vol IV p 69) —Year 31 (for 21), Śaka 954 Monday, the 23rd October A D 1032

¹ No 159 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1906

² Read =Pperuñṅaga °

³ In the original the week day is wrongly given as Thursday

⁴ The week-day is wrongly given as Wednesday

- No 33 (Vol VI p. 21) —Year 22, Śaka 955 Sunday, the 25th November A.D. 1033
 No 34 (Vol. VI. p 22).—Year 26, Śaka 959 The date is incorrect
 No 62 (Vol. VII. p 169) —Year 31 Friday, the 23rd July A D. 1042¹

D —Rājādhirāja I. Rājakēsarivarman.

(Between the 15th March and the 3rd December A D. 1018)

- No 15 (Vol IV p 218) —Year [3]2 (for 22) Thursday, the 22nd November A.D 1039.
 No. 12 (Vol IV. p 216) —Year 26 Wednesday, the 14th March A D 1044.
 No 13 (Vol. IV p. 217) —Year 27 Wednesday, the 13th February A D. 1045
 No 14 (Vol. IV. p 217) —Year 29. Wednesday, the 3rd December A D 1046²
 No. 11 (Vol IV. p 216) —Year 30 Śaka 970 (current) The date does not admit of exact verification.
 No 35 (Vol VI. p 22) —Year 35. Śaka 975 —probably Sunday, the 23rd May A.D 1053.³

E —Rājēndradēva Parakēsarivarman⁴

(The 28th May A D. 1052)

- No 38 (Vol VI p 24).—The 82nd day of year 4 Thursday, the 17th August A.D. 1055.
 No. 36 (Vol VI p 23).—Year 6, Śaka 979 Monday, the 27th October A D. 1057.
 No 37 (Vol VI p 23).—Year 12 (for 11 ?), Śaka 984 The date does not admit of exact verification.

F —Virarājēndra Rājakēsarivarman⁵

(Between the 11th September A D 1062 and the 10th September A D 1068)

- Vol. VII. p 9. —Year 5 Monday, the 10th September A D 1067

G —Kulōttunga-Chōla I Rājakēsarivarman (Rājēndra-Chōla II.)

(Between the 14th March and the 8th October A D 1070.)

- No 56 (Vol VII p 1) —Year 4 Thursday, the 7th November A D. 1073
 No 39 (Vol VI. p 278) —Year 7, Śaka 998 Friday, the 10th February A D 1077.⁶
 No 63 (Vol VII p. 170) —Year 16 Thursday, the 12th March A D. 1086
 No 6 (Vol IV p 70) —Year 37, Śaka 1030 (for 1028 ?) The date does not admit of exact verification
 No 9 (Vol IV p 72) —Śaka 1036. Sunday, the 22nd February A D. 1114
 No 7 (Vol IV p 70) —Year 44 Friday, the 13th March A D 1114
 No 8 (Vol IV p 71) —Year 45 Thursday, the 8th October A D 1114
 No 40 (Vol VI p. 279).—Year 45, Śaka 1036. Wednesday, the 9th December A D 1114.
 No 26 (Vol V p 48).—Year 48 Monday, the 7th January A D 1118
 Nos. 20 and 28 (Vol IV. p 262, and Vol V p 198) —Year 48 Friday, the 25th January A D. 1118⁷

¹ The *sakshatra* quoted is intrinsically wrong.

² The 2nd *tithi* is wrongly quoted instead of the 3rd.

³ The 13th *tithi* has probably been wrongly quoted instead of the 3rd.

⁴ In No 37 surnamed Rājakēsarivarman

⁵ No 273 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1904 contains a date of the 7th year of this king and of Śaka 991 expired (= A D. 1069 70)

⁶ The month Māgha is wrongly quoted instead of Phālguna

⁷ In No 28 the 12th *tithi* is wrongly quoted instead of the 2nd which is correctly given in No 20.

H — Vikrama-Chōla Parakēsarivarman.

(The 29th June A D 1118)

- No. 21 (Vol IV. p 263, and Vol. VII p 3) —Year 4 Monday, the 1st May A D 1122.
 Nos 103 and 104 (Vol. VIII p 262).—Year 4 Wednesday, the 10th May A D 1122
 No 22 (Vol IV. p. 264, and Vol VII p 3) —Year 5 Monday, the 31st July A D. 1122.
 No 57 (Vol VII p 3) —Year 5 Thursday, the 31st May A D 1123
 No 10 (Vol IV p 73, and Vol VII. p 4).—The 340th day of year 5 Sunday, the 3rd June A D 1123¹
 No 141 (Vol IX p 209) —Year 6 Wednesday, the 7th November A D 1123
 No 84 (Vol VIII p. 1) —Year 7 Thursday, the 7th August A D. 1124,
 No 105 (Vol VIII p. 263) —Year 8 Tuesday, the 18th August A D 1125
 No 42 (Vol VI p 280) —Year 9, Śaka 1049 the 27th May A D 1127²
 No 59 (Vol. VII p 5) —Year 10 Sunday, the 15th April, or Saturday, the 14th April A D. 1128³
 No 64 (Vol. VII p. 170) —Year 11 Wednesday, the 19th December A D 1128
 No 58 (Vol VII p 4) —Year 11 Saturday, the 5th January A D 1129
 No. 65 (Vol VII p 171) —Year 15 The date does not admit of verification
 No 41 (Vol VI. p. 279, and Vol VII p 3) —Year 16 Monday, the 16th April A D. 1134
 No 43 (Vol VI p 281, and Vol VII p 5) —Year 17, Śaka 1054 (for 1057) Thursday, the 18th April A D 1135

I — Kulōttunga-Chōla II⁴

Vol VII p. 9 —Śaka 1056 (for 1065) the 24th March A.D 1143

J — Rājārāja II Parakēsarivarman.

(Between the 6th April and the 11th July A D. 1146)

- No 85 (Vol VIII p 2).—Year 4 Wednesday, the 23rd November A D 1149.
 No 86 (Vol VIII p 2) —Year 6 Thursday, the 24th January A D 1152
 No 89 (Vol. VIII p 3) —Year 6 Thursday, the 14th February A D 1152⁵
 No 87 (Vol. VIII p 2) —Year 12. Wednesday, the 26th March A D 1158
 No 88 (Vol. VIII. p 3) —Year 15. Thursday, the 12th January A D 1161
 No. 144 (Vol IX p 210) —Year 15 Monday, the 6th March A D 1161.⁶
 No 142 (Vol IX p 209).—Year 15 Wednesday, the 5th April A D 1161
 No 106 (Vol VIII p 263) —Year opposite to 16 Wednesday, the 11th July A.D. 1162.
 No. 143 (Vol. IX p. 209) —Year 17. Sunday, the 2nd December A D 1162

K — Rājādhirāja II. Rājakēsarivarman.

(Between the 28th February and the 30th March A D. 1168)

- No 145 (Vol IX p 210) —Year 2 Monday, the 30th March A D 1164.
 No 146 (Vol IX. p 211).—Year 8 Monday, the 10th August A D 1170
 No 147 (Vol. IX. p 211).—Year 10 Tuesday, the 27th February A D 1173
 No 148 (Vol. IX p 212).—Year 11 Wednesday, the 15th August A D. 1173
 No. 149 (Vol IX. p 212) —Year 13 (for 19 P) Wednesday, the 8th July A D 1181 (?).

¹ The 7th *śukla* is wrongly quoted instead of the 8th

² The year *Plava* is wrongly quoted instead of *Plavaṅga*

³ In the original date either the *śakābādra* or the week-day is quoted incorrectly.

⁴ Perhaps identical with Kulōttunga Chōla II Rājakēsarivarman, of whom I possess unpublished dates of the regal years 4, 10, 14 and 15

⁵ The month of *Mina* is wrongly quoted instead of *Kumbha*

⁶ The 5th *śukla* is wrongly quoted instead of the 7th

L.—Kulōttunga-Chōla III. Parakēsanvarman (Virarājendra-Chōla,¹ Tribhuvanavira²)

(Between the 6th and the 8th July A D 1178)

- No. 66 (Vol VII p 171) —Year 3 Monday, the 11th August A D 1180³
 No 67 (Vol VII p. 171) —Year 3 the date is incorrect
 No 107 (Vol VIII p 264) —Year 4 Thursday, the 11th March A D 1182
 No 150 (Vol IX p 213) —Year 6 Monday, the 16th January A D. 1184
 Nos 108 and 109 (Vol VIII p 264) —Year 6 Thursday, the 5th July A D 1184.⁴
 No. 68 (Vol. VII p. 172) —Year 7. Wednesday, the 22nd August A D 1184.
 No 23 (Vol IV p 264) —Year 8 Monday, the 8th July A D 1185
 No 90 (Vol VIII. p 4) —Year 10 Tuesday, the 5th January A D 1188⁵
 No 19 (Vol IV p. 220) —Year 12 Monday, the 4th December A D 1189.
 No 60 (Vol VII p 6) —Year 14 Thursday, the 2nd January A D 1192⁶
 No 110 (Vol VIII p 265) —Year 16 Monday, the 17th January A D 1194.
 No 151 (Vol IX. p 213). —Year 16 Thursday, the 31st March A.D 1194
 No 24 (Vol IV. p 265) —Year 16 Saturday, the 4th June A D 1194⁷
 No. 69 (Vol VII p 172) —Year 17 Monday, the 13th February A D. 1195.
 No 70 (Vol VII. p. 172) —Year 17 Thursday, the 8th June A D 1195.
 No. 152 (Vol IX p 214). —Year 18 Saturday, the 3rd February A D 1196⁸
 No 71 (Vol VII. p 173) —Year 19 Monday, the 2nd September A D 1196⁹
 No 17 (Vol IV. p 219). —Year 19 Tuesday, the 12th November A.D 1196.
 No 72 (Vol VII p 173) —Year 19 Wednesday, the 30th April A D. 1197
 No 16 (Vol IV p 219) —Year 19 (for 20), Śaka 1119. Friday, the 21st November A.D. 1197¹⁰
 No 111 (Vol VIII p 265) —Year 20 Sunday, the 3rd May A D 1198¹¹
 No 31 (Vol V p. 199) —Year 20 The date is quite incorrect
 No 73 (Vol VII p 174) —Year 21 Wednesday, the 7th April A D 1199
 No 74 (Vol VII p 174) —Year 21 Saturday, the 10th April 1199¹²
 No 153 (Vol IX p 214). —Year 23 Tuesday, the 12th September A D 1200
 No 112 (Vol. VIII p 265) —Year 23 Monday, the 6th November A D 1200
 No 113 (Vol VIII. p. 266) —Year 25 Wednesday, the 24th July A D 1202¹³
 No 44 (Vol. VI. p 231). —Year 27 Thursday, the 5th May A D 1205
 No. 29 (Vol V p 198). —Year 29 Wednesday, the 7th March A D 1207.
 No 114 (Vol VIII p 266) —Year 32 Monday, the 21st December A.D. 1209¹⁴
 No 18 (Vol IV p 220) —Year 34 Monday, the 19th September A D. 1211.
 No. 91 (Vol VIII p 4) —Year 35 Sunday, the 2nd June A D 1213
 No 92 (Vol VIII p 4) —Year 36 Monday, the 14th April A D 1214

¹ This name occurs in the dates of the 6th and 7th years

² This name occurs in the dates from the 32nd to the 39th year

³ I now take this to be the proper equivalent of the date

⁴ The 12th *tithi* is wrongly quoted instead of the 11th

⁵ The second fortnight is wrongly quoted instead of the first

⁶ The first fortnight is wrongly quoted instead of the second

⁷ The 4th *tithi* is wrongly quoted instead of the 14th

⁸ The *nakṣatra* Pūrva Phalguni is wrongly quoted instead of Pūrva-Bhādrapadā

⁹ The *nakṣatra* quoted is intrinsically wrong

¹⁰ The 15th solar day is wrongly quoted instead of the 25th

¹¹ The *nakṣatra* Uttarāṣāḍhā is wrongly quoted instead of Uttara-Bhādrapadā

¹² The month of Rishabha is wrongly quoted instead of Mēsha.

¹³ The 5th *tithi* is wrongly quoted instead of the 4th

¹⁴ The 9th *tithi* is wrongly quoted instead of the 8th.

- No 93 (Vol VIII p 5) —Year 37 Monday, the 17th November A D 1214
 No 30 (Vol V p 199) —Year 37 Sunday, the 7th June A D 1215
 No 94 (Vol VIII p 5) —Year 39 Wednesday, the 25th January A D 1217

M — Rājārāja III Rājakesarivarman¹

(Between the 27th June and the 10th July A D 1216)

- No 115 (Vol VIII p 267) —Year 2 Monday, the 29th January A D 1218
 No 75 (Vol VII p 174) —Year 4 Monday, the 22nd June A D 1220
 No 76 (Vol VII p 175) —Year 5 Wednesday, the 19th August A D 1220²
 No 77 (Vol VII p 175) —Year opposite to 6 Thursday, the 13th October A D 1222
 No 95 (Vol VIII p 6) —Year opposite to 8 Monday, the 7th October A D 1224³
 No 116 (Vol VIII p 267) —Year opposite to 8 Sunday, the 23rd February A D 1225⁴
 No 117 (Vol VIII p 267) —Year 10 Friday, the 17th April A D 1226
 No 78 (Vol VII p 175) —Year 10 Tuesday, the 21st April A D 1226
 No 118 (Vol VIII p 268) —Year 12 Monday, the 2nd August A D 1227
 No 119 (Vol VIII p 268) —Year 16 Thursday, the 10th July A D 1231
 No 120 (Vol VIII p 268) —Year 16 Saturday, the 22nd May A D 1232
 No 45 (Vol VI p 281) —Year opposite to 16 Saturday, the 25th September A D 1232
 No 46 (Vol VI p 282) —Year 17 Tuesday, the 18th January A D 1233
 No 47 (Vol VI p 282) —Year 18 Tuesday, the 23rd August A D 1233
 No 121 (Vol VIII p 269) —Year 18 Sunday, the 13th November A D 1233
 No 48 (Vol VI p 282) —Year 18 Wednesday, the 7th December A D 1233
 No 122 (Vol VIII p 269) —Year 18 Sunday, the 25th December A D 1233
 No 49 (Vol VI p 283) —Year 18 Monday, the 2nd January A D 1234
 No 123 (Vol VIII p 269) —Year 19 (for 18) Sunday, the 11th June A D 1234,
 No 50 (Vol VI p 283) —Year 19 probably Sunday, the 13th August A D 1234⁵
 No 124 (Vol VIII p 270) —Year 19 Sunday, the 5th November A D 1234
 No 125 (Vol VIII p 270) —Year 19 Thursday, the 25th January A D 1235
 No 128 (Vol VIII p 271) —Year 27 (? for 21) Monday, the 12th January A D 1237⁶
 No 51 (Vol VI p 284) —Year 22 Tuesday, the 16th March A D 1238⁷
 No 52 (Vol VI p 284) —Year opposite to 22 Monday, the 28th February A D 1239
 No 53 (Vol VI p 284) —Year opposite to 22 Wednesday, the 2nd March A D 1239
 No 54 (Vol VI p 285) —Year opposite to 22 Friday, the 4th March A D 1239
 No 154 (Vol IX p 215) —Year 24 Saturday, the 2nd June A D 1240
 No 126 (Vol VIII p 270) —Year opposite to 24 Saturday, the 12th January A D 1241
 No 127 (Vol VIII p 271) —Year 27 Wednesday, the 30th July A D 1242
 Nos 155 and 156 (Vol IX p 215) —Year 29 Tuesday, the 4th October A D 1244
 Nos 157 and 158 (Vol IX p 216) —Year 29 Monday, the 6th February A D 1245
 No 129 (Vol VIII p 271) —Year 29 Monday, the 26th June A D 1245
 No 130 (Vol VIII p 272) —Year 30 Sunday, the 17th December A D 1245,⁸

¹ This surname occurs only in the date No 45

² The 5th *tithi* may have been quoted erroneously instead of the 4th

³ The 9th *tithi* is wrongly quoted instead of the 8th

⁴ [The last day of] the month of Kumbha has been quoted erroneously instead of [the first day of] the immediately following month of Mīna

⁵ In the original date either the *nakṣatra* Uthratādi (Uttara Bhādrapadā) has been wrongly quoted instead of Uthram (Uttara Phalgunī), or the first fortnight instead of the second

⁶ If the published reading of the original date is correct, the second fortnight has been wrongly quoted instead of the first

⁷ The 4th *tithi* is wrongly quoted instead of the 14th

⁸ The 18th *tithi* is wrongly quoted instead of the 12th

- No 96 (Vol VIII. p 6) —Year 32 Friday, the 7th February A D 1248
No 97 (Vol VIII p. 6).—Year 32 Wednesday, the 22nd April A.D. 1248

N —Rājendra-Chōla III.

(Between the 21st March and the 20th April A D. 1246)

- No 79 (Vol VII p 175) —Year 3 Saturday, the 20th March A D 1249
No 98 (Vol. VIII p 6) —Year 4 Sunday, the 12th September A D 1249
No 131 (Vol VIII p 272) —Year 4 Wednesday, the 5th January A D 1250.
No 80 (Vol VII p 176) —Year 7 Wednesday, the 25th December A D 1252
No 83 (Vol VII p 177) —Year opposite to 7 The date is intrinsically wrong.
No 132 (Vol VIII p 272).—Year 9 Tuesday, the 12th January A D. 1255.
No 133 (Vol VIII p. 273) —Year opposite to 11 Monday, the 9th July A D 1257
No 134 (Vol VIII p 273) —Year 16 (for 17) Monday, the 1st May A D 1262
No 135 (Vol VIII p 273) —Year 18 Wednesday, the 2nd January A D 1264¹
No 136 (Vol VIII p 274).—Year 20 Wednesday, the 20th January A D 1266.
No 81 (Vol VII p 176) —Year 21 Wednesday, the 30th June A D 1266
No 99 (Vol VIII p 7) —Year 22 Wednesday, the 20th April A D 1267.
No 82 (Vol VII p 177) —Year 22 Sunday, the 8th May A D 1267

* * * * *

O —Peruñjagadēva.

(Between the 11th February and the 30th July A.D. 1243.)

- Vol VII p 164, B.—Year 7 Friday, the 30th July A D 1249
No 159 (Vol IX p 216) —Year 16 Monday, the 9th December A D 1258
Vol. VII p 164, A —Year 18, Śaka 1182 Sunday, the 31st October A D 1260
No 160 (Vol. IX p 217) —Year 30 Monday, the 10th October A D 1272
Vol. VII p 165, D —Year 31 Saturday, the 10th February A D 1274

* * * * *

P.—Tribhuvanavīra-Chōladēva.

(Between the 24th August A D 1331 and the 23rd August A.D 1332)

- No 100 (Vol VIII p 7) —Year 11 Friday, the 23rd August A D 1342.

No 30 —DATES OF PANDYA KINGS.

BY THE LATE PROFESSOR F KIELHOEN, O I E, GÖTTINGEN.

(Continued from Vol. VIII. page 283)

From the numerous dates of Pāndya kings sent to me by Rai Bahadur V Venkayya, I here give five (Nos 63-67), the European equivalents of which may be given with certainty. The remaining dates must wait till more dates of the kings to whom they belong have been discovered. Of those here published, Nos 64 and 66 are valuable inasmuch as, taken together with previously published dates, they show that Mājavarmān Kulaśēkhara I. commenced to reign between (approximately) the 2nd and the 27th June A D 1268, and Mājavarmān Kulaśēkhara II. between (approximately) the 6th and the 29th March A.D 1314.

¹ The second fortnight is wrongly quoted instead of the first.

In a postscript I give a date of a king **Rājakēśarīvarman Vira-Pāṇḍya**, according to Mr Venkayya a ruler of Kongu, which quotes both the Śaka year 1202 and the regnal year 15, both given in words. This date is of considerable interest, because my calculations prove its meaning to be this, that the day of the date fell in the 15th year of the king's reign which (reign) commenced in the Śaka year 1202 (and not, that the day of the date itself fell in the Śaka year 1202). The date thus suggests another point of doubt and uncertainty regarding the interpretation of dates that do not contain sufficient *data* for exact verification, even when at first sight such doubt seems to be out of the question.

At the end of this article also I give a list of all published dates of Pāṇḍya kings that have been examined by me, with approximate statements of the time when each king commenced to reign.

A — MARAVARMAN SUNDARA-PANDYA II.

63.—In the rock-cut Śiva temple at Tirumaiyam¹

1 Svasti śrī [||*] Kō Mārapanmar-āna Tribhuvanachchakravattigal śrī-Sundara-Pāṇḍya-dēvaṅku yāṇḍu 7vadu [Risha]bha-[nāyā]ṅṅu=ppadim[ū]nān=diyadiyum pūrvva-
² mikshattu daśamiyum Nāyirru-kkila.³

2 mai[yu]m per[ra*] U[tti]ṭṭu nāl

"In the 7th year (of the reign) of king Māravarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Sundara-Pāṇḍyadēva, — on the day of Uttara-Phalguni, which corresponded to a Sunday, to the tenth *tithi* of the first fortnight and to the thirteenth solar day of the month of Rishabha "

I have previously found⁴ that the reign of Māravarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya II commenced between (approximately) the 15th June A D. 1238 and the 18th January A D 1239. This date of his 7th year regularly corresponds to Sunday, the 7th May A D 1245. The preceding Vṛishabha-samkrānti took place 0 h. 4 m. after mean sunrise of Tuesday, the 25th April A D 1245, which was the first day of the month of Vṛishabha, and the 13th day of the same month therefore was Sunday, the 7th May A D 1245. On this day the 10th *tithi* of the bright half (of Jyāshthā) commenced 0 h. 43 m., and the *nakshatra* was Uttara-Phalguni, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 19 h. 42 m., and by the Brahma-siddhanta for 16 h. 25 m., after mean sunrise.

For the reign of Māravarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I. the date would be quite incorrect.

B — MARAVARMAN KULASEKHARA I.

64.—In the Arjunéśvara temple at Kiladi⁵

1 Svasti śrī [||*] Kō Māra[ra]mma-āna Ti[ri]bhuvanachcha[ka]vattigal⁷
 [em]mandalamun=gond-araliya śr[ī]-Kulasēkharadēvarkku [yā]ṇḍu 23vadu
 Mith[un]a-nāyāṅṅu 6 ti⁸ pūrvva-pakshattu [tri]ṭṭi[ya]y[um] Vell[ī]-k[ī]lamaiyum
 per[ra] Pūṣattu nāl

"In the 23rd year (of the reign) of king Māravarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulasēkharadēva, who was pleased to take every country, — on the day of Pushya, which corresponded to a Friday and to the third *tithi* of the first fortnight (and) to the 6th solar day of the month of Mithuna "

¹ No 387 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1905

² Read *pakshattu*

³ The whole of this line is engraved over an erasure

⁴ I.e. the *tithi* of the *Dasaharā*

⁵ No 447 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1905

⁷ Read *chakra*

⁴ See above Vol VI p 305

⁸ The syllable *ti* here stands for *tithi*

I have previously found¹ that the reign of Māravarman Kulasēkhara I commenced between (approximately) the 19th March and the 27th June A D 1268. This date of his 23rd year regularly corresponds to Friday, the 1st June A D 1291. The preceding Mithuna-samkrānti took place 7 h 16 m after mean sunrise of Sunday, the 27th May A D 1291, which was the first day of the month of Mithuna; and the 6th day of the same month therefore was Friday, the 1st June A D 1291. On this day the 3rd *tithi* of the bright half (of the first Āshādhā) ended 3 h 3 m., and the *nakshatra* was Pushya, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 14 h 27 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 12 h 29 m., after mean sunrise.

The date reduces the period, during which Māravarman Kulasēkhara I. must have commenced to reign, to the time from (approximately) the 2nd to the 27th June A.D. 1268

65—In the Arjunēśvara temple at Kiladī.²

1 Svasta śrī [||*] śi-kō
Māravanmar-āna Tribhuvanachchakavattiga[¹³ e]mmandalamun-gon[d-a]ruiya
śrī-Kulasāgaradēvaṅku yāndu 30vadin edirām-āndu Ka[r]kkataka-nāyarṇu 8 trīm
apara-pakshattu ē[k]āda[śi]yum peṇṇa Rōhin[ī]-nāl.

"In the year opposite the 30th year (*of the reign*) of the glorious king Māravarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulasēkharadēva, who was pleased to take every country,—on the day of Rōhinī, which corresponded to the eleventh *tithi* of the second fortnight and to the 8th solar day of the month of Karkataka."

For the year opposite the 30th, *i.e.* for the 31st year, of Māravarman Kulasēkhara I this date regularly corresponds to [Saturday], the 5th July A D. 1298. The preceding Karkataka-samkrānti took place 17 h 19 m after mean sunrise of Friday, the 27th June A D 1298. The first day of the month of Karkataka therefore was Saturday, the 28th June, and the 8th day of the same month was Saturday, the 5th July A D 1298. On this day the 11th *tithi* of the dark half (of Āshādhā) ended 18 h 55 m., and the *nakshatra* was Rōhinī, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 23 h 38 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 22 h 59 m., after mean sunrise.

C—MARAVARMAN KULASEKHARA II

66—In the Bhūmīśvara temple at Gudimallūr³

1 Suvasi⁴ [śrī] [||*] Kō Māravanmai T[ru]buvanachchakkaraya[t]ti śrī-Kula-
[s]āgaradēvaṅku yāndu 12[āvadu]⁵ paṇṇ[ī]ran[dāva]du [M]ēsha-nāyarṇu
pupu[r]va⁶ pakshattu chatutteṣiyum Velli-kkīlamaiyum peṇṇa Avittat[tu] n]āl.

"In the 12th—twelfth—year (*of the reign*) of king Māravarman (*alias*) the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulasēkharadēva,—on the day of Dhanishthā, which corresponded to a Friday and to the fourteenth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Mēsha."

This date is intrinsically wrong because the *nakshatra* cannot possibly be Dhanishthā on the 14th *tithi* of a first fortnight in the month of Mēsha. Irrespectively of the *nakshatra*

¹ See above, Vol VIII p 278

² No 449 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1906

³ Read "chakra"

⁴ The syllable *ts* here stands for *ṭṣadya*

⁵ No 419 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1905.

⁶ Read *svasti*

⁷ The word *avadu* seems to be denoted by a flourish added to 2

Read *peṇṇa*

the date would be wrong for the 12th year of the reign of Māravarman Kulāśekhara I. But for the 12th year of the reign of Māravarman Kulāśekhara II (which has been found¹ to commence between approximately the 6th March and the 23rd July A D 1314) the date would regularly correspond to Friday, the 29th March A D 1325, which was the 4th day of the month of *Māsha*, and on which the 14th *tithi* of the bright half (of Chaitra) ended 7 h 9 m, while the *nakshatra* was *Hasta*, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 10 h 30 m and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 7 h 13 m, after mean sunrise —I have no doubt that this is the true equivalent of the date and that the concluding words of the original date ought to be *Attattu nāl*, 'the day of *Hasta*,' instead of *Attattu nāl*.

The date would prove that Māravarman Kulāśekhara II, could not have commenced to reign later than (approximately) the 29th March A D 1314.

D — JATAVARMAN PARAKRAMA-PANDYA

67 —In the Satyagirinātha-Perumāl temple at Tirumaiyam²

- 1 Svasti śrī [||*] Śrī-ko-[Chchadai]pannai=āna Ti[|]buvanaśa[kia]vatti[|]gal śr[|]
Parākk[|]ama-Pā[ndiyade]varkku [a]ndu 5vad[|n]
- 2 edir 7vadu -n[a]jariu apara pakshattu dvādisiyum Nayanu kk[|]-
lamayum perā Uttarādattu nāl

"In the 7th (year) opposite the 5th year (of the reign) of the glorious king [Jatā]-varman alias the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Parakrama-Pandyadeva,—on the day of Uttarāsnadha, which corresponded to a Sunday and to the twelfth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of "

I have previously found³ that Jatāvarman Parākrama Pandya commenced to reign between (approximately) the 10th January A D 1357 and the 9th January A D 1358. This date of the 7th opposite the 5th year, i.e. of the 12th year of his reign, undoubtedly corresponds to Sunday, the 4th February A D 1357, which was the 11th day of the month of [Kumbha], and on which the 13th *tithi* of the dark half (of Māgha) ended 21 h 7 m after mean sunrise, while the *nakshatra* was Uttarāśādhā, by the Brahma-siddhānta and according to Garga the whole day, and by the equal space system from 6 h 34 m after mean sunrise.

The date shows that Jatāvarman Parākrama-Pāndya could not have commenced to reign before (approximately) the 5th February A D 1357.

POSTSCRIPT

RAJAKESARIVARMAN VIRA-PANDYA⁴

In the Kariyamānikka-Perumāl temple at Vijayamangalam⁵

- 1 Svasti śrī [||*] Nanmangalañ=prakka [||*] [Śaga]i-yāndu āyatt=iru-nūṣ=nañil
[kō]v=[|rā]śa[k]śaripa[n]mai=āna [Ti]bhuvanachcha[kravat]-
- 2 tugal śrī-Vīra-Pandiyadēvaṅku yāndu pa[|]naujāvadu⁶ Tu[|]ā-nūyariu apara-
pakshattu=⁷Ttiogat-kilamay[u]m daṣamiyum pe[|]ra Ut[t]uattu n[ā]l

¹ See above, Vol VI p. 315

² No 395 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1906

³ See above, Vol VII p. 17

⁴ This king is neither a Pāṇḍya nor a Chōla, but a ruler of Kongu, see Rai Bahadur V Venkayya's *Annual Report* for 1905-06, page 79

⁵ No 544 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1905

⁶ The *akshara tu* is engraved above the line

⁷ The gattural *n* is engraved above the line

"In the Śaka year one thousand two hundred and two, the fifteenth year (of the reign) of king [Rāj]akēsarivarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Vīra-Pāndyadēva,—on the day of Uttara-Phalguni, which corresponded to the tenth *tithi* and to a Monday of the second fortnight of the month of Tūlā "

The meaning of this date would naturally be taken to be that the day of the date fell both in the 15th year of the king's reign and in the Śaka year 1202, either current or expired, but for either of these Śaka years the date would be incorrect

For the current Śaka year 1202 the date might be taken to correspond to Monday, the 2nd October A D 1279, which was the 4th day of the month of Tūlā, and on which the 10th *tithi* of the dark half (of Āśvina) ended 2 h 37 m after mean sunrise. But the *nakshatras* on this day were Maghā and Pūrva-Phalgunī

For the expired Śaka year 1202 it would correspond to Saturday, the 19th October A D 1280, which was the 22nd day of the month of Tūlā, and on which the 10th *tithi* of the dark half (of Āśvina) ended 18 h 25 m, while the *nakshatra* was Pūrva-Phalgunī, by the Brahmasiddhānta for 11 h 10 m, according to Garga for 15 h 46 m, and by the equal space system from 3 h. 17 m, after mean sunrise

The date would be incorrect also for the Śaka year 1200 (current or expired) and for all years down to Śaka 1214 expired. It would be correct for Śaka 1215 expired (= 1216 current). For this year it would correspond to Monday, the 26th October A D. 1293, which was the 29th day of the month of Tūlā, and on which the 10th *tithi* of the dark half (of Kārttika) ended 6 h 52 m. after mean sunrise, while the *nakshatra* by all systems was Uttara-Phalgunī during the whole of the day

I have no doubt that Monday, the 26th October A D 1293, is the proper equivalent of the date; and, in accordance with this result, I take the true meaning of the original date to be this, that the day of the date fell in the 15th year of the king's reign which commenced some time during the (current) Śaka year 1202 (= A D. 1279-80) that is quoted at the beginning of the date. For dates that have to be similarly interpreted, I may refer to Nos 261, 262 and 269 of my *Southern Ins*

A LIST OF THE DATES OF PANDYA KINGS HITHERTO EXAMINED.

A.—Jatāvarman Kulaśēkhara

(Between the 30th March and the 29th November A D. 1190)¹

- No 2 (Vol VI p 302) —Year opp to 13 Thursday, the 26th February A D 1204.
 No. 1 (Vol VI. p 301) —Year 12 opp. to 13 Saturday, the 29th November A D 1214.
 No. 45 (Vol VIII p 275) —Year 13 (for 13 opp. to 13 ?): Thursday, the 6th October A D 1216(?)
 No 44 (Vol VIII p 275) —Year 14 opp to 13: Wednesday, the 29th March A D. 1217

B.—Māravarman Sundara-Pāndya I.

(Between the 29th March and the 4th September A.D 1216.)

- No 6 (Vol VI p 304).—Year 7 Monday, the 13th March A D 1223
 No 5 (Vol. VI p. 303) —Year 9 Friday, the 28th March A D 1225
 No 46 (Vol VIII, p 276) —Year 15: Tuesday, the 3rd December A D 1230.

¹ Or perhaps Between the 7th October and the 29th November A D 1190

No 3 (Vol VI p 302) —Year opp to year opp to 17 Monday, the 4th September A D 1234

No 4 (Vol VI p 303) —Year opp to year opp to 17 Monday, the 19th February A D 1235

C —Māravarman Sundara-Pāndya II

(Between the 15th June A D 1238 and the 18th January A D 1239)

No 63 (Vol IX p 223).—Year 7 Sunday, the 7th May A D 1245

No. 10 (Vol VI p 305) —Year 11 Sunday, the 25th April A.D 1249

No 7 and 8 (Vol VI p 304) —Year opp to year opp. to 11 Wednesday, the 18th January A D 1251

No 9 (Vol. VI p 305) —Year opp to year opp to 11, Wednesday, the 14th June A D 1251.¹

D —Jatāvarman Sundara-Pāndya I.

(Between the 20th and the 28th April A D 1251)

No 11 (Vol VI p 306) —Year 2 Thursday, the 27th March A D 1253

No 12 (Vol VI p. 306) —Year 2 Saturday, the 19th April A D 1253

No 13 (Vol VI p. 306) —Year 3 Wednesday, the 29th October A D 1253

No 17 (Vol VI p 307) —Year 7 Sunday, the 7th October A D 1257²

No 14 (Vol VI p 307) —Year 9 Tuesday, the 29th April A D 1259

No 15 (Vol VI p. 307) —Year 9 Sunday, the 15th June A D 1259

No 16 (Vol VI p 307) —Year 10 Wednesday, the 28th April A D 1260.

No 18 (Vol VI p 308) —Year 11 Tuesday, the 19th July A D 1261³

E —Vira-Pāndya.

(Between the 11th November A D 1252 and the 13th July A D 1253)

No 32 (Vol VII. p 11) —Year 7 Sunday, the 13th July A D 1259

No 31 (Vol VII p 10) —Year 15 Thursday, the 10th November A D. 1267.

F.—Māravarman Kulasékhara I.

(Between the 2nd and the 27th June A D 1268)

No 20 (Vol VI p 309) —Year 10 Wednesday, the 5th January A D 1278

No 48 (Vol VIII p 277).—Year 22 Monday, the 27th June A D 1289

No 64 (Vol IX p 223) —Year 23 Friday, the 1st June A D 1291

No 21 (Vol VI. p 309) —Year 26 Wednesday, the 18th November A D. 1293⁴

No 19 (Vol VI p 308) —Year 27 Friday, the 10th December A D 1294.

No 49 (Vol. VIII p 277) —Year 30 Wednesday, the 31st July A D 1297

No 65 (Vol. IX p 224) —Year opp to 30 Saturday, the 5th July A.D 1298

No 50 (Vol VIII p 277).—Year 34 Saturday, the 8th July A D 1301.⁵

No 51 (Vol VIII p 278) —Year 29 (for 39) Saturday, the 9th July A.D. 1306

No. 22 (Vol. VI. p 310) —Year 40 Saturday, the 24th February A D 1308.

No 47 (Vol. VIII p 276) —Year 40, Śaka 1229 Monday, the 18th March A.D. 1308

¹ The month of Mīna is wrongly quoted instead of Mithuna

² In the date, which is intrinsically wrong, the month of Kanyā is quoted instead of Tula

³ Thursday appears to have been wrongly quoted instead of Tuesday

⁴ The 2nd तिதி is wrongly quoted, or misread, instead of the 3rd.

⁵ The 3rd तिதி is wrongly quoted instead of the 2nd

G.—Jatāvarman Sundara-Pāndya II

(Between the 18th September A D. 1275 and the 15th May A D 1276)

- No 25 (Vol VI p. 311) —Year 6 Monday, the 21st July A D 1281.
 No 52 (Vol VIII p. 278) —Year 10 Monday, the 23rd July A.D 1285
 No 54 (Vol VIII p 279) —Year 12 Wednesday, the 27th August A D 1287¹
 No 26 (Vol VI p. 311) —Year 12 Friday, the 12th September A D, 1287²
 No 53 (Vol VIII p 279) —Year 11 (for 12) Wednesday, the 29th October A D 1287
 No 23 (Vol VI p 310).—Year 13 (for 14) Monday, the 1st August A D 1289
 No 24 (Vol VI p 310) —Year 13 (for 14) Friday, the 5th August A D 1289.
 No 27 (Vol VI p. 312) —Year opp to 14 Monday, the 15th May A D 1290
 No. 55 (Vol VIII p 280) —Year 2 opp to 13 Monday, the 28th August A.D 1290³
 No 56 (Vol VIII p 280) —Year 9 for 10(?) Friday, the 29th March A D 1286(?)⁴

H.—Māravarman Kulasēkhara II.

(Between the 6th and the 29th March A D 1314.)

- No 29 (Vol VI p 313) —Year 4 Saturday, the 23rd July A D 1317
 No 30 (Vol VI p 313) —Year 5 Monday, the 5th March A D 1319⁵
 No 28 (Vol VI p 312) —Year 8 Saturday, the 14th November A D 1321
 No. 66 (Vol IX p 224) —Year 12 Friday, the 29th March A.D 1325⁶

I.—Māravarman Parākrama-Pāndya.

(Between the 1st December A D. 1334 and the 1st November A D. 1335.)

- No 33 (Vol VII p. 11) —Year 6, Śaka 1262 Wednesday, the 1st November A D 1340
 No 34 (Vol VII p 11) —Year 8 (for 18) Friday, the 30th November A.D. 1352.

J —Jatāvarman Parākrama-Pāndya.

(Between the 5th February A.D. 1357 and the 9th January A.D. 1358.)

- No 67 (Vol IX p 225).—Year 7 opp to 5 Sunday, the 4th February A D 1369.
 No. 35 (Vol VII p. 12) —Year 10 opp to 5, Śaka 1293 Friday, the 9th January A.D 1372.

K —Kōṇēraṇmaikondāṇ Vikrama-Pāndya.

(Between the 13th January and the 27th July A D. 1401)

- No 59 (Vol VIII p 282) —Year 4 Sunday, the 15th February A D 1405 (?).⁷
 No 58 (Vol. VIII p 281) —Year 8 Friday, the 27th July A D 1408.
 No. 57 (Vol. VIII p. 281) —Year 15, opp to 2, Śaka 1339 Wednesday, the 12th January A D 1418

¹ The 31st solar day is wrongly quoted instead of the 30th

² The 13th *tithi* is wrongly quoted instead of the 3rd

³ The [first day of the] month of Kārtika is wrongly quoted instead of [the last day of] Simha.

⁴ This date may possibly be one of the 8th year of J Sundara Pāṇḍya I, corresponding to Friday, the 28th March A D 1259

⁵ The date is intrinsically wrong The month of Simha is wrongly quoted instead of Mīna, and the *nakṣatra* Pushya (*Pāṣaṭṭu nḍi*) instead of Pūrva Phalgunī (*Pārattū nḍi*)

⁶ The *nakṣatra* Dhanishṭhā (*Aṇṭattū nḍi*) is wrongly quoted instead of Hasta (*Aṭattū nḍi*).

⁷ In the original date, which is intrinsically wrong, the first fortnight is wrongly quoted instead of the second, and the 3rd *tithi* instead of the 2nd.

L —Jatilarvarman Parākrama-Pāndya Arikēsari-dēva

(Between the 18th June and the 18th July A D 1422)

- No 37 (Vol VII p 13) —Year opp to 31 Thursday, the 19th July A D 1453¹
 No 36 (Vol VII p. 12) —Year 2 opp to 31, Śaka 1377 Monday, the 24th March A D 1455
 No 38 (Vol VII p 13) —Year 4 opp to 31 Wednesday, the 16th March A.D 1457
 No 39 (Vol VII p 13) —Year 8 opp to 31, Śaka 1381 Wednesday, the 17th June A D 1461²

M —Māṇavarman Vira-Pāndya

(Between the 18th March and the 28th July A D 1443)

- No 60 (Vol VIII p 282) —Year 11 opp to 2 Monday, the 28th July A D 1455
 No 61 (Vol VIII p 283) —Year 14 Sunday, the 16th January A D 1457.
 No. 62 (Vol. VIII p. 283) —Year 14 Saturday, the 12th March A.D 1457

N.—Jatilarvarman Parākrama-Pāndya Kulaśēkhara

(Between the 15th November A D 1479 and the 14th November A D 1480)

- No 40 (Vol VII p 14) —Year 20, Śaka 1421 Thursday, the 14th November A D 1499

O —Māṇavarman Sundara-Pāndya III.

(Between the 2nd June A D. 1531 and the 1st June A D. 1532.)

- No 42 (Vol VII p 15) —Year 22 opp to 2, Śaka 1477. Saturday, the 1st June A D 1555

P.—Jatilarvarman Śrīvallabha.

(Between the 29th November A D 1534 and the 28th November A.D. 1535)

- No 41 (Vol VII p 15) —Year 3, Śaka 1459 Wednesday, the 28th November A.D. 1537

Q —Jatilarvarman Śrīvallabha Ativirarāma.

(Between the 23rd August A D. 1562 and the 22nd August A D 1563)

- No 43 (Vol VII. p 16) —Year 5, Śaka 1489 Friday, the 22nd August 1567

No. 31 — TIRUMALAI ROCK INSCRIPTION OF RAJENDRA-CHOLA I

By PROFESSOR E HULTZSCH, PH D , HALLE (SAALE)

When, more than twenty years ago, I started epigraphical work in the Madras Presidency, I prepared with my own hands an inked estampage of the inscription which is here re-edited. After Mr Venkayya had joined my office in Bangalore, we spent a considerable time in reading and translating this record — one of the first early Chōla documents we tried to make out in a reliable manner. The Tamil text of it as printed in *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol I p 98, does not contain any misreadings³. But the translation on p 99 needs revision in the light of the other Chōla inscriptions which were published later on, and a facsimile of this beautifully

¹ Monday is wrongly quoted instead of Thursday

² Śaka 1381 is wrongly quoted instead of 1383, and the 23rd solar day wrongly instead of the 21st

³ Only the date in line 12 should be '13' (instead of '12'), the same correction has to be made in the heading of the Plate facing p 232 below

engraved and well preserved rock inscription was hitherto missing. I therefore republish it now in Roman characters with a fresh translation, and with a colotype of a careful inked estampage which was prepared recently under Rai Bahadur Venkayya's personal supervision.

The inscription is engraved on a smooth piece of rock near a rock-cut Jaina figure on the top of the hill of Tirumalai near Pôlûr in the North Arcot district. The language is Tamil, and the alphabet is likewise Tamil, interspersed with a few Grantha words and letters (*svasti*, l. 1, *shai* of *vishaya*, l. 9, *Mahî*, l. 10, *Śrī-Rājendra-Chôladêva* and *ja* of *Jayangonda*, l. 12, *srî*, *Jina* and *dêva*, l. 13, *vyâpûrî*, l. 13 f.)

The inscription is dated in the 13th year of the reign of the Chôla king Parakésarivarman alias Rājendra-Chôladêva I (l. 12), who ascended the throne in A.D. 1012¹. Its first eleven lines consist of a passage in Tamil verse which describes the conquests of the king, and the first words of which (*Tiru manni*, etc.) are quoted — as pointed out by Mr. Venkayya — in Perundevanâr's commentary on the *Vīrasôlîyam*.²

The list of conquests opens with Idandur-nâdu (l. 1 f.), i.e. the country of Yedatore in the Mysore district, and Vanavâsi, i.e. Banavâsi in the North Canara district. The next item, the city of Kollippâkkai, must have been included in the Western Châlukya kingdom. For it was set on fire by Rājādhirāja I. in the course of a war against Sômesvara I and Vikramāditya VI,³ and it is mentioned as Kollipâke in an inscription of Jayasimha II.⁴ Mannai-kataka is identified by Mr. Rice with the city of Manne in the Nelamangala taluka of the Bangalore district.⁵

Îlam (l. 2) or Îla-maṇḍala (l. 3) is the Tamil designation of the island of Ceylon. Rājendra-Chôla I. boasts of having deprived its king of his own crown, the crowns of his queens, and two other trinkets which the Pāndya king had previously deposited with the king of Ceylon: a crown and the 'necklace of Indra'. Mr. Venkayya has pointed out that the *Mahāvamsa* (chapter LIII) also refers to the crown of the Pāndya, which had been left with the king of Ceylon and was taken from him by the Chôlas,⁶ and that the 'necklace of Indra' is alluded to in several Pāndya inscriptions.⁷

The Kêrâla (l. 3) is the king of Malabar. Śāndimattivû (l. 5), i.e. the island of Śāntimat (?), is unknown. Musangî is perhaps identical with the fort of Uchchangî in the Bellary district.⁸ Jayasimha of Ratta-pâdi (l. 6), who was put to flight at Musangî, is the Western Châlukya king Jayasimha II.⁹

Śakkaragôttam, i.e. Chakrakôṭṭa, is shown by the inscriptions of Kulôttunga I. to have belonged to the dominions of the king of Dhârâ.¹⁰ Madura-maṇḍala (l. 7) need not be connected with Madhurâ, the capital of the Pāndya king, who has been already accounted for (l. 3), but may be meant for the district of the northern Mathurâ on the Yamunâ. The three next geographical names cannot be identified.

At Âdinagar (?) Rājendra-Chôla I. captured Indraratha of the race of the Moon (l. 8). As suggested by Prof. Kielhorn,¹¹ this prince may be identical with that Indraratha who is mentioned in the Udaypur inscription as an enemy of Bhôjadêva of Dhârâ.

¹ *South Ind. Inscr.* Vol. III p. 196, above, Vol. VIII p. 262.

² Compare *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. III p. 197.

³ *Ibid.* p. 52.

⁴ Above, Vol. III p. 281. Compare also Vol. VI pp. 224, 225 and 227 (*Kollipâkkai*).

⁵ *Ep. Carn.* Vol. III p. 10 of the Introduction.

⁶ *Annual Report on Epigraphy for 1906-1907*, p. 73.

⁷ *Ibid.* p. 68 f., *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXII p. 72 and note 78.

⁸ *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. II. p. 94, note 4.

⁹ *Ibid.* Vol. I p. 96.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* Vol. III. p. 133.

¹¹ *List of Southern Inscr.* p. 120, note 3.

Odda-vishaya (l 9) is the province of Orissa, and Kōsalar-nādu is probably Southern Kōsala.¹ Tandabutti, i.e. Dandabhukti and its ruler Dharmapala are unknown from other sources. The same is the case with Ranasura, who ruled over Takkanaḷadāṁ (l 10), i.e. Dakṣiṇa-Vīrāṭa² or Southern Berar, and with Gōvīndachandra,³ the ruler of Vangāla-dēśa, i.e. the Bengal country. Mahipala, whom the Chola king deprived of his elephants and women, is identified by Prof. Kielhorn with the Pāla king Mahipala I.⁴

The list of conquests closes with Uttanāḷadāṁ (l 11), i.e. Uttara-Vīrāṭa or Northern Berar, and the Gangā, i.e. the river Ganges.

The short passage in Tamil prose with which the inscription ends (ll 12-14) records its actual purpose — a gift of money for a lamp and for offerings to the Jaina temple on the hill by the wife of a merchant of Malliyūr in Karaivali, a subdivision of Perumbanappādi. The temple was called Sī-Kundavai-Jinalaya (l 13), i.e. the Jina temple of Kundavai. This name suggests that the shrine owed its foundation to Kundavai, the daughter of Paṇṭaka II, elder sister of Rājārāja I (and consequently the paternal aunt of Rajendra-Chola I) and wife of Vallavaraiyār Vandyadōvar.⁵ The sacred hill (Tirumalai) is stated to have formed part of Vaigavūr, a *pallichchandam*, i.e. 'a village belonging to a Jaina temple,'⁶ in Mugai-nādu, a subdivision of Pangala-nādu, a district of Jayangonda-Chōla-maṇḍala. Malliyūr is the modern Gudimallūr near Arcot.⁷ The remaining geographical names mentioned in this paragraph have been discussed in *South-Ind Inscr* Vol III p 89, and above, Vol VII p 192.

In conclusion I would like to add a few words on the later conquests of Rājendra-Chōla I which are registered in the Tanjore inscription No 20. Mr Venkayya has shown that my former identification of Kadāram with a place in the Madura district⁸ must be wrong, because the Chōla king despatched an expedition to it on ships by sea, and because two of the localities mentioned in connection with this expedition, Nakkavaram and Pappālam, are, respectively, the Nicobar Islands and a port in Burma.⁹ Among the remaining items we read in line 9 of the Tanjore inscription *nīraśi-vīśāyamum*, and in line 11 *kalar-ttakkor pugal talai-ttakkolamum*. The second of them, Takkōlam, may be identical with Ptolemy's *Tάκωλα ἐμπόριον* which Colonel Gerini places at Takōpa on the western coast of the Malay Peninsula.¹⁰ Instead of the first, which I had translated by 'Vijayam of great fame,' an inscription at Kandiyaṇ near Tanjore reads *nīra-śrīviśāyamum*, 'the prosperous Śrīviśaya'.¹¹ This may be the correct reading, for according to the larger Leiden grant (l 80) Śrīviśaya was the name of the country ruled over by the king of Kataha or Kadāram.

¹ *South Ind Inscr* Vol. I p 97

² In his *Annual Report on Epigraphy for 1906-1907*, p 87 f, Mr Venkayya has shown that the Tamil term *Ilāda* does not correspond to the Sanskrit *Lāṭa* (Gujarāt), but to *Vīraṭa* (Berar).

³ Page 34 of Dr Burnell's *South-Indian Palaeography* (2nd ed.) contains the following note — "The great inscription at Tanjore (11th century) mentions a Śāramān, but also a king of Karuvai (or Karūṭi) and a Gōvīndachandra (king of Kāmāṭa)." — *Kannāda* (= Kannada or Karnāṭa) is nothing but a misreading of the word *Takkanaḷadāṁ*, which happens to precede the name *Gōvīndachandra* (l 10), and *Karuvai*, here represented as referring to Karuvūr, is probably derived from *Adinagar-avai* (l 8). I am not drawing attention to these mistakes in order to gloat over them, but to prevent their being quoted as reliable facts.

⁴ *List of Southern Inscr* p 120, note 4.

⁵ *South-Ind. Inscr* Vol II p 68. For three other princesses named Kundavai see *Ind Ant* Vol XXIII p 298, note 13, and *South-Ind Inscr* Vol III p 100.

⁶ Above, Vol VII p 116, note 1.

⁷ See Mr. Venkayya's *Annual Report on Epigraphy for 1905-1906*, p 36 f, Nos 418, 416 and 419.

⁸ *South-Ind Inscr* Vol II p 106.

⁹ *Annual Report on Epigraphy for 1898-99*, p 17. Compare *South Ind Inscr* Vol. III p 124 f.

¹⁰ *Journ. R. As. Soc.* 1904, p 247.

¹¹ See my *Annual Report on Epigraphy for 1894-95*, p 4.

TEXT

- 1 Svasti sū [||*] Tīru manai valarav=ira-nila-madandayum pōr-chchaya-ppāvaiyūñ=
mu ttanī-chchelvīyūñ=dan poru-dēviyai=agi 11 b=uru ned-udiyal ūhyal
Idaidu-
- 2 rai-nādun=dndai-vana-vēli-ppadai Vanavāsīyūñ=julī-chchūl-madit-Kollippākkaiyu=
nannark-ai-u-munan Mannakkadakkamum poru-gadal īlatt=araś rda=mudiyum
ānga-
- 3 var dēviyai=ōng-elin-mudiyu=mann-avai pakkal-Ttēnnavar vaitta sundara-
mudiyum Indiran=ānamun=den-durai īla-mandala=muluvadum eri-badai=
Kkeralar
- 4 mutaimaiyū=chūdun-gula-danam=āgiya palar pugai mudiyūñ=Jengadir-mālaiyūñ=
jang-ai-lu-vol-uttol-burun-gīvai=pai-balan-di(di)vuñ=jervu=chena-
- 5 vil¹ mubatt-on-gul=aiasūgalai katta Parāsurāman mēv-aiuñ=Jāndimattivv-aran²
kandī mutiya sem-boṭ-Rura-ttagu-mudiyum bayan=godu pal mugā
Musangiyil mu-
- 6 dug-irt=olitta Śayaśi(śi)ngan śala-pperum-bugalodum pīd-iyal Irattabādi ēl-avai
ilakkamu=nava-nedi-kkula-pperu-malaigalum vikṇama-vīrār Śakkaragōttamu=
- 7 mudina bada-v illai Mādura-mandalamum kâ-midai-valaiya=Nāmanakkōnamum
vēñ-jū-u-vānai Pañjappalliyum pās-udai-ppala=nan-Māsunī-dēśamum ayai vi-
- 8 l-van-gi(gi)rttiy=Ādinagar-avaiyir=Chandiran=rol-gulatt=Iradarana⁴ vilaiy=
amaikkalattā=kkilayodum pīd[it]tu=ppala-danattōdu nīrai kula-dana-kkuvai-
- 9 yūñ⁵ t-t-aiuñ=jexi-milay=⁵Otta-vishaiyamum būsurai sér nal-Kkōsalai-nādun=
Danmabālanai ven-munaiy=aiittu vand-urāi-sōlai=Ttandayū(bu)ttiyum=
Irana-
- 10 sūrapai muran=ura=ttākki=ttākk-anai-gi(gi)rtti=Ttakkanalādamun=Gōvindaśandan
pīv=īlind=oda=ttangāda-sāral Vangāla-dēśamun=dōdu-gadaṭ-changugottāṭ⁶
Mahibalanai
- 11 vēñ-jama[r*]-valāgatt-añjuvitt=aiuñ on-dīral yānaiyum pendir-bandāramu=
nītala-nedun-gadal=Utt[ra]lādamum veri-manar-rirtta-tteṭi-bunar=Kangaiyu=
mā-p-
- 12 poru-dandār=konda kō=Pparagēśaribapmar=āna udaiyār Śrī-Rājēndra-
Chōladēvarku yāndu lāvadu [Ja]yangonda-Sōla-mandalattu Pangala-
nāttu naduvil
- 13 va[g]ai Mugai-nāttu=ppalichchandam Vaigavūr=Ttūrumalai Śrī-Kundavai-
Jinālayattu dēvaṭku=Pperumbānappādī=Kkeraivali Malliyūr irukkam vyā-
- 14 pāri Nannappayan manavātti Śāmundappai vaitta tūnandavilakku onrīnukku=
kkāsu mubadum [tū]vamudakku vaitta kāsū pattum [||*]

TRANSLATION

(Line 1) Hail! Prosperity!

(L 12) In the 13th year (of the reign) of king Paṇakēśarivarman *alias* the lord Śrī-Rājēndra-Chōladēva, who,—

¹ Read =chinari

² Read =tū-aran

³ Other inscriptions read *alapp arum*, see *South-Ind Inscr* Vol II p 93, note 5

⁴ Read =Indrarādana. That this is the original reading, becomes more than probable in the following manner — (1) The doubtful word may be expected to rhyme on *Chandira*, the third word before it (2) The Tanjore inscription No 20 reads =Indiradana (3) Indraratha is the only correct Sanskrit name I can think of, which would account for both corrupt readings

⁵ The Tanjore inscription No 20 reads *kitt-aiuñ=jeri minai*

⁶ Read, as in the Tanjore inscription No 20, *tōdu galar-changuv ottai*

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(L 1) in *(his)* life of high prosperity, while Tiru (Lakshmi), having become constant, was increasing, *(and)* while the goddess of the great earth, the goddess of victory in battle, and the matchless goddess of fame rejoiced to have become his great queens,—

(L 11) seized by *(his)* great, warlike army *(the following)* :—

(L 1) Idaidurai-nādu, Vaṇavāsi, *(round which)* a fence of continuous forests was spreading,¹ Kollippākkai, whose walls were surrounded with brushwood,² Mannai-kkadakkam, whose strength was unapproachable,³ the crown of the king of Īlam *(on)* the tempestuous ocean, the exceedingly fine crowns of the queens of that *(king)*, the beautiful crown⁴ and the necklace of India, which the king of the South *(= the Pāndya)* had previously deposited with that *(king of Īlam)*, the whole Īla-mandala *(on)* the transparent sea, the crown praised by many and the garland of the Sun, family-treasures which the arrow-shooting *(king of)* Kērala rightfully wore, many ancient islands, whose old, great guard was the ocean which makes the conches resound, the crown of pure gold, worthy of Tiru (Lakshmi), which Paraśurāma, having considered the fortifications of Śāndimattivu impregnable, had deposited *(there)*, when, in anger, *(he)* bound the kings twenty-one times in battle, the seven and a half lakṣhas of Irattabādi, *(which was)* strong by nature, *(and which he took)*, together with immeasurable fame, *(from)* Jayasimha, who, out of fear and full of vengeance, turned his back at Muṣangi and hid himself, the principal great mountains *(which contained)* the nine treasures *(of Kuvēra)*,⁵ Śakkaragōttam, whose warriors were brave, Mādura-mandala, whose forts *(bore)* banners *(which touched)* the clouds, Nāmanaikkōnam, which was surrounded by dense groves, Pañchappalli, whose warriors *(bore)* cruel bows, the good Māṣuni-dēśa, whose fruits were fresh, a large heap of family-treasures, together with many *(other)* treasures, *(which he carried away)* after having captured Indraratha of the old race of the Moon, together with *(his)* family, in a fight which took place in the hall *(at)* Ādinagar, *(a city)* which was famous for unceasing abundance, Odda-vishaya, which was difficult to approach, *(and which he subdued in)* close fights, the good Kōśalai-nādu, where Brāhmanas assembled, Tandabutti, in whose gardens bees abounded, *(and which he acquired)* after having destroyed Dharmapāla *(in)* a hot battle, Takkanalādam, whose fame reached *(all)* directions, *(and which he occupied)* after having forcibly attacked Ranaśūra, Vangāla-dēśa, where the rain-wind never stopped, *(and from which)* Gōvindachandra fled, having descended *(from his)* male elephant,⁶ elephants of rare strength and treasures of women, *(which he seized)* after having been pleased to put to flight on a hot battle-field Mahipāla, decked *(as he was)* with ear-rings, shippers and bracelets, Uttiralādam, as rich in pearls as the ocean, and the Gangā, whose waters dashed against bathing-places *(tirtha)* covered with sand,—

(L 12) Chāmundappai, the wife of the merchant Nannappaya, who resided *(at)* Malhiyūr *(in)* Karaivali, *(a subdivision)* of Perumbānappādi, deposited twenty kāsas for one perpetual lamp and ten kāsas for offerings to the god of the Śrī-Kundavai-Jinālaya *(on)* the holy mountain (Tirumalai) of Vagavūr, a pallichchandam in Mugai-nādu, a subdivision *(vagai)* in the middle of Pangajā-nādu, *(a district)* of Jayangonda-Chōḷa-mandala

¹ It seems most natural to take *padar* as a verb. It may also mean 'a road' or may be the nom. plur. of the Sanskrit *bhata*, 'a warrior'.

² This was perhaps done by the besieging Chōḷa army when setting fire to the city. Among the meanings of *suḥi*, the *Dictionnaire Tamoul-Français* notes the following — 'brouilles, menu bois sec pour brûler'.

³ Other inscriptions read *nannark-arum-aran*, 'whose fortifications were unapproachable'.

⁴ It seems more simple to take the first member of *sundara-mudi* as an adjective, than to translate the compound by 'the crown of Sundara'.

⁵ See *South-Ind Inscr* Vol II p 95, note 1.

⁶ Compare *paṇad=śūnd=śāda*, *ibid* Vol II p. 34, text line 7 f.

EPIGRAPHIA INDICA.

VOLUME X.

No. 1.—THE PALLAVA INSCRIPTIONS OF THE SEVEN PAGODAS

BY PROFESSOR E. HULTZSCH, PH.D.; HALLE (SAALE).

"The Seven Pagodas" is the Anglo-Indian name of an extensive group of ancient rock-sculptures on the sea-shore, about 30 miles south of Madras. These interesting remains can be reached from Madras by boat on the Buckingham Canal, or from Chingleput Junction by bullock-cart *via* Tirukkalkunnam. The present Tamil designation of the place is Māvalivaram, while the Brāhmaṇas call it by the more learned Sanskrit name Mahābalipuram, *i.e.* 'the city of Mahābali.' In the Chōla inscriptions of the "Shore temple" we find the terms Māmallapuram, *i.e.* 'the city of Mahāmalla,' and Tirukkādalmallai,¹ *i.e.* 'the holy Mallai on the sea.' Māmallapuram then formed part of Āmūr-nādu, a sub-division of Āmūr-kōṭṭam.² Both this district and its sub-division were named after the present village of Āmūr³ near Māmallapuram. The four last of the subjoined inscriptions (Nos. 23-26) are at Śāluvaṅgupam, a village 2 miles north of Māvalivaram.

The wonderful monuments at the Seven Pagodas have attracted the attention of many tourists and antiquarians. A collection of notices of them was published at Madras in 1869 by Captain Carr under the title "Descriptive and Historical Papers Relating to the Seven Pagodas on the Coromandel Coast." By far the best and most authentic account was furnished in 1880 by Dr. Fergusson in his *Cave Temples of India*, pp. 105-159. The *Madras Journal of Literature and Science* for the year 1880 (pp. 82-232) contains an excellent guide, with a map, by Colonel Branfill, which will be much appreciated by visitors to the spot and will save them much time and trouble.

The important question of the authors and the dates of those excavations can be answered only by a careful study of the inscriptions engraved on them. These I published already in 1890 in the first volume of *South-Indian Inscriptions*, pp. 1-8. I now reprint my former readings and translations, with some improvements and a few additions,⁴ to accompany six plates which are based on excellent inked estampages, prepared recently under the personal

¹ *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. I, p. 68. The same form of the name occurs in the *Nālāyiraprabandham*, the sacred scriptures of the Tamil Vaishṇavas.

² *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. I, p. 64.

³ No. 133 on the *Madras Survey Map* of the Chingleput tāluka. Compare *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. III, p. 165.

⁴ Two short inscriptions (Nos. 18 and 19) were only lately discovered by Mr. Venkayya. Of two others (Nos. 25 and 26) no fresh impressions were taken, and they are consequently not included in the plates.

supervision of Rai Bahadur Venkayya. For the introductory remarks and the notes I have utilised some fresh materials which have accumulated since the time of the original publication.

The language of the inscriptions is Sanskrit. Nos. 1-19, 25 and 26 are in prose, Nos. 20-24 in verse.¹ The authors of the inscriptions themselves inform us that they were members of the ancient southern dynasty of the Pallavas. As none of the inscriptions contains any date, we must try to fix their approximate time on palaeographical grounds. As the accompanying plates will show, the sculptors employed four different alphabets, three of which are of the southern type, while the fourth is in northern characters.

I.—The majority of the short epigraphs on the monolith now styled “Dharmarāja-ratha” (Nos. 1-16) resemble the Mahēndravādi and Śiyamangalam cave inscriptions which I have assigned to the Pallava king Mahēndravarman I.² Among the names and surnames of the king who excavated the “Dharmarāja-ratha” we find twice Narasimha (Nos. 1 and 7), which seems to have been his actual name, while the remaining designations look like mere surnames. Among the successors of Mahēndravarman I. there were two kings named Narasimhavarman. As the type of the alphabet is more archaic than that of the second set of inscriptions (which, as will appear presently, probably belongs to the time of Paramēśvaravarman I., the father of Narasimhavarman II.), the Narasimha of the “Dharmarāja-ratha” inscriptions may be identified with Narasimhavarman I., the son of Mahēndravarman I. and the contemporary and enemy of the Western Chalukya king Pulakēśin II. (A.D. 609-642). This identification is rendered almost certain by a reference to the published facsimile of the Badāmi inscription of Narasimhavarman I.;³ the alphabet of this record is nearly identical with that of the “Dharmarāja-ratha” inscriptions. Consequently, the “Dharmarāja-ratha” must have been sculptured in the first half of the seventh century of our era.

II.—The second, very florid alphabet is found in the inscriptions of the Pallava king Atyantakāma on the monolith now styled “Gaṇēśa temple” (No. 20), in the two caves called “Dharmarāja-maṇḍapa” (No. 21) and “Rāmānuja-maṇḍapa” (No. 22), and in a short inscription of the same king on the “Dharmarāja-ratha” (No. 17). The same alphabet is employed in the Kāñchi inscriptions of Rājasimha and his son Mahēndravarman (III.).⁴ The Kāñchi inscriptions seem to call Rājasimha also Narasimhavishṇu, and they state that he was the son of Ugradanḍa, ‘the destroyer of Raṇarasika’s city.’ Dr. Fleet was the first to point out that in one of the Kāñchi inscriptions Ugradanḍa is named Paramēśvara, and that the epithet Raṇarasika refers to the Western Chalukya king Vikramāditya I. (A.D. 655 to 680). He thus established the identity of Paramēśvara *alias* Ugradanḍa with the Pallava king Paramēśvaravarman I., who, as we know from the Kūram plates, crossed arms with Vikramāditya I. Dr. Fleet further concluded that Rājasimha *alias* Narasimhavishṇu was the Pallava king Narasimhavarman II. of the copper-plate grants.⁵ This then was the king in whose time the Kailāsanātha temple at Kāñchi was built. The alphabet of Atyantakāma’s inscriptions at the Seven Pagodas agrees so closely with that of the Kailāsanātha epigraphs that both must be assigned to about the same period. Now from verse 2 of No. 20 I venture to conclude that Atyantakāma’s actual name was Paramēśvara. Consequently, I propose to identify this Atyantakāma with either Paramēśvaravarman I., the father of Rājasimha, or Paramēśvaravarman II., the son of Rājasimha,—preferably with Paramēśvaravarman I.,

¹ There are, however, a few prose words in No. 20, line 13; No. 21, l. 12; No. 23, 24, 15 and 17; and No. 24, l. 16.

² Above, Vol. IV, p. 152 f., and Vol. VI, p. 320. The alphabet of the Trichinopoly cave inscription is more recent, and the opinion that it belongs to Mahēndravarman I. (*South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. II, p. 341) cannot be upheld.

³ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. IX, p. 100, and Dr. Fleet’s *Dyn. Kan. Distr.* p. 328 f.

⁴ *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. I, Nos. 24 and 27, and Vol. II, Plate ix.

⁵ *Dyn. Kan. Distr.* p. 329 f.

whose reign is well established by inscriptions on stone and copper, while, instead of Paramēśvaravarman II., the Kāñchi inscriptions mention another son of Rājasimha, named Mahēndrarvarman(III.). The second group of inscribed monuments at the Seven Pagodas would thus belong to about the third quarter of the seventh century.

III.—The third alphabet is that of an inscription of the Pallava king Atirapachanda on the left of the cave at Śāluvaṅguppam (No. 23) and of three short epigraphs: one at the top of the same cave (No. 25), another on the "Dharmarāja-ratha" (No. 18), and a third near the "Gōpis' Churn" (No. 19). It resembles, though it is not quite identical with, the alphabet of the Kāsakūḍi plates of Nandivarman.¹ The name (or surname) Atirapachanda is unknown from other sources. As the alphabet of stone inscriptions sometimes differs slightly from that of contemporaneous records on copper, there would be no objection to assigning these records, as will be done in the sequel, to the time of Nandivarman, the contemporary of the Western Chalukya king Vikramāditya II.

IV.—The last alphabet, an early kind of Nāgarī, is employed in the inscription on the right of the Śāluvaṅguppam cave (No. 24) and in a short label at the top of the same cave (No. 26). No. 24 is a copy of the first six verses of Atirapachanda's epigraph on the left of the same cave (No. 23), and No. 26 is a repetition of the label in the third alphabet which is engraved immediately above it (No. 25). The characters resemble those of the Nāgarī version on the Paṭṭadakal pillar of the Western Chalukya king Kirtivarman II.² As we know that the predecessor of this king, Vikramāditya II.,³ took Kāñchi from the Pallava king Nandivarman, it is perhaps not too bold to surmise that the inscriptions in the third and fourth alphabets belong to the reign of his enemy Nandivarman, who would then have borne the surname Atirapachanda. The sudden collapse of the Pallava power at the hands of Vikramāditya II. may have been the reason why so many of the excavations at the Seven Pagodas have remained unfinished. As I have remarked in *South-Indian Inscriptions* Vol. I. p. 10, we meet with the same plurality of alphabets in the Kailāsanātha temple at Kāñchi. The enclosure of this temple bears three tiers of identical inscriptions. The characters of the third tier are those of the epigraphs of Narasimhavarman II. The alphabets of the second and first tiers are, respectively, those of the left and right inscriptions of the Śāluvaṅguppam cave. Consequently they must have been added at a later date by Atirapachanda (Nandivarman?).

I am fully aware that my remarks on the third and fourth alphabets do not rest on quite firm ground. But, in the absence of further information, we may place the inscriptions written in both alphabets in the time immediately preceding the conquest of the Pallava territory by Vikramāditya II. (A.D. 733-734 to 746-747). The fact that a northern alphabet was employed along with a southern one suggests that the artisans were recruited from the north of India.

The two last columns of the accompanying table will show at a glance to which of the Pallava kings of the third column I propose to assign each of the Pallava records of the Seven Pagodas. It is worth noting that, with his usual sagacity, Dr. Fergusson had already succeeded in fixing the approximate period of the remains at the Seven Pagodas at about 650 to 700.⁴

The contents of the subjoined inscriptions are singularly uninteresting and devoid of historical facts. All that we learn from them is a string of names and surnames of three different

¹ *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. II. No. 73.

² Above, Vol. III. p. 4, Plate.

³ *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. I. p. 146; above, Vol. III. pp. 3 and 359.

Cave Temples of India, p. 110 f.

SYNCHRONISTIC TABLE OF THE PALLAVA KINGS OF KĀŪCHĪ.

| Western Chalukya contemporaries of Pallava kings. | Pallava kings named in Western Chalukya copper-plate grants. | Genealogy of the Pallavas according to their own copper-plate grants. | Pallava kings named in the Kāūchī inscriptions. | Pallava kings named in the inscriptions of the Seven Pūgūdas. | Nos. of inscriptions published below. |
|---|--|---|---|---|---------------------------------------|
| • • • • • | • • • • • | Sīmabhaviṣṭu . . . | • • • • • | • • • • • | • • • • • |
| • • • • • | • • • • • | — Mahēndravarmān I. . . | • • • • • | • • • • • | • • • • • |
| Pulakeśin II . . . | Narasiṃha . . . | — Narasiṃhavarman I. . . | • • • • • | Narasimha Atyantakāma Śrībhara. Śrīnidhi | 1-16. |
| • • • • • | Mahēndra . . . | — Mahēndravarmān II. . . | • • • • • | • • • • • | • • • • • |
| Vikramāditya I. Rāparajika. . . | • • • • • | — Paramēśvaravarman I. . . | Paramēśvara Ugradapāda Lokāditya. . . | Paramēśvara Atyantakāma Śrībhara Rāparajaya. Śrīnidhi | 17, 20-22. |
| • • • • • | Narasimhapōtavarman. . . | — Narasimhavarman II. . . | Rājasimha Atyantakāma Śrībhara Rāparajaya (Narasimhaviṣṭu). . . | • • • • • | • • • • • |
| • • • • • | • • • • • | — Paramēśvaravarman II. . . | — Mahēndravarmān (III.). . . | • • • • • | • • • • • |
| Vikramāditya II. Nandipōtavarman . . . | • • • • • | Nandivarman Pallavamalla, a distant relative of Paramēśvaravarman II. . . | • • • • • | Atirachapōda Atyantakāma Śrībhara Rāparajaya. Śrīnidhi | 18, 19, 23-26. |

Pallava kings, and the fact that the excavations on which they are engraved were shrines of Īśvara (Śiva) and bore each the name of its respective founder. Thus the "Gaṇeśa temple" (No. 20) and the "Dharmarāja-maṇḍapa" (No. 21) were called *Atyantakāma-Pallavēśvara-griha*, i.e. 'the Īśvara temple of Atyantakāma-Pallava.' On the "Dharmarāja-ratha," which had probably been founded by Narasiṃha[varman I.] *alias* Atyantakāma, the same name seems to have been bestowed by his descendant [Paramēśvaravarman I.] *alias* Atyantakāma or Rapaṇjaya (No. 17). The Śāluvaṅguppam cave bears the label *Atiraṇachanḍa-Palla[vēśvara-griha]* (Nos. 25 and 26), i.e. 'the Īśvara temple of Atiraṇachanḍa-Pallava.'

The last column but one of the table on page 4 shows that each of the three Pallava kings Narasiṃha, Paramēśvara and Atiraṇachanḍa bore the two surnames Śrinidhi and Śribhara. In this connection I would like to mention certain Pallava coins from Māvalivaram which I saw in the cabinet of the Rev. E. Loventhal of Vellore. All of them bear on the obverse a bull (the crest of the Pallavas), and various legends above it. One of the coins, with a star on the reverse,¹ reads *Śribharaḥ*; another, with a fish on the reverse,² *Śrini[dhi]*; and a third, with a cross on the reverse,³ *Mānapara*. With the legend of the last coin compare the *biruda* Atimāna in the inscription No. 9 of the "Dharmarāja-ratha."

A.—INSCRIPTIONS ON THE "DHARMARĀJA-RATHA" AT MĀVALIVARAM.⁴

Nos. 1-16 of these inscriptions consist of a number of words in the nominative case, which their first decipherers, Drs. Babington and Burnell, took for names of deities. From a comparison with the remaining inscriptions of the Seven Pagodas, where several of them recur, it follows, however, that they are *birudas* of a Pallava king whose actual name seems to have been Narasiṃha (Nos. 1 and 7). Among these surnames, Atyantakāma, Śrinidhi and Śribhara were borne also by the two kings *mentioned in the later inscriptions of the Seven Pagodas. Others appear again in the inscriptions of the Pallava king Rājasimha at Kāñchi, viz. Parāpara Bhuvanabhājana,⁵ Śrīmēgha and Sarvatōbhadra.

The two last inscriptions on the "Dharmarāja-ratha" are not written in the same alphabet as Nos. 1-16. No. 17 follows the type of Nos. 20-22, and No. 18 that of No. 23. Each of them designates the "Dharmarāja-ratha" as 'the Īśvara (Śiva) temple of Atyantakāma-Pallava.'

I.—First Storey.

a.—North.

No. 1.

श्रीनरसिंहः

The glorious Narasiṃha.

b.—East.

No. 2.

प्रिथिविसारः श्रीभरः

Prithivisāra (the best on earth). Śrībhara (the bearer of wealth).

¹ Sir Walter Elliot's *Coins of Southern India*, Plate i. No. 34.

² *Ibid.* No. 37.

³ *Ibid.* No. 38.

⁴ *Madras Survey Map*, No. 43. Carr's *Seven Pagodas*, p. 37, Plate xvii, p. 224.

⁵ The synonym Avaniabhājana occurs in the Śiyamaṅgalam cave inscription; above, Vol. VI, p. 320.

⁶ Read प्रिथिविसारः. The shortening of the final *i* of *prīṭhivī* is permitted by Pāṇini, vi. 3, 68; compare the proper name Kālidāsa.

No. 3.

भुवनभाजानः¹

Bhuvanabhājana (the owner of the world).

c.—South.

No. 4.

[श्री]मेघः त्रैलोक्यवर्धनः विधिः

Śrīmēgha (the cloud (*showering*) wealth). Trailōkyavardhana (the bestower of prosperity on the three worlds). Vidhi.

No. 5.

अत्यन्तकामः अनेकोभायः²

Atyantakāma (he whose desires are boundless). Anēkōpāya (he (*who knows*) many expedients).

II.—Second Storey.

a.—North.

No. 6.

स्थिरभक्तिः मदनभिरामः विधिः[*]

Sthirabhakti (he whose devotion is firm). Madanābhirāma (he who is as handsome as Love). Vidhi.

No. 7.

श्रीनरसिंहः भुवनभाजानः श्रीमेघः[*] अप्रतिहतश्लाघनः[*]

The glorious Narasimha. Bhuvanabhājana (the owner of the world). Śrīmēgha (the cloud (*showering*) wealth). Apratihataśāghana (he whose commands are unopposed).

No. 8.

कामललितः अमेयसायः सकलकल्याणः

Kāmalalita (he who is as charming as Love.) Amēyamāya (he whose diplomacy is immeasurable). Sakalakalyāṇa (the altogether prosperous).

No. 9.

नयनमनोहरः वामः[*] अतिमानः

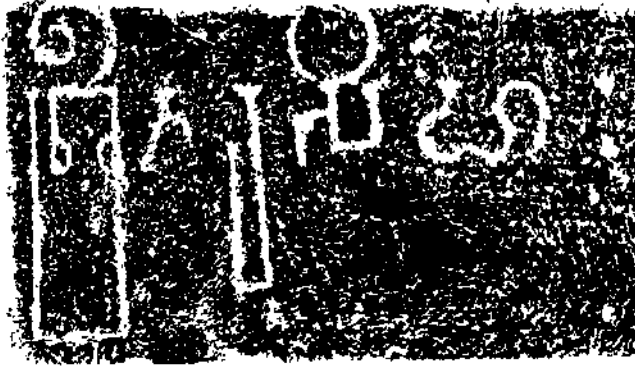
Nayanamanōhara (he who is pleasing to the eyes). Vāma (the handsome). Atimāna (he whose pride is excessive).

b.—East.

¹ Read °भाजनः.

² Read अनेकोपायः and compare the surname Upāyanipāya in the Kīlāchl inscriptions.

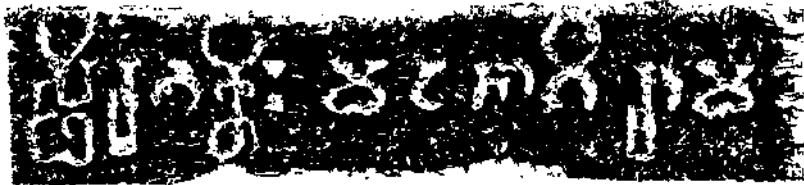
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E. Hultzsch.

From inked etching

No. 10.

वामः पराभरः¹

Vāma (the handsome). Parāpara (the omnipotent).

No. 11.

अनुपमः नया[कु]र[*]

Anupama (the matchless). Nayānkura² (the sprout of polity).

c.—South.

No. 12.

ललितः

Laṭita (the charming).

No. 13.

नयनमनोहरः सर्वतोभद्रः

Nayanamanōhara (he who is pleasing to the eyes). Sarvatōbhadra (the altogether auspicious).

No. 14.

श्रीनिधिः निरुत्तरः

Srinidhi (the receptacle of wealth). Niruttara³ (the unsurpassed).

No. 15.

विधिः विभ्रान्तः

Vidhi. Vibhrānta⁴ (the passionate).

d.—West.

No. 16.

सत्यपराक्रमः⁵ परावरः

Satyaparākrama (he whose valour is true). Parāvra (the omnipotent).

III.—Third Storey.

a.—East.

¹ Read पराभरः (as in the Kāñchi inscriptions) or परावरः (No. 16). The softening of a single consonant between two vowels in *parābhara*, *pridhivisāra* (No. 2) and *śāhāra* (No. 5) is evidently due to the influence of the Tamil vernacular on the pronunciation of Sanskrit words.

² With the first member of the compound *Nayānkura* compare the surnames *Bahunaya* and *Nayānāsāra* in the Kāñchi inscriptions. The second member, *ānkura*, is synonymous with *pōta* or *pallava*, from which the Pallavas derive their name; see *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. II. p. 341, note 1. Compare *Buddhānkura* (above, Vol. VIII, p. 144 f.), *Lalitānkura* (*South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. II. p. 341, and above, Vol. VI p. 220), and *Tarupānkura* (No. 20 below, verse 7). The last *śirūda* suggests that we may have to read *Navānkura* for *Nayānkura*.

See below, p. 9 and note 4.

⁴ Compare the surnames *Mattapramatta* and *Mattavikāra* in the Kāñchi inscriptions.

⁵ Read पराक्रमः.

No. 17.

श्रीअत्यन्तकामपल्लवेश्वरगृहम् ॥ रणजयः

The holy Īśvara (Śiva) temple of Atyantakāma-Pallava. Rāṇajaya (the conqueror in battle).

b.—West.

No. 18.

अत्यन्तकामपल्लवेश्वरगृहम् ॥

The Īśvara (Śiva) temple of Atyantakāma-Pallava.

B.—INSCRIPTION NEAR THE "GŌPIS' CHURN" AT MĀVALIVARAM.

According to Mr. Venkayya, who discovered this and the preceding inscription (No. 18) quite recently, No. 19 is engraved 'on a pillar of the rock-cut *mandapa* south-west of the "Gōpis' Churn." It is in the same alphabet as No. 23 and consists of a single *virūḍa*.

No. 19.

श्रीवामांकुशः¹

The glorious Vāmāṅkuśa (bearer of a handsome elephant-goad).

C.—INSCRIPTION AT THE "GAṆĒŚA TEMPLE," MĀVALIVARAM.²

This inscription records that the monolith on which it is engraved was a temple of Śiva and had been called 'the Īśvara temple of Atyantakāma-Pallava' by its builder, king Atyantakāma. This prince bore the surnames Śrinidhi, Śribhara, Rāṇajaya, Taruṇāṅkura, Kēma-rāga, and several others. His actual name seems to have been Paramēśvara.³

No. 20.

- 1 सन्भवस्थितिसंहारकारणं वीतकारणः [1*]
भूयादत्यन्तकामाय जगतां काममर्दनः ॥ [१*]
- 2 अमायश्चिन्मायोसावगुणो गुणभाजनः [1*]
स्वस्थो निवृत्तरो जीयादनीशः परमेश्वरः ॥ २*]
- 3 यस्याङ्गमराक्रान्तः कैलासः सदृशाननः [1*]
पातालमगमन्मूर्ध्नी श्रीनिधिस्तम्बिभर्त्यजम् ॥ [३*]
- 4 भक्तिप्रद्रेण मनसा भवभूषणलीलया [1*]
दीप्ता च यो भुवो भारक्षीयात्त श्रीभरश्चिरम् ॥ ४*]

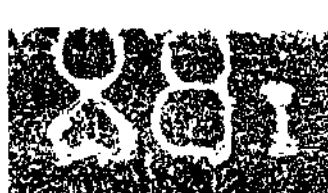
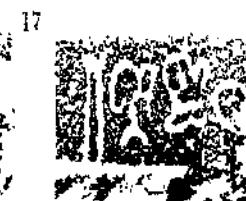
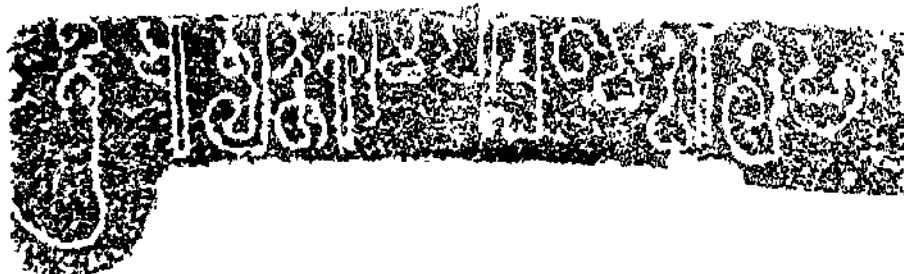
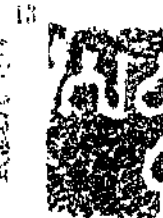
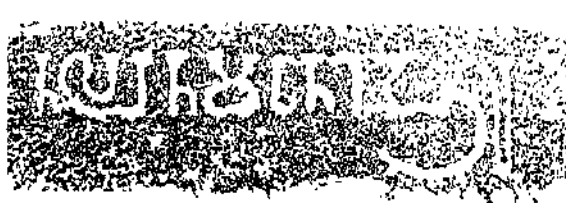
¹ The *anuvāsa* of *श्री* is doubtful.

² *Madras Survey Map*, No. 24. Carr's *Seven Pagodas*, Plate xiv, pp. 57, 221, 224. Burnell, *South-Indian Palaeography*, 2nd edition, p. 38, note 4.

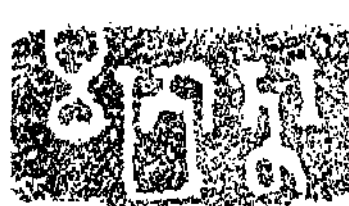
³ See below, p. 9, note 4.

⁴ Here and in No. 21, line 5, the correct reading would be दीप्ता च यो भुवो भारक्षीयात्त, which is found in verse 4 of Nos. 23 and 24.

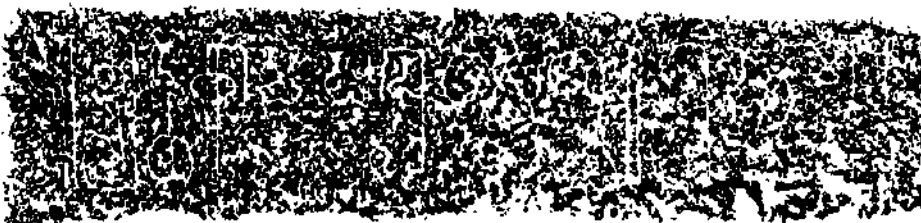
12



15

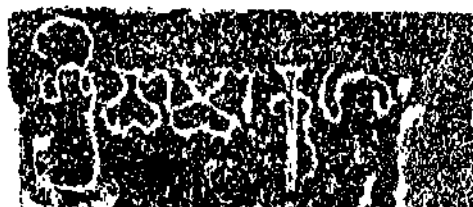


18



Scale .2

Inscription near the Gopis' Churn.



Scale .18



- 5 अत्यन्तकामी नृपतिर्निर्जितारातिमण्डलः [1*]
ख्यातो रणजयः शम्भोस्तेनेदं वैश्वं कारितम् ॥ ५*
- 6 नः स्थाणुर्निष्कलः सोमः पावकाद्या¹ वियद्गुः [1*]
भीमः शिवो विजयतां शङ्करः कामसूदनः ॥ [६*]
- 7 राजराजो न विरसश्चक्रभृन् जनार्दनः [1*]
तारकाधिपतिः स्वस्थो जयतात्तरुणाङ्कुरः ॥ [७*]
- 8 श्रीमतीत्यन्तकामस्य द्विवद्वर्षापहारिणः [1*]
श्रीनिधेः कामरागस्य हराराधनसङ्गिनः ॥ [८*]
- 9 अभिषेकजलापूर्णे चित्ररत्नाम्बुजाकरे [1*]
भास्ते विशाले सुमुखः शिरस्सरसि शङ्करः ॥ [९*]
- 10 तेनेदङ्कारितनुङ्गन्मूर्जटेर्मन्दिरगृहम्² [1*]
प्रजानामिष्टसिद्ध्यर्थं शाङ्करीभूतिमिच्छता ॥ [१०*]
- 11 धिक्तेषाम्निक्तेषाम्युनरपि धिग्धिग्धिगस्तु धिक्तेषाम् [1*]
येषाञ्च वसति हृदये कुपथगतिविमो-
- 12 चको रुद्रः ॥ [११*] अत्यन्तकामपञ्जवेश्वरगृहम् ॥*

TRANSLATION.

(Verse 1.) Let (Śiva), the destroyer of Love, (who is) the cause of production, existence and destruction, (*but is himself*) without cause, fulfil the boundless desires³ of men !

(V. 2.) Let him be victorious, who is (*both*) without illusion (*and*) possessed of manifold illusion (Chitramāya), who is (*both*) without qualities (*and*) endowed with qualities (Gupābhājana), who is self-existent (Svastha) (*and*) without superior (Niruttara), who is without lord (*and*) the highest lord (Paramēśvara) !⁴

(V. 3.) Śrinidhi⁵ bears on (*his*) head that Aja (Śiva),⁶ pressed by the weight of whose great toe, the Kailāsa (*mountain*) together with the ten-faced (Rāvaṇa) sank down into Pātāla.

¹ Read पावकाद्या.

² The composer has treated the syllable *grī* as if it began with *gr* and could thus render the preceding vowel prosodically long.

³ By the expression *atyantakāmāya* the panegyrist also alludes to the king's surname Atyantakāma.

⁴ All these epithets have to be applied in the first instance to Śiva, and with slight changes of meaning to the king himself. Chitramāya occurs as the name of a Pallava king in the Udayāndiram plates of Nandivarman (*South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. II. p. 372) ; compare also the *biruda* Māyāchāra in the Kāñchi inscriptions, and Amēyamāya in No. 8. With Gupābhājana compare Gupālaya in the Kāñchi inscriptions, and Guṇabhara, a surname of Mahēndravarmān I. (see above, Vol. VI. p. 820). For Svastha see verse 7, and for Niruttara No. 14. Paramēśvara is the only word in the whole inscription which looks like the actual name of the king. This view is suggested by the fact that two Pallava kings named Paramēśvaravarman are known from copper-plate grants ; see *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. II. p. 844.

⁵ This *biruda* of Paramēśvara occurs also in verse 8. The same had been a surname of his predecessor Narasiṃha ; see No. 14.

⁶ I.e. he is a devotee of Śiva.

(V. 4.) Let that Śrībhara¹ be victorious for a long time, who bears Bhava (Śiva) in (*his*) mind which is humbled with devotion, and (*who bears*) the earth on (*his*) arm like a coquettish ornament!

(V. 5.) King Atyantakāma, who has subdued the circle of (*his*) foes, is famed (*by the name of*) Rāṇajaya;²—he caused to be made this abode of Śāmbhu (Śiva).

(V. 6.) Let (Śiva) be victorious, who is (*both*) sentient (*and*) motionless (Sthāṇu),³ who is (*both*) undivided (*and*) the moon,⁴ who has (*both*) the nature of fire (*and*) a body of air, who is (*both*) terrible (Bhīma) (*and*) kind (Śiva), who is (*both*) beneficent (Śaṅkara) (*and*) the destroyer of Love!

(V. 7.) Let Taruṇākura⁵ be victorious, who is a king of kings (Rājarāja), (*but*) is not ugly (*like* Kuvāra), who is an emperor, (*but*) does not distress people, (*while* Viṣṇu is *both* Chakrabhṛt and Janārdana), who is the lord of protectors (*and*) independent (Svathā), (*while the moon is the lord of stars, but is waning in the dark half of the month and subject to eclipses*)!

(V. 8 f.) Just as in a large lake, filled with water (*which is fit*) for bathing, (*and*) covered with various lotus-flowers, handsome Śaṅkara (Śiva) abides on the massive head—sprinkled with the water of coronation (*and*) covered with bright jewels—of the glorious Atyantakāma,⁶ who deprives (*his*) enemies of (*their*) pride, who is a receptacle of wealth (Śrinidhi), who possesses the charm of Love (Kāmarāga),⁷ (*and*) who assiduously worships Hara (Śiva).

(V. 10.) He, desiring (*to attain*) the glory of Śaṅkara (Śiva), caused to be made this lofty dwelling-house of Dhūrjati (Śiva), in order (*to procure*) the fulfilment of (*their*) desires to (*his*) subjects.

(V. 11.) Six times cursed be those in whose hearts does not dwell Rudra (Śiva), the deliverer from the walking on the evil path!

(Line 12.) The Īvara (Śiva) temple of Atyantakāma-Pallava.

D.—INSCRIPTION AT THE "DHARMARAJA-MANḌAPA," MĀVALIVARAM.⁸

This inscription is a duplicate of the one at the "Gaṇḍa temple" (No. 20) and proves that, like the latter, the cave-temple now called "Dharmarāja-manḍapa" was in reality a shrine of Śiva, that it owed its foundation to the Pallava king Paramēśvara, and that this king had called it the 'Īvara temple of Atyantakāma-Pallava' (l. 12) after one of his own surnames.

No. 21.

1 [सम्भवस्त्रितिसंहारकारणं वीतकारणः] [1*] भूयादत्यन्तकामाय जगतां
2 काममर्हन् ॥ [१*] अमायश्चित्रमायोसावगुणो गुणभाजनः [1*] स्वस्थो

¹ This surname was also borne by Narasiṃha (No. 2), by Atirapachanḍa (Nos. 23 and 24, verse 4), and by Rājasimha of Kāñchi.

² The same surname of Paramēśvara occurs in No. 17. It was borne also by Atirapachanḍa (Nos. 23 and 24, verse 6), and by Rājasimha of Kāñchi.

³ While the trunk of a tree (*sthānu*) is insentient.

⁴ Who is divided into sixteen *kalās*.

⁵ Taruṇākura, 'the young sprout,' seems to have been a *divada* of Paramēśvara. Compare above, p. 7, note 2.

⁶ 'Śiva abides on the head of Atyantakāma' means the same as 'A. bears Śiva on his head' (verse 3), *viz.* 'he is a devotee of Śiva.'

⁷ With this surname, which was borne also by Paramēśvara's successor Atirapachanḍa (see Nos. 23 and 24, verses 1), compare the synonyms Madanābhīrāma and Kāmalakṛta (Nos. 6 and 8), and Kāmaṇīśa in the Kāñchi inscriptions. The appellation "Kāmarāja temple" which Colonel Branfill attributes to the so-called "Gaṇḍa temple" rests on a misreading in Dr. Branfill's transcript, *viz.* Kāmarāja for Kāmarāga.

⁸ *Madras Survey Map*, No. 44. *Madras Journal of Literature and Science* for 1880, p. 185.

- निरुत्तरो जीयादनीशः परमेश्वरः ॥ [२*] यस्याङ्गुष्ठभराक्रान्तः कैलासस्तद-
शाननः [१*] पातालमगमन्मूर्धा श्रीनिधिस्तम्बिभर्त्यजम् ॥ [३*] भक्तिप्रद्वेण
मनसा भवं भू-
वणलीलया [१*] दोषा च यो भुवो भारं जीयात् श्रीभरश्चिरम् ॥
[४*] अत्यन्त-
३ कामो नृपतिर्निर्जितारातिमण्डलः [१*] ख्यातो रणजयः शश्रोस्तेनेदं वैश्व-
७ कारितम् ॥ [५*] ज्ञः स्थाणुर्निष्कलः सोमः पावकात्मा वियदपुः [१*]
भीमः शिवो विजय-
८ तां शङ्करः कामसूदनः ॥ [६*] राजराजो न विरसच्चक्रभृत् जना-
ईनः [१*] तारकाधिपतिः स्वस्थो
९ जयतात्तरुणाङ्कुरः ॥ [७*] श्रीमतीत्यन्तकामस्य द्विद्वर्णापहारिणः [१*]
श्रीनिधेः का-
१० मरागस्य हराराधनसङ्गिनः ॥ [८*] अभिवेकजलापूर्णं चित्ररत्नाम्बुजाकरे [१*]
भा-
११ स्ते विशाले सुमुखः शिरस्सरसि शङ्करः ॥ [९*] तेनेदं कारितन्तुङ्गमूर्च्छाटे-
र्कन्दिर-
१२ गृहं [१*] प्रजानामिष्टसिद्ध्यर्थं शाङ्करीं भूतिमिच्छता ॥ [१०*] श्री ॥
अत्यन्तकामपञ्चवेश्वरगृहम् ॥
१३ धितोषाब्धितोषाम्पुनरपि धिग्धिग्धिगस्तु धितोषाम् [१*] येषाञ्च वसति
१४ हृदये कुपयगतिविमोक्षको रुद्रः ॥ [११*]

E.—INSCRIPTION AT THE "RĀMĀNUJA-MĀṆḌAPA," MĀVALIVARAM.³

This inscription consists of the last verse (11) of the two preceding inscriptions (Nos. 20 and 21). We may conclude from it that the cave-temple in which it is engraved was likewise a shrine of Śiva, and that it was excavated during the reign of the Pallava king Paramēśvara.

No. 22.

- 1 [श्री]: [१*] [धि]क्षेप[१] धिते[वां] पुनरपि धिग्धिग्धिगस्तु धिते-
२ वां [१*] येषाञ्च वसति हृदये कुपयगति-
३ विमोक्षको रुद्रः ॥

¹ See above, p. 8, note 4.

² Expressed by a symbol.

³ Madras Survey Map, No. 48. Carr's Seven Pagodas, p. 232, note.

F.—INSCRIPTIONS ON THE CAVE-TEMPLE AT SĀḶUVANĠUPPAM.¹

The inscription on the left of the cave (No. 23) records that this excavation was a temple of Śiva, and that it was made by a king Atirapa-chaṇḍēśvara, i.e. 'the Īśvara (temple) of Atirapa-chaṇḍa.' Verses 1, 2 and 4 are identical with three verses of the Māvalivaram inscriptions of Paramēśvara (Nos. 20 and 21), and contain the *virūdas* Atyantakāma, Śrinidhi, Kāmarāga and Śrībhara. Other surnames of Atirapa-chaṇḍa were Raṇajaya, Anugraśila, Kālakāla, Samaradhanaśmaja and Saṅgrāmadhira. Most of these epithets are applied to Rājasimha in his inscriptions at Kāñchi.

The inscription on the right of the cave (No. 24) is a Nāgarī copy of the first six verses of No. 23.

Above the entrance of the cave there are two identical inscriptions, according to which the full name of the temple was 'the Īśvara temple of Atirapa-chaṇḍa-Pallava.' The first of these two short epigraphs (No. 25) is in the same alphabet as No. 23, and the second (No. 26) in the same Nāgarī characters as No. 24.

No. 23.

- 1 श्रीमतीत्यन्तकामस्य द्विष[इ].
- 2 र्पापहारिणः [१*] श्रीनिधिः काम-
- 3 रागस्य हराराधनसंगिनः ॥ [१*]
- 4 अभिवेकजलापूर्णे चिचरत्नाम्बुजाकरे [१*]
- 5 आस्ते विशाले सुमुखः शिरस्सरसि शंकरः ॥ [२*]
- 6 तेनेदं कारितं शशोर्भवनं भूतये भुवः [१*] कै-
- 7 लासमन्दरनिभं भूयतां मूर्ध्नि तिष्ठता ॥ [३*] भक्तिप्रद-
- 8 ण मनसा भवं भूषणलीलया [१*] दीणा च यो भुवन्वते
- 9 जीयात्स श्रीभरश्चिरम् ॥ [४*] अतिरणचण्डः पतिरवनिभु-
- 10 कामतिरणचण्डेश्वरमिदमकरोत् [१*] इह गिरितन-
- 11 यागुहगणसहितो नियतकृतरतिर्भवतु पशुप-
- 12 तिः ॥ [५*] गुर्वीमीशानभक्तिं त्रियमतिशयिनीं दुर्वृष्टं भारसुव्वर्षा
- 13 निष्कामान्यच्च दानं समम[तिर]णचण्डाख्यया [यो विभर्त्ति] [१*]
- 14 स्थाने निर्मापितेस्मिन्वि[दितरणच]यस्थातिना तेन [भ]र्त्ता भूताना-
- 15 मष्टमूर्त्तिश्चिरमतिरणच[ण्डेश्वरे] यातु निष्ठाम् ॥ [६*] अ[नुग्र]शीलः ॥*
- 16 यदि न विधाता भरतो यदि न हरिर्भारदो न वा स्कन्दः [१*]
- बोहुं क इव
- 17 समर्प्यसंगीतं कालकालस्य ॥ [७*] श्री ॥ सतरधनचयः संप्रामधीरः ॥
श्री ॥

¹ Madras Survey Map, No. 58. Carr's *Seven Pagodas*, Plate xv., pp. 59, 120, 222.—Nos. 2 and 3 of Carr's Plate xv. are two independent eye-copies of the same inscription (No. 24).

* Expressed by a symbol.

TRANSLATION.

(Verse 1 f.) Just as in a large lake, filled with water (*which is fit*) for bathing, (*and*) covered with various lotus-flowers, handsome Śaṅkara (Śiva) abides on the massive head—sprinkled with the water of coronation (*and*) covered with bright jewels—of the glorious Atyantakāma, who deprives (*his*) enemies of (*their*) pride, who is a receptacle of wealth (Śrīnidhi), who possesses the charm of Love (Kāmarāga) (*and*) who assiduously worships Hara (Śiva).¹

(V. 3.) For the welfare of the earth, he who is standing at the head of the lords of the earth caused to be made this house of Śambhu (Śiva), which resembles (*the mountains*) Kailāsa and Mandara.

(V. 4.) Let that Śribhara be victorious for a long time, who bears Bhava (Śiva) in (*his*) mind which is humbled with devotion, and (*who bears*) the earth on (*his*) arm like a coquettish ornament!²

(V. 5.) Atirāṇachanḍa,³ the lord of the rulers of the earth, made this (*temple called*) Atirāṇachanḍēśvara. Let Paśupati (Śiva), attended by the mountain-daughter (Pārvatī), Guha (Skanda), and the demigods (Gaṇa), always take delight (*in residing*) here!

(V. 6.) Let the eight-formed lord of beings (Śiva) take up (*his*) abode for a long time in this temple (*called*) Atirāṇachanḍēśvara, which was caused to be built by him who, together with the name of Atirāṇachanḍa, owns deep devotion to Īśāna (Śiva), abundant wealth, the heavy burden of the earth and unequalled liberality, (*and*) who is renowned by the name of Rāṇajaya!⁴

(L. 15.) Anugraśīla⁵ (the gentle-minded).

(V. 7.) Who is able to master the music of Kālakāla,⁶ unless the performer (*were*) Bharata, Hari, Nārada, or Skanda?⁷

(L. 17.) Samaradhanamjaya⁸ (Dhanamjaya (*i.e.* Arjuna) in battle). Saṅgrāmadhīra⁹ (he who is firm in war).

No. 24.

- 1 श्रीमतीत्यन्तकामस्य
- 2 द्विषद्वर्षापहारिणः [1*] श्रीनि-
- 3 धेः कामरागस्य हराराध[न]संगि-
- 4 नः ॥ [१*] अभिवेकजलापूर्णं चित्ररत्नां-
- 5 गुजाकरे [1*] आस्ते विशाले समुद्रः शिरस्तर-
- 6 सि शंकरः ॥ [२*] तेनेदं कारितं शम्भोर्भव-
- 7 नं भूतये भुवः [1*] कैलासमन्दरनिभं भूयतां

¹ Verses 1 and 2 are identical with verses 8 and 9 of Nos. 20 and 21.

² This verse is nearly identical with verse 4 of Nos. 20 and 21.

³ This name of the king who built the temple was also a surname of Rājasiṃha of Kāñchi.

⁴ See above, p. 10, note 2.

⁵ This was also a surname of Rājasiṃha of Kāñchi.

⁶ The same surname occurs in the Kāñchi inscriptions.

⁷ Compare the Kāñchi inscriptions, where Rājasiṃha's skill as a musician is alluded to by the *śirudat* *Ātōḍva-Tumbura*, *Vādya-Vidyādharā* and *Vīṇā-Nārada*.

⁸ The same was a surname of Rājasiṃha of Kāñchi.

⁹ Compare the synonymous *śirudat* *Ābhavadhīra* and *Rāṇadhīra* in the Kāñchi inscriptions.

- ௮ மூல திஷ்டதா ॥ [௩*] மக்தி[புறே]ண மனசா மவ¹ மூஷ-
9 சீலயா [1*] தோஷா ச யோ மவந்யத் தீயாஸ ஆமரஸி-
10 ரம் ॥ [௪*] அதிரணவ்ஷஃ பதிரவநிமுகாமதிர-
11 ணவ்ஷேஸுமிதமகரோத் [1*] இஹ கிரிதனயாஸு-
12 ஹ்ணஸஹிதோ நியதகதரதிமவது பஸபதி: ॥ [௫*]
13 குவ்மீமோமானமக்தித் திரியமதிமயினித் துர்வஹ் மாரஸுர்வ்யா நிஸ்தா-
14 மாத்யஸு தானம் சமமதிரணவ்[ஷஹ்ய]யா [யோ வி]மக்தித் [1*] ச்யானே
15 நிர்மாபிதேஸ்திந்விதிர[ஸஜயஸ்யாதிநா தோ]ந மக்தித் மூதானா-
16 மஸ்தமூர்திஸ்திரம[திரணவ்ஷஃ]ஸுரே யாத நிஷ்டாம் ॥ [௬*] சுவஸ்தி ॥

No. 25.²

அதிரணவ்ஷஃபஜ[விஸுரஸ்தஹம் ॥*]

No. 26.³

அதிரணவ்ஷஃபஜ[விஸுரஸ்தஹம் ॥*]

Translation of Nos. 25 and 26.

[The Īvara (Śiva) temple of] Atirapachanda-Palla[va].

No. 2—RAYAGAD PLATES OF VIJAYADITYA;

SAKA-SAMVAT 625.

By K. B. PATNAK, B.A., POONA.

The subjoined inscription is engraved on three copper-plates, each measuring about $9\frac{1}{2}$ " \times $4\frac{1}{4}$ ". They belong to the Pāṭil of Rayagad in the Mahad taluka of the Kolaba District. The plates are strung on an oval ring whose diameters are $3\frac{1}{2}$ " and $2\frac{1}{2}$ ". The edges of the plates are raised into rims to protect the writing. The seal on the ring bears in relief on a counter-sunk surface a standing boar facing to the proper left. The weight of the plates together with the ring and seal is 140 tolas. The writing is well engraved, but is full of mistakes and omissions. The latter are often very serious. For instance in the date (l. 29), the syllables *oichhatāśhu* are altogether omitted. There seem to be some omissions also in the name of the donee in line 32. We cannot be sure if the names of the donative villages have been correctly engraved in l. 32 f. The use of the *upadhmānīya* in lines 21, 23, 25 and 29 deserves to be noted. The historical portion of the subjoined record closely resembles that of the three Nerūr copper-plates of Vijayāditya edited by Dr. Fleet,⁴ and the corresponding passage of the Kēndūr⁵ and the Vakṣalēri plates of Kirtivarman II.⁶

The subjoined inscription is dated in the 8th year of the early Chalukya king Vijayāditya, when [six hundred] and twenty-five years of the Śaka era had passed away, and records the grant of the villages named Jalla and ...nirūḷapa to a Brāhmaṇa by the king when his victorious camp was at Marivasati in Karahāṭaka.

¹ Read मव.

² Above the entrance of the cave-temple. ³ Below No. 25.

⁴ Ind. Ant. Vol. IX. pp. 125-124.

⁵ Above, Vol. IX. pp. 290-295.

⁶ Ibid. Vol. V. pp. 200-205.

XIX.—FRAGMENT OF A PEDESTAL.

This fragment was found in a heap of rubbish which had accumulated under No. XIII. in the Epigraphical Section. Nothing is known about its findspot. The inscription is of interest as it mentions two synonymous words in the same line, *viz.* *natti* and *pau*[*tira*].

TEXT.

1. sya [v]rita Ku[tu]kasya ku[tu][mbini*]
2. . . . na putrēhi dbitihi natti pau[ttrōhi*]

TRANSLATION.

“ the wife of Ku[tu]ka, the chosen sons and daughters and grandsons (*i.e.* daughter's sons)¹ (*and*) grandsons (*i.e.* son's sons) ”

XX.—INSCRIPTION ON A TRIANGULAR FRAGMENT.

This inscription is of some interest as it contains the number 800 expressed both in words and by numerical symbols, *viz.* by the symbols for 8 and 100. It was found in the Jaina Section of the Lucknow Museum without any label or number.

TEXT.

1. tata
2. m=ashṭasata CVIII gandhi
3. push[ta]

XXI.—INSCRIPTION ON A PEDESTAL.

This short inscription is incised on a fragment from a pedestal of yellow sandstone. Nothing is known about its findspot.

TEXT.

Buddhadēvasya kuṭumbiniyē Buddha pratim[ā] . . .

Remarks.

1. There is a superfluous *e* stroke over the first letter *bu*.
2. The form of *va* is peculiar. At first it looked like an inscription in the 7th century character of North Eastern India. But the language and the forms of *na*, *ta* and *ya* are convincing proofs of the age of the inscription.

TRANSLATION.

“An image of Buddha (*was set up*) by the wife of Buddhadēva”

No. 24.— DATES OF CHOLA KINGS.

By ROBERT SEWELL, I.C.S. (RETD.), M.R.A.S.

A.—RAJADHIRAJA I.

161.— In the Nāgēśvara temple at Kumbhakōṇam.²

- 1 Svasti śrī [||*] Tiṅga-
- 2]=ērtaru

¹ [For the use of the word *napti* in the sense of ‘a great-grandson,’ see above, Vol. IV. p. 329, note 2.—Ed.]

² No. 14 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1908.

- 54 kōv = Irājakēśariy-ē[ṇa]-
 55 lāgi Uḍaiyār śrī-Vijairā[j]ē-
 56 ntradēvar[ku] yāṇḍu 36 āvadu
 57 ivv-āttai Magara-nā[ya]ṇṇu
 58 [a]para-paksha[tta dvi]dhi(tī)ṇ[aiya]m Budan-kilamaiy[u]m peṇṇa Āyilē-
 59 yattin nāṇṇu.

"In the 36th year (of the reign) of the lord, the glorious Vijairājēndradēva (Vijaya-Rājēndradēva) having been called king Rājakēśarin,— on the day of Āślēśhā, which corresponded to a Wednesday and to the [second] *tīthi* of the second fortnight of the month of Makara in this year."

The date is perfectly regular, and corresponds to Wednesday, December 29, 1053 A.D. On that day, which was the sixth solar day of Makara, at mean sunrise, the second *tīthi* of the second fortnight of Pausa was current, and it lasted for 19 h. 12 m. Āślēśhā was the *nakshatra* at mean sunrise by all systems. It expired by the equal space system 21 h. 22 m., by Garga 9 h. 14 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta 6 h. 49 m. later.

In his *Annual Report* for 1907 Mr. Venkayya states his opinion (para. 56) that Rājādhirāja I. lived till A.D. 1057-58 with his younger brother Rājēndradēva as co-regent towards the close of his reign. We have now two dates at least of Rājādhirāja I. later than the accession day of his successor, *viz.* Kielhorn's No. 35 (above, Vol. VI. p. 22) and the present one; and we learn from the latter that Rājādhirāja I. lived till at least the end of A.D. 1053.

B.—VIKRAMA-CHOLA.

162.—In the Uttaravēdiśvara temple at Kuttālam.¹

- 1 Svasti śrī [i]* Pū-mālai puṇaindu
 2 Tiribuvanaachakkara-
 3 vattigal śrī-Vikkirama-[Ś]ōladēvarku(varkku) yāṇḍu mūṇṇāvadn Ma-
 4 gura-nōyaṇṇu apara-pakshattu śattaniyum Tiṅga[t]-kaḷamaiyum peṇṇa [A]-
 tta-
 5 [t*]tu nā.

"In the third year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Vikrama-Chōḷadēva,— on the day of Hasta, which corresponded to a Monday and to the seventh *tīthi* of the second fortnight of the month of Makara."

This date is irregular. Kielhorn has clearly established the 29th June, A.D. 1118, to be the accession-day of Vikrama. The solar month of Makara in his third year must therefore fall early in A.D. 1121. The seventh *tīthi* of the second fortnight in Makara of that year fell on a large portion of Wednesday, January 12, 1121, and a small portion of Thursday, January 13th. During that seventh *tīthi* the *nakshatras* were Chitrā and Svāti. The fifth *tīthi*, however, of the second fortnight (if we may assume a mistake to have occurred) of this month of Makara seems a little closer. It fell on Monday, January 10, 1121 A.D., which was the 18th of Makara. The *tīthi* lasted for about 23 h. 19 m. after mean sunrise. On that day Hasta began, by the equal space system and by Garga, 8 h. 31 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta, 5 h. 7 m. after mean sunrise; but according to the usual custom the day would have been called, not Hasta but Uttara-Phalgunī.

It is possible that the seventh was wrongly quoted for the fifth *tīthi*; but the date is doubtful in any case.²

¹ No. 491 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1907.

² Mr. Venkayya assures me that in the original the word *śattani* is quite distinct. I think it is safe to assume that the date is genuine, but that the 7th *tīthi* was quoted by mistake for the 5th.

163.— In the Uttaravēdiśvara temple at Kuttālam.¹

- 1 T[i]r[i]buvanaachchakkaravattiga[]
- 2 śri-Vi]kkirama-Śo]adēva]rku
- 3 yāṇḍu ai]jāvadu Śi]ga-nā(nā)-
- 4 [ya]ṅṅu pūrvva-pakṣbattu trayō[da*]-
- 5 śiyum Budaṅ-ki]lamaiyum pe]-
- 6 [ra] Attattu nāl.

“In the fifth year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Vikrama-Chō]adēva, — on the day of Hasta, which corresponded to a Wednesday and to the thirteenth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Simha.”

This date is irregular. Simha in the fifth year of Vikrama-Chō]a fell in A.D. 1122. On Wednesday, August 16th of that year, which was the 20th Simha, the twelfth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Bhādrapada ended and the 13th began about 16 h. 5 m. after mean sunrise; but the *nakṣatras* during those two *tithis* were Uttarāṣāḍhā, Abhijit and Śravana. It is useless to go into further details. A comparison of this date with Kielhorn's No. 22 (p. 3, Vol. VII. above) shows this at once. That inscription mentioned the day of Ārdra, which corresponded to Monday, and with the eleventh *tithi* of the second fortnight of Śravana in solar Simha in the fifth year of the king. That date is perfectly regular for July 31st, A.D. 1122. Now the present date is seventeen days later than No. 22, and it is clear that a day seventeen days later than Ārdra cannot possibly fall under the *nakṣatra* Hasta.

On the supposition that in the original the quoted *nakṣatra* might have been *Aviṣṭattu* instead of *Attattu*, i.e. Dhanishṭhā instead of Hasta, the date still works out incorrectly. The thirteenth *tithi* of the first fortnight of Bhādrapada in solar Simha in the year in question could be connected for the time lying between 9 h. 50 m. and 15 h. 22 m. after mean sunrise on Thursday, August 17th, A.D. 1122, with the *nakṣatra* Dhanishṭhā; but the week-day has been given as Wednesday in the inscription. Moreover the day which would be called the ‘day of Dhanishṭhā’ was Friday.²

164.— In the Uttaravēdiśvara temple at Kuttālam.³

- 1 Sva[stī] śr[i] [i]* Pū-mādu pu]nra
- 2 Tiribuvanaachchakkaravattiga[]
- 3 śri-Vi]k[i]rama - Śo]adēva]rku yāṇḍu ā]jāvadu Śi]ga-nā]ya]ṅṅu apara]-
- pak]kattu [piradasi]-
- 4 kamum⁴ [Vi]yā]a-ki]lamaiyum=ā]ṅa [Śa]d[aiya]ttu nāl.

“In the sixth year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Vikrama-Chō]adēva, — on the day of Śatabhishaj (?), which was a Thursday and [the thirteenth *tithi* ?] of the [second] fortnight of the month of Simha.”

This date is also unsatisfactory, the elements being uncertain. There seems to be no doubt that it belongs to the 6th year of Vikrama-Chō]a, and probably, almost certainly, to the month Simha. It is not certain which lunar fortnight is referred to. The day was Thursday; but the *nakṣatra* can only be guessed at from two unmutilated *akṣaras*. These are “-d . . . ttu.” The word which follows *pak]kattu* is guessed to be *piradasi* from the final *akṣara* ‘-kam,’ and

¹ No. 490 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1907.

² Since the text was in print Mr. Venkayya has examined the original and found that *attattu* is quite clear. The date remains unsatisfactory. The day in Simha in the year in question which corresponds to the *nakṣatra* Hasta is August 7th A.D. 1122. At sunrise on that day, the third *tithi* of the bright fortnight was current. But the week-day was Monday, not Wednesday.

³ No. 489 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1907.

⁴ The nearest approach to this word in Sanskrit is *pradōṣaka*, which denotes the evening of the thirteenth *tithi* in a lunar fortnight.

from this it has been assumed that the *tithi* in question was the thirteenth of the fortnight (see note 4, p. 123). Now in the year A.D. 1123 which, after June 29th, was the sixth year of Vikrama-Chōla, in the month *Simha*, the thirteenth *tithi* of the first fortnight fell on a Monday and all the thirteenth *tithi* of the second fortnight also fell on a Monday (except that it expired 4 minutes after mean sunrise on the Tuesday). I tested the date on the basis of the *nakshatra*, to see what days corresponded with Śatabhishaj in that month of *Simha*. By the equal space system Śatabhishaj expired 15 h. 18 m. after mean sunrise on Thursday, August 9th, A.D. 1123, which was the first day of the second fortnight, and was the thirteenth day of *Simha*. On that Thursday the first *tithi* of the second fortnight began 4 minutes before mean sunrise and lasted all day.¹ By the system of Garga Śatabhishaj expired 3 h. 20 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta 4 h. 24 m., after mean sunrise. There was no other Śatabhishaj in that month of *Simha*.

Now this day Thursday, August 9th, A.D. 1123, exactly fits the elements of the given date if in the original the word following "*pakkattu*" was not *pīradāsika* (for *pradōshaka*) but some word implying the first *tithi* of the second fortnight.²

165.—In the Uttaravēdiśvara temple at Kuttālam.³

1 Svasti śrī [U*] Tiribuvānachohak-

2 karavattigal śr[i]-Vikkirama-Śō-

3 ladēvaṅka yā[da] eṭṭā[raḍu Magara]-nāyaṅga pūrvva-pakshattu na-

4 vaniyum Sani-kkila[mai]yum [p]eṇṇa [A]ṇṇatti-nā.

"In the eighth year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Vikrama-Chōladeva,—on the day of Anurādhā, which corresponded to a Saturday and to the ninth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of [Makara]."

This date has given me a great deal of trouble. According to the transliteration given above, the 8th regnal year is clearly decipherable; the solar month is doubtful; the lunar day and fortnight are clear; and so are the weekday and *nakshatra*. This being so, I have tested all the days in the 8th regnal year of Vikrama-Chōla corresponding to the ninth *tithi* of the first fortnight in each month, and without success. The nearest approach was in the month *Simha*. The eighth *tithi* of the first lunar fortnight of Śrāvana in that solar month expired 13 h. 15 m. after mean sunrise on a Saturday, which was the twelfth day of *Simha*, and corresponded to Saturday, August 8th, A.D. 1125. At that moment the ninth *tithi* began, viz. at about 7-15 p.m. on the Saturday. But according to the equal space system, the *nakshatra*, which had been Anurādhā up to about 5-4 p.m. that day or 11 h. 4 m. after mean sunrise, changed at that moment to Jyēsthā; so that Anurādhā had expired 2 h. 11 m. before the ninth *tithi* began. Using the system of Garga the result is the same. By the Brahma-siddhānta the *nakshatra* Anurādhā expired 6 h. 14 m. after mean sunrise. As a fact, therefore, there was no period which satisfies all the requirements.

The ninth *tithi* of Makara fell on a Monday and Tuesday, with the *nakshatras* Bharanī and Kṛttikā.

The date cannot be depended upon.⁴

¹ Except for 34 m. before mean sunrise on the Friday.

² Mr. Venkayya has kindly examined the original since this article was in print, and is inclined to think that the word following *pakkattu* may be *pīra[pi]digam*, which may be meant for *pīratipadigam*, i.e. *pratipat*, 'the first *tithi*.' I think therefore that the date given in the last paragraph may be accepted.

³ No. 492 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1907.

⁴ Mr. Venkayya tells me, since the above was in print, that no reading but *makara* is possible for the solar month. In that month, in the eighth year of Vikrama-Chōla, the day of Anurādhā was Tuesday, corresponding to January 18th A.D. 1126, at sunrise on which day the ninth *tithi* of the second fortnight was current. If two mistakes were made, both in the fortnight and in the week-day, the day mentioned may be the one intended. But this cannot be depended upon.

C.—KULOTTUNGA-CHOLA II. (?)

166.—In the Saumyanāthasvāmin temple at Nandalūr.¹

- 1 [Sra]sti śr[ī] [H*] Pū-mēva-tirumagal
 2 kō Virā-Rājakēsaripa[nmar-āṇa] Chakrava[rthi]ga[1]
 śrī-Kulōttuṅga-Śōladēvaṅku yāṇḍu eṭṭāvaḍu
 6 śrī-Kulōttu[ṅga]-Śōladēva[ṅku] yāṇḍu
 eṭṭāvaḍu Kumbha-nāyaṅṅu apara-pakshattu-chohaturddasi[yam] Velli-kkiḷamai-
 yu[m*] Tiruvēṇa(vōṇa)mam-āṇa Śivarāttiri-nāl.

"In the eighth year (of the reign) of king Virā-Rājakēsarivarman alias the emperor, the glorious Kulōttuṅga-Chōladēva,—on the day of Śivarātri, which was (a day of) Śravana, a Friday and the fourteenth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Kumbha in the eighth year (of the reign) of the glorious Kulōttuṅga-Chōladēva."

The elements of this date are inaccurate for the now known eighth regnal year of Kulōttuṅga-Chōla I., as also for his eighth year as an Eastern Chalukya sovereign; the former corresponding with A.D. 1077-78, the latter with 1070-71. They are also inaccurate for the eighth year of Kulōttuṅga-Chōla III.

For the reign of Kulōttuṅga-Chōla II., whose accession-date has not yet been fixed, but who certainly succeeded Vikrama-Chōla and preceded Rājarāja II., I have examined the given date in every year from 1135 to 1152 A.D. which appeared to me the outside limits of possibility. The king known as "Kulōttuṅga-Chōla" is shown by the Chellūr plates (*Ind. Ant.* XIV. 55 ff.) to be identical with this Kulōttuṅga-Chōla II. Kielhorn has shown (above, Vol. VII. p. 9) that he was living in A.D. 1143. He was the son of Vikrama. It is desirable that I should publish the nearest approximations to correctness that occur in the period 1135—1152 A.D., so that those thoroughly acquainted with South-Indian practice as regards the joining of special rites and festivals with the civil days may be enabled to decide whether in any of those cases all the requirements of the date are satisfied. For other years the date is irregular.

1. The Kumbha-saṁkrānti of Kaliyuga 4238 occurred 23 h. 51 m. after mean sunrise on Friday, January 22nd, A.D. 1137. The fourteenth *tithi* of the second fortnight of Māgha expired 10 h. 7 m. after mean sunrise on that day, and was not current at the following midnight; and at that midnight the actually current solar month was not Kumbha but Makara, though the Kumbha-saṁkrānti occurred 5 h. 51 m. later. As to the *nakshatra* it was Śravana at mean sunrise on the Friday and until 21 h. 30 m. later; Śravana was therefore current at the midnight of Friday. Now, if the Mahā-Śivarātri festival, which occurs at midnight, could be connected with the fourteenth *tithi* which had expired 7 h. 53 m. before the Friday midnight—then the elements Friday, the fourteenth *tithi* of the second fortnight, the Śivarātri festival and the Śravana *nakshatra*, all agree with this date. But even then I hardly think that the festival could be connected with the solar month Kumbha, whose initial *saṁkrānti* did not occur till 5 h. 51 m. after that midnight. The date is therefore doubtful. If experts in South-Indian rites and ceremonies can reconcile all the elements, then the date may correspond to Friday, January 22nd, A.D. 1137. There was another fourteenth day of the second fortnight, *vis.* of Phālguna, in this month of Kumbha, but it does not suit the other elements of the given date.

2. The Kumbha-saṁkrānti of Kaliyuga 4242 occurred 41 m. after mean sunrise on Thursday, January 23rd, A.D. 1141, and at mean sunrise on Friday, February 7th, in that year the fourteenth *tithi* of the second fortnight of Māgha was current. It expired 16 h. 26 m. after mean sunrise, and consequently was not current at midnight. Considering, however, that it was current on the Friday till within 1 h. 34 m. of midnight, it is possible that the

¹ No. 572 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.

Mahā-Śivarātri which took place at that midnight might have been connected with it. In Professor Kielhorn's notes on Hindu Festival Days, I find that the Mahā-Śivarātri festival of the 14th kṛishṇa of Māgha is considered very auspicious when it is joined with the yōga Śiva, and this happened to be the case on this particular Friday. The yōga Parigha ended shortly after sunrise on that day, and Śiva was current at the following midnight, or at the moment of the Śivarātri. The date, however, is unsatisfactory in the matter of the *nakshatra*. The *nakshatra* Śravaṇa had expired 3 h. 9 m. before mean sunrise on that Friday,¹ and during the whole of Friday, including the Śivarātri moment of midnight, the *nakshatra* was Dhanishṭhā.

3. On the twelfth day of Kumbha, Kaliyuga 4245, which corresponded to Friday, February 4th, A.D. 1144, the fourteenth *tithi* of the second fortnight of Māgha expired 13 h. 58 m. after mean sunrise. It was not therefore current at the Friday midnight, but nevertheless the Friday would have been coupled with it. This day, the fourteenth of the dark fortnight of Māgha, was the day of the Mahā-Śivarātri festival; and the occasion was especially auspicious, because the hour of midnight coincided with the yōga Śiva. The yōga at mean sunrise was Parigha, but Śiva began at 9-4 p.m. and was current at midnight. The *nakshatra* Śravaṇa expired, by the equal space system, 51 m. after mean sunrise on Friday, and the same by Garga. By the Brahma-siddhānta it expired 2 h. 18 m. after sunrise. I find no fault in this date.

4. On the twenty-fourth day of Kumbha, Kaliyuga 4252, which corresponded to Friday, February 16th, 1151 A.D., the fourteenth *tithi* of the second fortnight of Māgha, which was a Mahā-Śivarātri day, began 6 h. 35 m. after mean sunrise, was current at midnight, which was the moment of the festival, and expired 8 h. 9 m. after mean sunrise on the Saturday. The *nakshatra* Śravaṇa had, however, expired before sunrise on that Friday by all systems, and during the whole of that day and till very shortly before sunrise on the Saturday the ruling *nakshatra* was Dhanishṭhā. Śatabhishaj began 1 h. 34 m. before sunrise on the Saturday, by the equal space system and Garga. This date therefore would be satisfactory if the *nakshatra* had been quoted as Dhanishṭhā and not Śravaṇa; but I consider the date, February A.D. 1151, too late to be in the eighth year of Kulottuṅga-Chōla II. He succeeded Vikrama whose reign began in A.D. 1118, and who is declared by several inscriptions to have reigned for 15 years, though we have records of him as late as 1135 A.D. That, however, is his latest known date.

Of the four dates now analyzed, the nearest, and in my opinion the most probable, is No. 3, viz. Friday, February 4th, A.D. 1144. The Chellūr grant of this king appears to have been issued in 1143, but the regnal year is not given there. If I am right, the present inscription would make the reign begin between February 5th A.D. 1136 and February 4th A.D. 1137.²

D.—RAJADHIRAJA II. (?)

167.—In the Saṁayanāthasvāmin temple at Nandalūr.³

1 Sva[stī] śrī [I*] Rājādhirājādēvaṅka yā[ṇḍu] 12āvad-āna Hēmalambi-saṁvat-sarattu Magara-nāyaṅṇu pū[rva]-pakshattu [pra]thamāyam(yum) Śani-kkiḷam-aiyum peṇṇa Avittattu nāl.

"In the [12]th year, which was the (cyclic) year Hēmalamba, (of the reign) of Rājādhirājādēva,—on the day of Śravisṭhā, which corresponded to a Saturday and to the first *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Makara."

¹ This by the equal space system and Garga. By the Brahma-siddhānta, Śravaṇa expired 1 h. 42 m. before mean sunrise on the Friday.

² But see below, No. 190.

³ No. 571 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1907.

I have tested all the years bearing the cyclic name Hēmalamba from A.D. 997, which was the twelfth regnal year of Rājārāja-Chōla I. down to A.D. 1297, which might possibly have been in the reign of a king hitherto unknown to us by name. In no case, however, are all the elements of the date reconciled except in A.D. 1177, which was a Hēmalamba year, but was the *fifteenth* and not the twelfth regnal year of Rājādhirāja II. From the date alone I am led to believe that the inscription records an event in the *fifteenth* year¹ of Rājādhirāja II. corresponding to Saturday, January 21st, A.D. 1178, which was the 28th day of Makara. On that day, at mean sunrise, the first *tithi* of the first fortnight of Magha was current, and the *nakshatra* was Śravishtā. The *tithi* ended 20 h. 28 m.; and the *nakshatra*, by the equal space system and Garga, ended 12 h. 0 m. and by the Brahma-siddhānta 13 h. 7 m. after mean sunrise.

If I am correct, this inscription brings the reign of Rājādhirāja II. down to within six months of the accession of Kulōttuṅga-Chōla III. in July A.D. 1178. It should be noted that all the five inscriptions of this king examined by Kielhorn begin with the words *kaḍal śūḷṇḍa*.

E.—KULOTTUNGA-CHOLA III.

168.—In the Airāvātēśvara temple at Maruttuvakkuḍi.²

- 1 Sva[sti] śr[i] : 6- Puyal [vāyttu]
- 10 kō-Ppara-
- 11 kē[śariparu]mar-āṇa Tiri[bu]vaṇa[chcha]kkaravartti
- ³ḍa[ruḷiṇa]
- 12 śr[i]-Kulōttuṅga-[Ś]ō[la]dēvarkku [iyā]ṇḍu patt[āvaṇu] Ka[r]-
- 13 kaḍaga-nāyarra pūrva-paksha-ttāvēḍēsiyu[m*] [Śa]ṇi-kkilamai[yum] pe-
- 14 rra Mūlattu nāl.

“In the tenth [year] (of the reign) of king Parakēsarivarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulōttuṅga-Chōladēva, who was pleased to [take Madurai] —on the day of Mūla, which corresponded to a [Saturday] and to the twelfth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Karkāṭaka.”

The date corresponds to Saturday, July 18th, A.D. 1187, which was in the tenth year of Kulōttuṅga-Chōla III. On that day the twelfth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Śrāvaṇa began 9 m. before mean sunrise. The *nakshatra* at that moment was Mūla by all systems. It expired by the equal space system 20 h. 39 m. later, by Garga 8 h. 31 m. later, and by the Brahma-siddhānta 3 h. 13 m. later. The Saturday in question was the 22nd day of Karkāṭaka.

169.—In the Maṇikanthēśvara temple at Kāṇippākkam.⁴

- 1 Svasti śrī [||*] Kulōttuṅga-Śōladēvaṇku [yāṇ]ḍu paṇṇirapḍāvaḍukku
- Śagaraiyāṇḍu āyiratt-oru-nūrr-iraṇḍil Uttarāyana-saṅkramatt-aṇru Tiṅgaḷ-kilamai-
- yum Pāsamum peṇṇa nāl.

“In the twelfth year, (which corresponded) to the Śaka year one thousand one hundred and two, (of the reign) of Kulōttuṅga-Chōladēva,—on the day of the Uttarāyana-saṅkrānti, the day which corresponded to (the *nakshatra*) Pushya and to a Monday.”

The date is inaccurate for Śaka 1102, but is perfectly accurate for Śaka 1112, in which year the Uttarāyana-saṅkrānti fell in the twelfth year of the reign of Kulōttuṅga-Chōla III.

¹ [The second digit of the date is quite distinct in the original and cannot be read as 5.—Ed.]

² No. 393 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1907.

³ The original is damaged here; restore *gaḷ Madurai koṇ*

⁴ No. 60 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1907.

I have tested all the years bearing the cyclic name Hāmalamba from A.D. 997, which was the twelfth regnal year of Rājārāja-Chōla I. down to A.D. 1297, which might possibly have been in the reign of a king hitherto unknown to us by name. In no case, however, are all the elements of the date reconciled except in A.D. 1177, which was a Hāmalamba year, but was the *fifteenth* and not the twelfth regnal year of Rājādhirāja II. From the date alone I am led to believe that the inscription records an event in the *fifteenth* year¹ of Rājādhirāja II. corresponding to Saturday, January 21st, A.D. 1178, which was the 28th day of Makara. On that day, at mean sunrise, the first *tithi* of the first fortnight of Māgha was current, and the *nakshatra* was Śravishtā. The *tithi* ended 20 h. 28 m.; and the *nakshatra*, by the equal space system and Garga, ended 12 h. 0 m. and by the Brahma-siddhānta 13 h. 7 m. after mean sunrise.

If I am correct, this inscription brings the reign of Rājādhirāja II. down to within six months of the accession of Kulōttuṅga-Chōla III. in July A.D. 1178. It should be noted that all the five inscriptions of this king examined by Kielhorn begin with the words *kaḍal sūṇḍa*.

E.—KULOTTUNGA-CHOLA III.

168.—In the Airāvātēśvara temple at Maruttuvakkuṇḍi.²

- 1 Sva[sti] śr[i] : ௨ Puyal [vāyttu]
- 10 kō=Ppara-
- 11 kē[śariparu]mar-aṇa Tiri[bu]vaṇa[che]kka[ra]vartti
- ³ḍa[rul]iṇa
- 12 śr[i]-Kulōttuṅga-[Ś]ō[ḷa]dēva[ṛku] [iyā]ṇḍu paṭṭ[ā]vaḍu Ka[r]-
- 13 kaḍaga-nāyaṇṇu pūrva-paksha-ttuvādeśiyu[m*] [Śa]ṇi-kkilaṇai[yum] pe-
- 14 ṛra Mūlattu nāl.

“In the tenth [year] (of the reign) of king Parakēsarivarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulōttuṅga-Chōlādēva, who was pleased to [take Madurai]—on the day of Mūla, which corresponded to a [Saturday] and to the twelfth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Karkaṭaka.”

The date corresponds to Saturday, July 18th, A.D. 1187, which was in the tenth year of Kulōttuṅga-Chōla III. On that day the twelfth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Śrāvaṇa began 9 m. before mean sunrise. The *nakshatra* at that moment was Mūla by all systems. It expired by the equal space system 20 h. 39 m. later, by Garga 8 h. 31 m. later, and by the Brahma-siddhānta 3 h. 13 m. later. The Saturday in question was the 22nd day of Karkaṭaka.

169.—In the Maṇikanthēśvara temple at Kāṇippākkam.⁴

- 1 Svasti śrī [||*] Kulōttuṅga-Śōlādēva[ṛku] [yā]ṇḍu paṇṇiraṇḍāvaḍukku
- Śagaraiyāṇḍu āyhatt-oru-nūrr-iraṇḍil Uttarāyana-saṅkramatt-aṇṇu Tiṅga-kilaṇai-
- yum Pūsamum perṛa nāl.

“In the twelfth year, (which corresponded) to the Śaka year one thousand one hundred and two, (of the reign) of Kulōttuṅga-Chōlādēva,—on the day of the Uttarāyana-saṅkrānti, the day which corresponded to (the *nakshatra*) Pushya and to a Monday.”

The date is inaccurate for Śaka 1102, but is perfectly accurate for Śaka 1112, in which year the Uttarāyana-saṅkrānti fell in the twelfth year of the reign of Kulōttuṅga-Chōla III.

¹ [The second digit of the date is quite distinct in the original and cannot be read as 5.—Ed.]

² No. 393 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1907.

³ The original is damaged here; restore *gaḷ Madurai koṇ*

⁴ No. 60 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1907.

It is inaccurate for that regnal year of any other king bearing that name and at present known to us. I am, therefore, satisfied that the Śaka year was erroneously given as 1102 instead of 1112.

In the twelfth year of the reign of Kulōttuṅga-Chōla III. the Uttarāyana-*samkrānti* of Śaka 1112 occurred on Monday, December 25th, A.D. 1189, at 5 h. 55 m. after mean sunrise. The *nakshatra* at sunrise was Pushya by all systems. By the equal space system and that of Garga it expired 23 h. 44 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta 21 h. 26 m. after mean sunrise on that day.

170.— In the Śivayōganāthasvāmin temple at Tiruviśālūr.¹

- 1 Svast[i śri]: ௧ T[i]ribava[ṇa]chchakkara[va]tt[i] Madurai[y]um [P]āṇḍi[yaṇ]
mudi-tta[layu]ṇ-gondaruliṇa śr[i]-Kulōttuṅga-Śōla[dēvarkku yāṇḍu pa[d]iṇ-
ēlāvadu Kumbha-nāya[r]u a[para-pa]kshattu pradamaiyum [Śaṇi]-
- 2 kkiṇmai [p]eṇṇa Aṇi[lat]tu [u]ā.

"In the seventeenth year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulōttuṅga-Chōladēva, who was pleased to take Madurai and the crowned head of the Pāṇḍya,—on the day of Anurādhā, which corresponded to a [Saturday] and to the first *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Kumbha."

The regnal year of Kulōttuṅga-Chōla III. is now clearly established by the labours of Professor Kielhorn, and we know that the 17th year of that king began between the 6th and 8th July, A.D. 1194. On the fifth day of Kumbha in the seventeenth regnal year, which corresponds to Saturday, January 28th 1195, the first *tithi* of the second fortnight was current at mean sunrise and it expired 14 h. 10 m. later. So far the date given is regular. But the *nakshatras* during that day were Maghā and Pūrva-Phalguni. On Saturday, a week later, viz. February 4th, the *nakshatra* was Anurādhā, and if for 'first' *tithi* we could read 'eighth,' the date would be perfectly regular. But this would not be permissible considering that the word 'first' is clearly expressed in letters and not in figures.² It is possible that the date is genuine and incorrect only in giving the wrong *nakshatra*.³

It would be irregular for the seventeenth regnal year of Kulōttuṅga I. As for Kulōttuṅga II. we do not as yet know his initial date, and the attempts I have made to guess at it from this inscription have proved fruitless; no year that I have attempted as his possible 17th giving me elements exactly meeting those of the inscription.

The date is therefore unsatisfactory, but this is unimportant as others of the same regnal year have been found correct (above, Vol. VII. p. 172). In the thirty-seven dates of inscriptions in this reign examined by Kielhorn, there are no less than eleven instances of wrong quotation in the originals (above, Vol. IX. pp. 220-21).

¹ No. 353 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1907.

² The date should be compared with Kielhorn's No. 69 (above, Vol. VII. p. 172). The solar month in each case is Kumbha in the king's 17th year. At mean sunrise on the first civil day of that month, which corresponded to January 24th, A.D. 1195, the eleventh day of the bright fortnight of Māgha had only 9 minutes to run. Four days later was the date given in the text. Sixteen days after this, viz. on the 21st Kumbha or the 18th February, was Kielhorn's date No. 69, where the *nakshatra* was Uttara-Bhādrapadā. A date 16 days earlier than that could not have had Anurādhā for its *nakshatra*; so it is clear that the record is intrinsically wrong.

³ [The reading is *pradama*, 'first,' beyond all doubt.—Ed.]

171.— In the Saumyanāthasvāmin temple at Nandalūr.¹

1 [S]vasti śrī [||*] Kulōttuṅga-Śōladēvaḥ-i[yā]ḍu 24āvud(āvad)-āṇa Dundubhi-samvatsaratna Rishabha-nāya[r]u pūrva-pakshattu tṛtī[yai]yu[m*] Velli-kkiḷa[m*][ai]-

2 yuṁ peṇṇa Mṛigaśīsha[tta](śirshattu) nāḷ.

"In the 24th year, which was the (cyclic) year Dundubhi, (of the reign) of Kulōttuṅga-Chōladēva,—on the day of Mṛigaśīsha, which corresponded to a Friday and to the third *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Rishabha."

This date is quite regular. The 24th year of Kulōttuṅga-Chōla III. began July 6th to 8th, A.D. 1201, the cyclic year being by the southern system, Dundubhi from the Mēsha-samkrānti on 24th March, A.D. 1202. On the second day of the solar month Vṛishabha, which corresponded to Friday, April 26th A.D. 1202; the third *tithi* of the first fortnight of *nija*-Vaiśākha was current. It had begun 9 h. 7 m. before mean sunrise on that Friday; on which day the *nakshatra* Mṛigaśīsha expired, by the equal space system and that of Gaṅga 12 h. 47 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta 11 h. 20 m. after mean sunrise.

172.— In the Ōmkārēśvara temple at Kuttālam.²

1 ௨ Svasti śrī [||*] Puyal vā[y*][ttu]³ Tiribuvanaacha-
kkaravatt[i]gaḷ Madu[r]ai[yu]m Iḷamum Pāṇḍi[ya]ṇ mu[ḍi-t]alaiyuṇ-gondaru-
liya [śrī]-[Kulōttuṅga*]-Śōla[dē]va[r]ku [yān*]ḍu 2[5 ā]vadu M[i]ṇa-nāya[r]u
pūrva-pakshattu pratha[mai]yu[m] Nā[yagru-k]k[i]ḷa[m]ai[yu]m pe[ṇṇa]
Aśvati[-nā].

"In the 2[5]th year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious [Kulōttuṅga]-Chōladēva, who was pleased to take Madurai, Iḷam (Ceylon) and the crowned head of the Pāṇḍya,—on the day of [Aśvini], which corresponded to a [Sunday] and to the first *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Mīna."

The date corresponds to Sunday, March 15th, A.D. 1203, which was the 22nd day of Mīna. On that day, at mean sunrise, the *tithi* was the first of the bright fortnight of Chaitra, though this *tithi* expired 1 h. 12 m. later. By all systems the *nakshatra* Aśvini had begun 3 h. 21 m. before mean sunrise on that day. This day was in the 25th year of Kulōttuṅga-Chōla III.

173.— In the Ōmkārēśvara temple at Kuttālam.⁴

1 ௨ Hara : ௨ Svasti śrī [||*] Puya[i] vāyṭtu Tir[i]buvanaach-
chakkaravatt[i]gaḷ Madu[r]ai[yu]m Iḷamum Pāṇḍi[ya]ṇ muḍi-[tta]laiyuṇ-gondaru-
liya śr[i]-[Kulōttuṅga]-Śōladē[varkku] yāṇḍu 25āvadu Magara-[nāyagru] . . .
[pa]kshattu pañjamiyuṁ Śaṇ[i]-kk[i]ḷa[m]ai[yu]m pe[ṇṇa] Uttirattu
n[ā].

"In the 25th year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulōttuṅga-Chōladēva, who was pleased to take Madurai, Iḷam (Ceylon) and the crowned head of the Pāṇḍya,—on the day of Uttara-Phalguni, which corresponded to a Saturday and to the fifth *tithi* of the⁵ fortnight of the month of Makara."

¹ No. 801 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1907.

² No. 482 of the same collection.

³ The original is damaged here. Between vā of vā- the next word there is space only for two aksharas.

⁴ No. 479 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1907.

⁵ The original is completely damaged. It the or the second (apaḥa).

The original inscription must have recorded the fifth *tithi* of the *second* fortnight. This *tithi*, in luni-solar Pausa, fell on Saturday, 4th January, A.D. 1203, which was the 10th day of Makara in the 25th year of Kulōttunga-Chōla III. It expired 9 h. 8 m. after mean sunrise. At mean sunrise the *nakshatra* was Uttara-Phalguni, and this lasted till 9 h. 25 m. by the equal space system and that of Garga, and by the Brahma-siddhānta till 5 h. 44 m. after mean sunrise. On the other hand, the fifth *tithi* of the *first* fortnight (of Māgha) fell on a Sunday and the *nakshatra* was Uttara-Bhadrapadā; so this was not the date in question.

174.—In the Ōmkārēśvara temple at Kuttālam.¹

- 1 Hara 6. Svasti śri [H*] Pūyal [v]āyttu Tir[i]buvaṇachchakkara-
vattigal [Ma]duraiyum Ūlamum Pāṇḍiyaṇ muḍi-ttalaṇṇuṇ-gonḍaruṇ[i]ya śri-
Kulōttunga-Śōladēvaṇ yāṇḍu 25[ā]vadu Mina-nāyargu pūrvva-pakshattu
paṇḍianni-
- 2 yum Budag-kilamaiyum peṇṇa Rōṇṇ[i]-nā.

“In the 25th year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulōttunga-Chōladēva, who was pleased to take Madurai, Ūlam (Ceylon) and the crowned head of the Pāṇḍya,—on the day of Rōhiṇi which corresponded to a Wednesday, and to the fifth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Mina.

The date regularly corresponds to Wednesday, March 18th, A.D. 1203, which was the 25th day of Mina, and on which day the fifth *tithi* of the first fortnight of Chaitra ended 16 h. 16 m. after mean sunrise. The *nakshatra* at mean sunrise was Rōhiṇi by all systems. It expired, by the equal space system and Garga 15 h. 44 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta 14 h. 37 m. after mean sunrise.

175.—In the Pañchanadēśvara temple at Māyavaram.²

- 1 6. Sust[i](svasti) śr[i] [H*] T[i]r[ibuvaṇach]chak[karava]tt[i]ga
- 2 Maduraiyum Ūlamuṇ-Garuvūrum [Pā]ṇḍiya-
- 3 ṇ muḍi-ttalaṇṇuṇ-gonḍaruṇ[i]ya [śri-Ku]-
- 4 lōttunga-[Ś]ō[lad]ē[va]ṇ yāṇḍu
- 5 [i]rubattaiṇṇā[vadu] Magara-n[āyargu] pūr[va]-
- 6 pa]kshattu śaduttas[i]yum Tīnggaṭ(tīnggaṭ)-kilamai-
- 7 yum peṇṇa [Pūarpūṣa]ttu nā.

“In the twenty-fifth year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulōttunga-Chōladēva, who was pleased to take Madurai, Ūlam (Ceylon), Karuvūr and the crowned head of the Pāṇḍya,—on the day of [Punarvasu] which corresponded to a Monday and to the fourteenth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of [Makara].”

This date would have been perfectly accurate if the fifteenth *tithi* of the first fortnight had been quoted instead of the fourteenth, and I think this mistake must actually have been made.³ In the twenty-fifth year of Kulōttunga-Chōla III. this date corresponds to Monday, December 30th, A.D. 1202, which was the fifth day of Makara. On that day, the fifteenth *tithi* of the first fortnight of Pausa, which was current at mean sunrise, ended 12 h. 23 m. later; the *nakshatra* being Punarvasu till 10 h. 5 m. after mean sunrise by the equal space system and that of Garga, and till 8 h. 3 m. by the Brahma-siddhānta. The fourteenth *tithi* expired 14 h. 15 m. after mean sunrise on the preceding Sunday, at which moment (mean sunrise)

¹ No. 484 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1907.

² No. 381 of the same collection.

³ Dr. Kielhorn has noticed several similar instances of misquotation of *tithis* during this reign (see footnotes to his list in Vol. IX, p. 220).

the *nakshatra* Ārdra was current, ending (and Punarvasu beginning) 11 h. 36 m. later. But by Garga and the Brahma-siddhānta Punarvasu was current on that Sunday at mean sunrise, having begun by the former 31 m., and by the latter 2 h. 6 m., before that moment.

The date is five days earlier than No. 173 above.

176.—In the Pañchanadēśvara temple at Māyavaram.¹

- 1 ||—Svasti śr[i] [||*] [Tri]bhuvana²chchakkaravar[t]-
- 2 tiga| Maduraiyum Ila[mu]n-Ga-
- 3 [ruvūrum Pāṇḍi[ya]n [mu]ḍi-tta[lai]yu-
- 4 [n]=gonḍaruliya [śri]-Kulōttu[ṅga]-
- 5 n[ga]-Śō[ḷa]dēvarkku yāṇḍu [25]-
- 6 vad[u] Magara-[n]ā[ya]r[ra] p[ā]r[va-paksha]ttu śa[du]r-
- 7 ²[tēsi]
- 8 Pu[ṇar]pūsa[t]tu [n]ā.

"In the [25]th year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷadēva, who was pleased to take Madurai, Iḷam (Ceylon), [Karuvūr] and the crowned head of the Pāṇḍya,—on the day of Punarvasu [fourteenth *tithi*] of the first fortnight of the month of Makara."

This is precisely the same date as the last, and it is barely possible that it might be regular if the original contained the week-day "Sunday"; but this is unlikely, since the *nakshatra* Punarvasu could only be connected with the Sunday by the systems of Garga and the Brahma-siddhānta; and then only for 31 m. before mean sunrise on the Monday by the former, and for 2 h. 6 m. by the latter. It is far more likely that the day was Monday, December 30th, A.D. 1202, and that the *tithi* should have been entered as the *fifteenth*.

177.—In the Pañchanadēśvara temple at Māyavaram.³

- 1 ௨ Su[sti](svasti) śr[i] [||*] T[iri]b[u]vāṇaśakka[rava]tt[iga]l Maduraiyum I-
- 2 lamuṇ-Garuvū[ru*]m Pāṇḍiyan muḍi-ttalaiyuṇ=[go]ṇḍa-
- 3 [ruliya śri]-Kulōttuṅga-Śō[ḷa]dēva-
- 4 r[ra]ku y[ā]ṇḍu 25[va]ḍu Maga[ra-nāyarru]-
- 5 ppūrva-pakshattu śadurt[teṣiyum Tiṅga]-
- 6 [-kiḷamaiyum peṇṇa P[u]ṇarpūsa⁴ttu n-
- 7 āl.

"In the 25th year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷadēva, who was pleased to take [Madurai], Iḷam (Ceylon), Karuvūr and the crowned head of the Pāṇḍya,—on the day of Punarvasu, which corresponded to a [Monday] and to the fourteenth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Makara."

The same remarks apply to this as to the preceding two dates. They are all the same dates and are recorded on the walls of the same temple.

178.—In the Saumyanāthasvāmin temple at Nandalūr.⁴

- 1 Jayanti Maduraiyum Pāṇḍiyan [muḍi]-ttalaiyuṇ=
gonḍar[ai]i[ya] T[iri]r[ibu]vāṇa²chchakravattiga| śri-Ku[l]ōttuṅga-Śōḷadēva[r]k[un]
- 2 yā[ṇḍu] 3[1]āvad=āṇa Śuk[ḷa]-sainvatsa[r]attu apara-pakshattu [pra]thamai[ya]ṇ³=
Jev[v]āy-kkiḷamaiyuṇ=Jōḍi[ya]m peṇṇa Śittirai-vishuv[ai] pōḍu.

¹ No. 383 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1907.

² Line 7 is very badly damaged and it is not possible to make out the week day.

³ No. 380 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1907.

⁴ No. 582 of the same collection.

"In the 3[1]st year, which was the (cyclic) year Śukla, (of the reign) of the glorious Kulōttuṅga-Chōladēva, the emperor of the three worlds, who was pleased to take Madurai and the crowned head of the Pāṇḍya,—on the occasion of the vernal equinox (Chaitra-vishuva), which corresponded to (the day of) Svāti, to a Tuesday and to the first tithi of the second fortnight."

This date is correct in all particulars. The cyclic year Śukla in question was A.D. 1209-10; and the vernal equinox on the 24th March, A.D. 1209, was in the thirty-first year of Kulōttuṅga-Chōla III. That day was a Tuesday, and was the last day of the month Mīna. The vernal equinox occurred at 18 h. 22 m. after mean sunrise by the Ārya-siddhānta, and 19 h. 40 m. after it by the Sūrya-siddhānta. Whichever authority was used the result is similar. At mean sunrise that day the first tithi of the second fortnight of Chaitra was current, and it lasted for 4 h. 32 m. The nakshatra Svāti was current at mean sunrise, and expired by the equal-space system 20 h. 23 m. later, by Garga 8 h. 11 m. later, and by the Brahma-siddhānta 4 h. 4 m. later.

It is evident from this that the calculators who framed the calendars of that time and place coupled with the day on which the vernal equinox occurred the name of the tithi current at mean sunrise of that day, and not the name of the tithi actually current at the moment of the equinox. For, at the moment of the vernal equinox, the second tithi of the second fortnight was current. This adhesion to mean sunrise as fixing the tithi coupled with the day is strongly marked in Kielhorn's Chōla No. 70 (above, Vol. VII., pp. 172-3) where, though a thirteenth tithi ended only a minute or two after mean sunrise, it is mentioned as the day's equivalent tithi, in lieu of the 14th.

179.—In the Pañchanadēśvara temple at Māyavaram.¹

- 1 —[|| Svasti śrī [||*] Tiribuvanaścha[k]-
- 2 karavarttiga[l] Marudaiyum² Ī[la-
- 3 muṇḍ]=Gaṛ[n]v[ūru]m [Pāṇ]di[ya]ṇ : m[nāi-
- 4 ttalaiyu]ṇ=go[n]ḍaru[i] v[i]raṛ-[a]bhi[śhē-
- 5 ka]mum vijaiyar-[a]bbishēkama[m
- 6 pa]ṇṇi-arui[ya T]ir[i]buvana[viradē]-
- 7 varukku yāṇḍu 33 Ishabha-n[āya]ṇṇu a-
- 8 [pa]ra-bha(pa)kshattu [da]śami[ya]m³ T]iṅgaṭ-kīla[mai]yu[m
- 9 perṛa Ut]tirattād[i]-nā[||].

"In the 33rd year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, Tribhuvanavīradēva, who was pleased to take Madurai, Īlam (Ceylon), Karuvūr and the crowned head of the Pāṇḍya and was pleased to perform the anointment of heroes and the anointment of victors,—on the day of Uttara-Bhadrpadā, which corresponded to a Monday and to the tenth tithi of the second fortnight of the month of Rishabha."

The date corresponds to Monday, May 8th, A.D. 1211, which was the fifteenth day of the month Vṛishabha. On that day the tenth tithi of the second fortnight of Vaiśākha ended 14 h. 32 m. after mean sunrise; the nakshatra Uttara-Bhadrpadā ended by the equal space system and according to Garga 21 h. 26 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta 21 h. 42 m. after mean sunrise.

¹ No. 382 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1907.

Marudai is a popular form of Madurai.

² The aksharas *yum* seem to be corrected by the engraver from *tiṅga*.

180.— In the Kailāśasātha temple at Rishiyūr.¹

1 Tiribuvāṇachchakkara[va]ttigal Ma[du]raiyum Īla[mu][m*] [Karuvū]rum Pāṇḍiyan muḍi-ttalaikum konḍu virar-abishakamum vijaiyar-[a]bbishakamum papp[ī]yaraḷiṇa T[ri]buvāṇavīradēvaṅka yāḍu mu[p]pattu-māṇṇāvaḍa Mīṇa-nāyayra apara-pakshattu trayōḍa[si]yum [Ti]ṅga[-ā[i]]lammaiyum porra Pūraṭṭādi-nā].

“In the thirty-third year (*of the reign*) of the emperor of the three worlds, Tribhuvanavīradēva, who took Madurai, Īlam, Karuvūr and the crowned head of the Pāṇḍya and was pleased to perform the anointment of heroes and the anointment of victors,—on the day of Pūrva-Bhādrapadā, which corresponded to a Monday and to the thirteenth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Mīna.”

The day corresponds to Monday, March 14th, A.D. 1211, which was the twentieth day of the month Mīna. On that day, the thirteenth *tithi* of the second fortnight of Phālguna ended 15 h. 18 m. after mean sunrise. By the system of Garga the *nakshatra*, which was Pūrva-Bhādrapadā at mean sunrise, ended 18 h. 34 m. later; and by the Brahma-siddhānta the same *nakshatra* was current at mean sunrise, ending 19 h. 17 m. later. But by the equal space system Śatabhisaj was current at mean sunrise, and Pūrva-Bhādrapadā began 6 h. 26 m. after that moment, or about 26 m. after midday. This seems to show, either that the *nakshatra* was calculated by one of the first two systems, or that the calculators worked out the *nakshatra* ruling at the moment of the event recorded, which, if it took place on that day between about 12.26 P.M. and 3.18 P.M., would have coincided with the thirteenth *tithi* of the second fortnight and with the *nakshatra* Pūrva-Bhādrapadā.

181.— In the Ōmkārēśvara temple at Kuttālam.²

1 ॐ Hara : ॐ Svasti śrī : [Pu]yal vāyṭtu Tiribuvāṇachchakkara-[vattiga*]l Maduraiy[u]m Īla[mu]m Pāṇḍiyan muḍi-ttalaikum k[o]ṇḍaru[ḷi]ya śrī-Ku[ḷ]lōt[ṭu]ṅga-Śōḷadē-
2 vaṅku yāḍu 35[ā]vaḍa Mīṇa-nāyayra pūrva-paksha[t]tu śatattiyum Śevvāy-
kkila[m*]jai[yu*]m porra K[ā]tt[ī]gai[-n]ā].

“In the 35th year (*of the reign*) of the emperor of the three worlds, the [glorious] Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷadēva, who was pleased to take Madurai, Īlam (Ceylon)³ and the crowned head of the Pāṇḍya,—on the day of Kṛittikā, which corresponded to a Tuesday and to the fourth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Mīna.

The *nakshatra* in this date seems to have been wrongly calculated. In the thirty-fifth year of Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷa III., the fourth *tithi* of the first fortnight of Phālguna was current at mean sunrise of Tuesday, 26th February, A.D. 1213, and expired 8 h. 30 m. later. The day was the fifth of Mīna. At mean sunrise on that day the *nakshatra* Kṛittikā was not current by any system; but by that of Garga it began 6 h. 2 m. later, by the Brahma-siddhānta 5 h. 34 m. later, and by the equal space system 18 h. 10 m. later. Kṛittikā, therefore, coincided with the fourth *tithi* of the first fortnight during 2 h. 23 m. by Garga, and by the Brahma-siddhānta during 2 h. 56 m. in the middle of the day of that Tuesday. But by the equal space system it began when the fifth *tithi* was current. I am satisfied, however, that the date is correct, but that the *nakshatra*

¹ No. 476 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1907.

² No. 480 of the same collection.

³ Karuvūr, which figures among the conquests of the king in the two preceding inscriptions, seems to be omitted here.

is wrongly quoted as *Kṛittikā* when it should have been *Bharanī*. Amongst the thirty-six dates of this reign published by Kielhorn, there are ten instances of such mistakes, three being mistakes in *nakṣatras*.

F.—RAJARAJA III.

182.—In the Mayūranāthasvāmin temple at Māyavaram.¹

- 1 [Sva]st[i] śr[i] [I*] T[iru]buvanaśarkka[ra](chakra)va[tti]ga| śr[i-^aRā]jā-
- 2 jādēvaṅku [y]āṇḍu paḍi[n]nālāṇḍa(padinālāṇḍa) Tulā-[n]āyaru
- 3 [ama]ṇa(apara)-pakṣattu tṛi[tū]yayum [N]āyaru-kk[i]lāmayu[m] per[ra]
- 4 [U]rōh[i]ṇi-nā.

"In the fourteenth year (*of the reign*) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājarājadēva,—on the day of Rōhiṇī, which corresponded to a Sunday and to the third *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Tulā."

This date regularly corresponds to Sunday, October 7th, A.D. 1229, and the tenth day of Tulā, in the fourteenth year of Rājarāja III. On that day, the third *tithi* of the second fortnight of Āśvina expired 5 h. 23 m. after mean sunrise, while the *nakṣatra* which was current at that moment was Rōhiṇī by all systems. It expired, by the equal space system and by Garga, 20 h. 31 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta 19 h. 25 m. after mean sunrise.

183.—In the Saumyanāthasvāmin temple at Nandalūr.²

- 1 Svasti śri [I*] Rājarājadēvaṅku yāṇḍu [22]-³
- 2 āṇḍa-āṇa Hēmaḷambi-saḍivaṇṣa(saṇvatsa)rattu=Kku-
- 3 [m]bha-nāyaru apara-pakṣattu shashṭiyum Śaṇi-
- 4 kkiḷāmayum perṇa Śōdi-nā.
- 13 I-dēvaṅku [2]4 āṇḍu
- 14 Vikāri-saṇvatsa(saṇvatsa)rattu=Ttulā-[ṇāya]-
- 15 ṇṇ=apara-pakṣattu tṛitiyayum=Diṇḍa-
- 16 kkiḷāmayum perṇa Mṛigaśirshattu nā-
- 17 ḷ.

"In the [22]nd year (*of the reign*) of Rājarājadēva, which was the (*cyclic*) year Hēmalamba,—on the day of Svāti which corresponded to a Saturday and to the sixth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Kumbha on the day of Mṛigaśirsha, which corresponded to a Monday and to the third *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Tulā of the year Vikārin (*which corresponded to*) the [2]4th (year) of the same king."

The first of these dates corresponds to Saturday, February 6th, A.D. 1238, which was the fourteenth day of Kumbha. At mean sunrise on that day the sixth *tithi* of the second fortnight of Māgha, which had begun 30 m. earlier, was current. By the equal-space system the *nakṣatra* Svāti was current, ending 12 h. 55 m., and by Garga also, ending 43 m., after mean sunrise. But by the Brahma-siddhānta Viśākhā was current, it having begun 8 h. 25 m. before mean sunrise.

The date was in the twenty-second year of Rājarāja III.

¹ No. 372 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1907.

² The length of *rā* appears to be corrected by the engraver from *ku*.

³ No. 596 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1907.

⁴ In the *Annual Report* for 1907-08, p. 49, I read the date as the [2]3rd year. On examining the original again it seems to me that the date is probably the [22]nd year.

The second of these two dates corresponds to Monday, October 17th, A.D. 1239, which was the twentieth day of Tulā, and was in the twenty-fourth year of Rājārāja III. At mean sunrise on that day, the third *tithi* of the second fortnight of Kārttika was current, ending 6 h. 23 m. later; the *nakshatra* Mṛigaśirsha, however, only began, by the equal space system and that of Garga, 4 h. 39 m. after mean sunrise, and by the Brahma-siddhānta 3 h. 32 m. after it. The *nakshatra* at mean sunrise was by all systems Rōhini. Still I have little doubt that the date is as above stated, although the *nakshatra* allotted to it is not very accurate.

184.—In the Mahāliṅgasvāmin temple at Tiruviḍaimarudūr.¹

1 Svast[i] śr[i] [I*] T[i]r[i]buvanaḥchakravattigaḥ śrī-[I]rāśarāśadēva[r*]k[ku] yāṇḍu
27 avadu Magara-nā[ya]ṅgu pūrvva-pakshattu paḍjamiyumu Budan-kilamaiyumu
peṇra Pū[śa]ttu nā.

"In the 27th year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājārājadēva,—on the day of Pushya, which corresponded to a Wednesday and to the fifth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Makara."

The fifth *tithi* in question gives a totally wrong result in this date, but the *fifteenth* is in accord with the other details. If this mistake were made by the engravers, the date would correspond to Wednesday, January 7th, A.D. 1243. On that day, which was in the twenty-seventh year of Rājārāja III. and was the thirteenth day of Makara, the *fifteenth tithi* of the first fortnight of Pausa was current at mean sunrise and ended 19 h. 58 m. later. The *nakshatra*, by the equal space system and by Garga, was Punarvasu at mean sunrise; but Pushya began 1 h. 46 m. later, and was therefore current during seventeen hours of the *fifteenth tithi* in question. By the Brahma-siddhānta Pushya had begun 16 m. before sunrise.

There can be little doubt that the *tithi* should have been quoted as the *fifteenth* instead of the fifth.²

G.—RAJENDRA-CHOLA III.(?).

185.—In the Uttaravēdiśvara temple at Kuttālam.³

1 Hara ௨ Svasti śrī [I*] Tir[bu]vāṇachchakkaravattigaḥ śrī-Rā[jā]ndira-
[Śō]lādēva[ku] yāṇḍu 15 avadu Tulā-nāyagru pūrvva-pakshattu navamiyumu
Viyaḷa-kki[ḷ]amaiyumu peṇra A[4].
2 [vi]ṭṭattu nā.

"In the 15th year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājājendra-[Chō]lādēva,—on the day of (Śravishtā), which corresponded to a Thursday and to the ninth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Tulā."

This date might be accurate for the fifteenth year of Rājendra-Chōla II., otherwise called Kulōttuṅga-Chōla I., and is certainly accurate for the fifteenth year of Rājendra-Chōla III. In the former case most of the elements coincide, the date being Thursday, October 10th, A.D. 1084, at mean sunrise on which day the ninth *tithi* of the first fortnight of Kārttika was current, expiring 19 h. 29 m. later; but the *nakshatra* at mean sunrise was Śravana, Śravishtā (or Dhanishthā) beginning 4 h. 39 m. later by the equal space system and Garga, and 6 h. 6 m. later by the Brahma-siddhānta. The date is so far defective.

¹ No. 291 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1907.

² [There is no doubt about the reading *paḍjami*.—Ed.]

³ No. 495 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1907.

⁴ The original is damaged here. But enough of the writing is seen to show that there is not sufficient room for the syllables *peṇra A*.

But for the fifteenth year of Rājendra-Chōla III. all the elements of the date coincide. In that year on **Thursday, October 14th, A.D. 1260**, which was the seventeenth day of Tūlā, the ninth *tithi* of the first fortnight of Kārttika ended 16 h. 55 m. after mean sunrise; the *nakshatra* Śravishṭhā was current at mean sunrise by all systems, expiring 21 h. 14 m. later by the equal-space system and by Garga, and 22 h. 21 m. later by the Brāhma-siddhānta.

I am inclined, therefore, to think that the latter date is the correct one, but the matter can certainly be settled on epigraphic grounds, there being a wide difference between the characters of an inscription of A.D. 1084 and one of A.D. 1260. I have not had a facsimile of the original before me.¹

The date is incorrect for the fifteenth year of Rājendra-Chōla I. in respect of the week-day; and Rājendradēva did not reign for fifteen years, so far as is yet known.

* * * * *

Since the above notes were in print Mr. Venkayya has kindly sent me the following five dates relating to the reign of Kulōttunga-Chōla II., whose accession-date has not yet been fixed.

KULOTTUNGA-CHOLA II.

186.—In the Bhāvanārāyaṇasvāmin temple at Bāpatla.²

- 1 Svasti śrīma[t*]-Tribhuvanachakravartī śrī-Kulōttunga-[Chōla]dēvara divya-saṁvatsarambulu-
- 2 lu 12 śrīhi³ Śaka-varuṣambulu 1066n=ēṇḍi Pāḷuṇa-bahula-tri(tri)[ti*]yyayū Sōmavāra⁴-
- 3 mu-nāṇḍu.

"Hail! In the year 1066 of the Śaka years, in the 12th of the prosperous years (of the reign) of the glorious emperor of the three worlds, śrī-Kulōttunga-Chōladēva,—on a Monday (which was) the third *tithi* of the dark (fortnight of) Phālguna."

The only test possible in the case of dates given in this form is to ascertain whether the week-day corresponds with the other data. In this case it does so, and I have no doubt as to its correctness.

On Monday, February 12th, A.D. 1145, which corresponds to the Śaka year 1066, expired, at mean sunrise, the 3rd *tithi* of the dark fortnight of Phālguna was current. It expired 4 h. 24 m. later.

187.—In the Bhāvanārāyaṇasvāmin temple at Bāpatla.⁵

- 1 Svasti śrīma[t*]-Tribhuvanachakra[va][rti] śrī-Kulō[t*]ttunga-Chōladēvara vijaya-rā-
- 2 jya-saṁvatsaramulu 16gu śrīhi Śaka-varuṣambulu 1071n=ēṇḍi Chaitra-
- 3 śuddha-paṁchādāsiyū Śukravāramu-nāṇḍu.

"Hail! In the year 1071 of the Śaka years, which corresponded to the 16th of the years of the victorious reign of the glorious emperor of the three worlds, śrī-Kulōttunga-Chōladēva,—on a Friday (which was) the fifteenth *tithi* of the bright (fortnight of) Chaitra."

The date is correct. Chaitra in Śaka 1071 expired fell in A.D. 1149. On Friday, March 25th, A.D. 1149, the 15th *tithi* of the first fortnight of Chaitra was current, expiring 23 h. 53 m. after mean sunrise.

¹ [On palaeographical grounds the inscription must be one of Rājendra-Chōla III., and this removes all doubts as to the correctness of the date, viz. October 14, A.D. 1260.—Ed.]

² No. 174 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1897.

³ For an explanation of this term, see *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXV. p. 298.

⁴ The syllable *ma* is added below the line.

⁵ No. 173 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1897.

188.—In the Bhāvanārāyaṇasvāmin temple at Bāpaṭṭa.¹

- 1 [Sva]sti śrīma[t*]-Tribhuvanachakrava[r]tti śrī-Kulōttuṅga-Chōḍadēvara divya-
[samva]tsaram[bn]-
- 2 lu 4 gu śrāhi Sa(śa)ka-va[ru]shambulu 105Sgun-ēṇḍi Śirīha-māsamuna śukla-
pakṣam[n]-
- 3 na pañchamīy[n] Maṅgala-vāramuna.

“Hail! In the year 1058 of the Śaka years, which corresponded to the 4th of the prosperous years (*of the reign*) of the glorious emperor of the three worlds, śrī-Kulōttuṅga-Chōḍadēva,—on a Tuesday (which was) the fifth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of the month of Śirīha.”

This date is also correct. On Tuesday, August 4th, A.D. 1136, which corresponded to Śaka 1058 expired, the 5th *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Bhādrapada was current, the day being the 9th of the month Śirīha. This *tithi* expired 9 h. 22 m. after mean sunrise on that day.

189.—In the Bhāvanārāyaṇasvāmin temple at Bāpaṭṭa.²

- 1 [Svasti śrīmat-Tribhuvana]chakravartti śrī-Kulōttuṅga-Chōḍadē-
- 2 [va]ra divya-samvatsaramulu 11 śrāhi Śaka-vara-
- 3 shambulu 1065n-ēṇḍi Āshāḍa(ḍha)-māsamuna a-
- 4 māvasyaya Budhavāramu Vye(vya)tipāta-nimi-
- 5 tyamuna.

“Hail! In the year 1065 of the Śaka years, in the 11th of the prosperous years (*of the reign*) of the [glorious] emperor of the three worlds, śrī-Kulōttuṅga-Chōḍadēva,—on the occasion of a Vyatipāta (*which occurred on*) a Wednesday and the new-moon *tithi* of the month of Āshāḍha.”

The day in question was Wednesday, July 14th, A.D. 1143. On this day at mean sunrise the 15th *tithi* of the dark half of Āshāḍha was current, the exact moment of the new-moon being 4 h. 2 m. later. The *yōga* Vyatipāta began on that day at 4 h. 35 m. after mean sunrise and lasted all day. It therefore began 33 m. after new-moon.

190.—In the Bhāvanārāyaṇasvāmin temple at Bāpaṭṭa.³

- 1 Svasti śrī [||*] Tri[bhu]vanachakravartti śrī-Kulōttuṅga-Chōḍadēva[ra samvat-
sarambu ?]-
- 2 lu [10]ya[vu] śrāhi Sa(śa)ka-varushambulu 1064gun-ēṇḍi Duṁ[du]bbi-[sa]mvat-
sara-
- 3 [rauna] Āshāḍa(ḍha)-śukla-ākāda[si]yu Maṅgala[vāramu-nām]du.

“Hail! Prosperity! In the year 1064 of the Śaka years, which corresponded to the [10]th of the years (*of the reign*) of the emperor of the three worlds, śrī-Kulōttuṅga-Chōḍadēva and to the (cyclic) year Dundubhi,—on a Tuesday, the eleventh *tithi* of the bright (fortnight of) Āshāḍha.”

I find this date unsatisfactory. Śaka 1064 expired was the cyclic year Dundubhi, and the date ought to fall in June or July A.D. 1142 according as the Āshāḍha in question was the *adhika* or *nija* Āshāḍha, for that month was intercalary in that year. The 11th *tithi* of the bright fortnight of *adhika* Āshāḍha fell in 4th year on a Saturday. The same *tithi* of *nija*

¹ No. 183 of the M.

² No. 180 of the

³ No. 223 of the

collection for 1897.

Āshāḍha fell on Sunday. Thinking that a mistake might have been made in the fortnight I tested the 11th *tithi* of the dark fortnight in both months, finding the week-days Sunday in *adhika* Āshāḍha and Monday in *nija* Āshāḍha. In the latter case, the 11th *tithi* of the dark fortnight had expired 3 h. 45 m. before mean sunrise on the Tuesday.

The result of the examination of Nos. 186, 187, 188, 189, is to show that the date of the accession of Kulōttuṅga-Chōḍa II. lies between March 26th and July 14th, A.D. 1133.

This leads me to reconsider the four possible dates given to No. 166 (above, p. 125 f.). That date was in this king's eighth year; and while (having that date alone to go by) I stated my opinion that it corresponded to the third of my results, in which date I could find no fault in the elements, *viz.* Friday, February 4th, A.D. 1144, I now think that the *second* of my results is the true one, namely, Friday, February 7th, A.D. 1141. Its defect lay in the fact that the quoted *nakshatra*, Śravaṇa, was one which had expired three hours before mean sunrise on that day, and which could not therefore properly be connected with the Friday, Dhanishṭhā being the correct *nakshatra*. But otherwise the result showed that the combination of elements on that day was highly auspicious, and I am of opinion that this fixture may now be accepted, and that the framers of the inscription had made a mistake in their calculation of the *nakshatra*. February 7th 1141 A.D. would fall in this king's 8th year. The mention of the Śaka year in combination with the regnal year in the four regular dates given above may be accepted, for the present at least, as determining the date of accession of Kulōttuṅga-Chōḍa II.

It follows that March 24th, A.D. 1143, the date of the Chellūr plates (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIV. p. 56 ff.; above, Vol. VII. pp. 9—10) fell in this king's tenth year.

No. 25.—DATES OF PANDYA KINGS.

By ROBERT SEWELL, I.C.S. (RETD.), M.R.A.S.

A.—MARAVARMAN SUNDARA-PANDYA I.

68.—In the Nāgēśvaramudaiyār temple at Kalladākuriḥchi.¹

- 1 śrī-kō Māravaṇmar-āṇa Tiri[bu]vaṇasakkaravadiga² śrī-Śōṇāḍu-
koṇḍaruḷiya śrī-Śundara-P[ā]ṇḍiyadēvaṅk-[i]yāṇḍu 20[had]āvaḍin
2 eḍirām-ūḍḍu Kumba-nāyirru pūrvva-pakshattu āṇ-ḍiyadi[yu]m Viyāla-
kkilamaiyum p[e]ḷḷa Ṣadaiyattu nāḷ.

"In the year opposite the 20th year (of the reign) of the glorious king Māravarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Sundara-Pāṇḍiyadēva, who was pleased to take the prosperous Chōḷa country,—on the day of Śatabhishaj, which corresponded to a Thursday and to the sixth solar day of the first fortnight of the month of Kumbha."

This inscription proves that the Pāṇḍya king Māravarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I., whose reign has been determined by the late Professor Kielhorn to have begun between the 29th March and the 4th September A.D. 1216, reigned to a later date than has been previously supposed. The latest date hitherto verified of this king is, I believe, the 19th February, A.D. 1235 (above, Vol. VI. p. 303). This appears in an inscription at Tinnevely.³ The present inscription, in a temple in the Tinnevely District, bears a date corresponding to January 29th, 1237 A.D. Thursday.

¹ No. 98 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1907.

² Read ° *vattigaḷ*.

³ Two inscriptions at Kalladākuriḥchi which give his 22nd year are mentioned by Mr. Venkayya (Nos. 107 and 108 of 1907, and *Annual Report* for 1907-8, paragraph 43).

The date is regular. On Thursday, January 29th, A.D. 1237, the first day of the bright fortnight of Phālguna ended 5 h. 31 m. after mean sunrise. The solar day was the 6th Kumbha. By the equal space system the *nakshatra* Śatabhishaj was current at mean sunrise and ended 9 h. 46 m. later. By the system of Garga Śatabhishaj had expired 2 h. 22 m. before sunrise; and by the Brahma-siddhānta it had expired 1 h. 19 m. before sunrise. This seems to shew that the equal space system of *nakshatras* was used at that time and place. The inscription does not affect Professor Kielhorn's limits (March 29th to September 4th) for the beginning of the reign of this king.

B.—JATAVARMAN VIRA-PANDYA.

69.—In the Muchukundēśvara temple at Koḍumbāḷūr.¹

- 1 ²Kā-Chchad[ai]ya[paṇma]
4³ śri-[Vira]-Pāṇḍiyadēva[k]ku yā[p]ḍu 1[7]vadu
 Simha-nā-
5 [yaḥ*][ru] pūrvva-pakshattu [Viyāla p]-kk[i]lamai[yu]m daśam[i]yum pe[ra]
 Mūlattu [n]ā.

"In the 1[7]th year (of the reign) of king Jaṭavarman
the glorious [Vira]-Pāṇḍiyadēva,—on the day of Mūla, which corresponded to the tenth *tithi* and to a [Thursday] of the first fortnight of the month of Simha."

This date is precisely correct for the Vira-Pāṇḍya, of whom two inscriptions, viz. in his 7th and 15th years, have been published by Professor Kielhorn (above, Vol. VII, pp. 10-11). His reign began, according to that authority, between 11th November 1252 and 13th July 1253. The 10th November 1267 was in his 15th year, and the present date is correct in all respects for 8th August 1269. It is incorrect for the years 1270 and 1271.

In 1269 the 10th *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Bhādrapada ended 18 h. 55 m. after mean sunrise on the 11th day of solar Simha, which corresponded to Thursday, 8th August, A.D. 1269. On that day the *nakshatra* was, by the system of Garga, Mūla for 13 h. 58 m. after mean sunrise, and by the Brahma-siddhānta, for 8 h. 39 m. By the equal space system it was Jyēsthā for 1 h. 50 m. after mean sunrise, and then Mūla for the rest of the day.

The date confirms Professor Kielhorn's limits for the accession of this king. It also confirms the suggestion made by Mr. Venkayya in his *Annual Report* for 1907-8, para. 45, that the Vira-Pāṇḍya who immediately preceded Maṇavarman Kulasēkhara I. was the same as this Jaṭavarman Vira-Pāṇḍya. Henceforth we may give him his proper title.

Since his reign began in A.D. 1252-53 and lasted at least 17 years, Jaṭavarman Vira-Pāṇḍya was ruling for at least 8 years at the same time as Jaṭavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I. whose reign began in 1251 and lasted till at least 1261 A.D. Moreover he is recognized in this inscription as sovereign in A.D. 1269, while we have Maṇavarman Kulasēkhara I.'s accession in June 1268.

¹ No. 131 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1907.

² Read Kā-.

³ [The king claims to have conquered Konganāṁ, to have taken the river Kāvēri and to have performed the anointment of heroes and the anointment of victors at Puliyūr, i.e. Chidambaram, in the South Arcot District. The statement made in paragraph 46 of my *Annual Report* for 1907-08 that this inscription does not mention the conquests of the king is due to a mistake.—Ed.]

C.—MARAVARMAN KULASEKHARA I.

70.—In the Rājasimhēśvara temple at Śiṅṅamaṇṇūr.¹

1 Svasti śrī [||*] Kō Mārappaṇmar=ā[ṇa Tribhuva]ṇasakravatt[i]gaḷ emmaṇḍa-
lamuṇ=gonḍaruḷiya śrī-Kulai(la)śēgaradēvaṛku yāṇḍu² [3 va]ḍu³ Rishabha-
nāyaṛṇu pūrvva-pakshattu [cha]ttutthi[ṇu]m Viyāla-kkilamaiyum perṇa
Pū(pu)ṇarpāsattu nāl.

“In the 3rd [or 30th] year (of the reign) of king Māravarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulaśēkharadēva, who was pleased to take every country,—on the day of Punarvasu which corresponded to a Thursday and to the fourth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Rishabha.”

The accession of this king is fixed by Kielhorn between the 2nd and 27th June A.D. 1268. The 3rd year began in A.D. 1270, and the 30th in A.D. 1297. The given date will fall either in A.D. 1271 or 1298 if correct. As it happens it is equally true for either A.D. 1271 or 1298.

In 1271 the 4th *tithi* of the first fortnight of luni-solar Jyāishṭha expired 16 h. 47 m. after mean sunrise on Thursday, the 19th day of solar Vṛishabha, which corresponded to Thursday, May 14th, A.D. 1271. On that day the *nakshatra* Punarvasu ended by the equal space system, at 10 h. 41 m. after mean sunrise; by the system of Garga the same; by the Brahma-siddhānta at 8 h. 39 m., after mean sunrise.

In 1298 the 4th *tithi* of the first fortnight of luni-solar Jyāishṭha expired 19 h. 29 m. after mean sunrise on Thursday, the 21st day of solar Vṛishabha, which corresponded to Thursday, 15th May, A.D. 1298. On that day the *nakshatra* Punarvasu ended, by the equal space system and the system of Garga, at 11 h. 28 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta at 9 h. 26 m., after mean sunrise.

I find therefore that the date of the inscription may be either May 14th, 1271, or May 15th 1298 A.D. It is impossible to say which. The date would be inaccurate for either the 3rd or 30th year of Māravarman Kulaśēkhara II.

71.—In the Śiva temple at Pāvālaikkudi.⁴

1 Svast[i] śrī [||*] Kō Mārappaṇma-
2 r=āṇa Tribhuvaṇachchakkarava-
3 ttigaḷ emmaṇḍalamuṇ=
4 gonḍaruḷiya śrī-Kulaśē-
5 garadēvaṛku yāṇḍu 16āvaḍu⁵
6 Vṛi[śchi]ka⁶-nāyaṛṇu=ppā[r]vva-paksha-
7 ttu [paṇḍa]m[īyum Bu]ḍa[ṇ]-k[i]lamaiyum
8 perṇa Irē[va]ḍ[i]-nāl.

“In the 16th year (of the reign) of king Māravarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulaśēkharadēva, who was pleased to take every country,—on the day of Rēvati, which corresponded to a Wednesday and to the fifth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Vṛiśchika.”

¹ No. 428 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1907.

² The word *yāṇḍu* is denoted by an abbreviation.

³ The original is damaged here. The reading may also be [30]ḍu.

⁴ No. 149 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1907.

⁵ The word *āvaḍu* is denoted by a flourish added to the figure 16.

⁶ The akshara *śchi* seems to be corrected from *sika*.

This date is irregular. The month *Vṛiśchika* in the 16th year of *Māṇavarman Kulaśēkhara I.* falls in October and November 1283. In that month the fifth *tithi* of luni-solar *Kārttika* fell on Friday, November 26th, the 29th day of solar *Vṛiśchika*, and the *nakshatras* during that day were a large part of *Dhanishṭhā* and a smaller part of *Śatabhishaj*. Calculations for 1284 A.D. prove equally unsatisfactory, the fifth of the bright lunar fortnight in solar *Vṛiśchika* ending on Tuesday, November 14th, at 3 h. 7 m. after sunrise, the *nakshatra* during that period being *Śravana* by all systems.

The date is also irregular for the 16th year of the reign of *Māṇavarman Kulaśēkhara II.*, in which the fifth *tithi* of the first fortnight of *Vṛiśchika* ended on Sunday, 26th November 1329 A.D. at 13 h. 58 m. after sunrise, the *nakshatras* during that period by all systems being *Śravana* and *Dhanishṭhā*.

72.—In the *Nāgēśvaramudaiyār* temple at *Kallaḍakurichchi*.¹

- 1 Svasti śr[i] [U*] Kō Mā[ra]paṇmar²=āṇa T[i]rubāṇa(buvana)chchakkara-
- 2 vatt[i]ga emmaḍalamu[m³ k]oṇḍaruḷiya śri-Kula-
- 3 sāgaradē[va*]ḷḷku [yā]ṇḍu 33 vadu Miduṇa-nāyaṇṇu 12-
- 4 n-diya[di]yum amāvāsya[yu]m perṇa Mṛigaś[i]rshattu nāl.

"In the 33rd year (of the reign) of king *Māṇavarman* alias the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious *Kulaśēkharadē[va]*, who was pleased to take every country,—on the day of *Mṛigaśirsha* which corresponded to the new moon *tithi* and to the 12th solar day of the month of *Mithuna*."

The date is inaccurate for the year 1300 A.D., and correct in all respects for 1301. June 7th, A.D. 1301, Wednesday, was the twelfth solar day of *Mithuna*; and on that day the new-moon *tithi*, or *amāvāsya*, of the luni-solar month *Jyāishṭha* was current till 9 h. 26 m. after sunrise, which was the actual moment of new moon and the beginning of the month *Āshāḍha*. The *nakshatra* *Mṛigaśirsa* was current on that day for 2 h. 14 m. after mean sunrise by the systems of *Garga* and equal space, and for 47 m. by the *Brahma-siddhānta*.

June 7th, 1301 A.D., being in the king's thirty-third year, we know that he could not have begun to reign earlier than June 8th, 1268.

The outside limits for this king's accession are now June 8 to June 27, 1268 A.D.

73.—In the *Rājasimhēśvara* temple at *Śiṇṇamaṇūr*.⁴

- 1 Svasti śri [||*] śri-kō Māṇapaṇmar=āṇa Tiribuvanaachchakkara-
- vakti(tti)ga-
- 2 | ye(e)mmanḍa[lamuṇ]=goṇḍaruḷiya śri-Kulaḷē(śē)garadēvaḷḷku yāṇḍu⁵ 4lvadu
- Āṇi⁶-māda[m*] lātēdi⁷ pūrva-pakshattu prathamaiyum Puṇar-
- 3 pūśamum perṇa Tiṇḷal-kilamai-nāl.

"In the 41st year (of the reign) of the glorious king *Māṇavarman* alias the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious *Kulaśēkharadēva*, who was pleased to take every

¹ No. 98 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1907.

² Read *varmar*.

³ The sign for medial *i* is added at the left top of the letter *m*.

⁴ No. 431 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1907.

⁵ The word *yāṇḍu* is denoted by an abbreviation.

⁶ The *akshara* *ṇi* is corrected from some other letter.

⁷ The word *tēdi* is denoted by two symbols.

country, —on a Monday which corresponded to (*the day of*) Punarvasu, the first *tithi* of the first fortnight (and) to the 14th solar day of the month of Āpi.”

This is the latest date yet found of this king. The date is regular for Monday, 9th June, A.D. 1309, and irregular for A.D. 1307 or 1308. On 9th June, A.D. 1309, which was the fourteenth solar day of Āpi (or Mithuna) and a Monday, the first *tithi* of the bright fortnight of luni-solar Āshādha ended 14 h. 14 m. after sunrise. The *nakshatra* Punarvasu by the equal space system began, on that day, at 6 h. 6 m. after sunrise and lasted the rest of the day. By the system of Garga and by the Brahma-siddhānta it lasted all day.

The inscription proves that the king's reign could not have begun before 10th June 1268, and gives us as the limit of possible accession the period June 10th to June 27th, 1268 A.D.

D.—JATAVARMAN SUNDARA-PANDYA II.

74.—In the Saumyanāthasvāmin temple at Nandalūr.¹

- 1 Svasti śri [||*] Kō=Chchaḍavarṇmar-āṇa Tri[bhu]vaṇachchak-
ka[ra]va[r]ttigaḷ śri-Sundara-Pāṇḍyadēvaṅku yāṇ[ḍu] 10āvadu Vyaya-samvayaṣarattu=
[T]ulā-nāyayṅṅu-ppūrvva-pakshattu dvā-
2 daṣiyum Tiṅgaḷ-kk[i]lamai perṇa Śadayattu nāl.

“In the 10th year (*of the reign*) of king Jaṭavarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Sundara-Pāṇḍyadēva,—on the day of Śatabhishaj, which corresponded to a Monday and to the twelfth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Tulā of the (cyclic) year Vyaya.”

This date is correct in every respect except perhaps in the matter of the regnal year. It belongs to the reign of Jaṭavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya II., in whose reign occurred the year Vyaya. There was no such year in the reign of Jaṭavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I., which lasted from April, A.D. 1251 till at least July 19, A.D. 1261, that being the last date we have at present of him.

In the cyclic year Vyaya, the second solar day of Tulā corresponded to Monday, September 30, A.D. 1266. On that day the twelfth *tithi* of luni-solar Āśvina, which was current at mean sunrise, ended 22 h. 54 m. later; the *nakshatra* Śatabhishaj was current by the equal space system for 10 h. 49 m. after mean sunrise, but by the unequal space systems it had expired shortly before sunrise. I have summarised below the state of our knowledge regarding the accession of this king. The date in question, if the regnal year is correct, fixes the king's accession on or later than 1st October 1276; but this contradicts the results of some other inscriptions. The regnal year may have been wrongly given as 10, instead of 11.

75.—In the Saumyanāthasvāmin temple at Nandalūr.³

- 1 [Sva]sti śri [||*] Kō=[Chcha]ḍa[parma]r-āṇa Tribhuvanachcha[kravartti]ga[ḷ] śri-
Śu[nda]ra-Pāṇḍyadēvaṅku yāṇ[ḍu]
2 [15]āvadu Viṇ[ḍu]-śaravatt[sa]rattu Kumba-nāyayṅṅu pū[rvva-pa]kshattu daṣamiyūm
Tiṅgaḷ-⁵kiḷamayūm
3 pe[ṇṇa] Puṇarvāṣattu nāl.

¹ No. 592 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1907.

² Read -*samvatsa*°.

³ No. 590 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1907.

⁴ [The regnal year may also be read as 13.—Ed.] If we could be certain that ‘13’ is the correct reading we should have this king's accession limited to the period February 21st to March 14th, A.D. 1277, and the inscription would be very important.

⁵ Read -*kiḷamayūm*.

"In the [15]th year (*of the reign*) of king Jaṭavarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Sundara-Pāṇḍyadēva,—on the day of Punarvasu which corresponded to a Monday and to the tenth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Kumbha in the (cyclic) year Virōdhin."

This date is regular, and belongs to the reign of Jaṭavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya II., as there was no cyclic year called Virōdhin in the reign of Jaṭavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I. The day in question was Monday, February 20th, A.D. 1290. On that day the tenth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the luni-solar month Phālguna ended 13 h. 45 m. after mean sunrise. During all that period the *nakshatra* was Punarvasu by both the unequal space systems. By the equal space system Punarvasu began 1 h. 23 m. after sunrise and lasted all day.

It appears that the regnal year in this inscription is illegible, and we cannot therefore argue from it.

76.—In the Saumyanāthasvāmin temple at Nandalūr.¹

1² śrī-Sundara-Pāṇḍyadē[va]kku
2 yāp[an] 17 āvadu Nanda[na].³samvasarattu Mīna-nā[ya]r[ru] pūrvva-
3 pakshattu daśamiyum Budhan-kiḷamaiyum perḡa Pūṣattu nā-
4 l.

"In the 17th year (*of the reign*) of the glorious Sundara-Pāṇḍyadēva,— on the day of Pushya, which corresponded to a Wednesday and to the tenth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Mīna in the (cyclic) year Nandana."

This date must either belong to the reign of Mājavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I., in whose seventeenth year, 1232-33 A.D. there was a cyclic Nandana; or to that of Jaṭavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya II., in whose seventeenth year, 1292-93 A.D. (if he reigned so long) there was another Nandana. It could not be the Nandana 1532-33 A.D., in the reign of Mājavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya Kōṇērmaikondān, because that year was only the second of the reign; nor could it belong to the reign of any other known Sundara-Pāṇḍya, as in these there was no such cyclic year.

Examining the date for A.D. 1232-33 I find that it is unsatisfactory. The tenth *tithi* of the first fortnight of luni-solar Chaitra in that year corresponded to the twenty-eighth day of solar Mīna, which was Tuesday, March 22, A.D. 1233. The tenth *tithi* ended at 21 h. 2 m. after mean sunrise on that day, or at about 3.2 A.M. on the (European) Wednesday, *i.e.* some hours before the beginning of the Hindu Wednesday. Pushya ended 39 m. after mean sunrise on the Tuesday by the equal space and Garga systems, while by the Brahma-siddhānta the *nakshatra* was Āślēṣhā throughout the tenth *tithi*.

The date is fairly regular for A.D. 1292-93. In that year the tenth *tithi* of the first fortnight of Chaitra began 6 h. 52 m. after mean sunrise on Wednesday, March 18th, A.D. 1293, which was the twenty-fourth day of solar Mīna. The *nakshatra* by Garga and the equal space system was Pushya till 18 h. 34 m. after mean sunrise, and by the Brahma-siddhānta till 16 h. 16 m. after mean sunrise, on that Wednesday. If this was in the seventeenth year of Jaṭavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya II., it fixes his accession on or later than March 19th A.D. 1276. It will be seen that, if this is the right date, the 10th *tithi* was connected with the Wednesday though at sunrise on that day it was not current; and this is unusual. Considering that this inscription is only four days later than No. 77 next following, which is regular in all respects, and that it belongs to the same place and temple, it is safe to assume that the tenth *tithi* was wrongly quoted for the ninth.

¹ No. 588 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1907.

² The beginning of the inscription is mutilated.

³ Read *-samvatsa°*.

77.— In the Saumyanāthasvāmin temple at Nandalūr.¹

1
2 Svasti śri [||*] Kō-Chchaḍavarman-āna Tribhuvanachchakrava[r]ttigal śri-Sundara-
Pāṇdyadēvaṅku yāṇḍu 17āvad-āna Nanda[na]-samvatsarattu Mina-nāyarṅṅu pū[rva]-
pakshattu paṣṇamiyūm Śani-kkiḷamaiyūm peṅga Rōh[ini]-
3 nāl.

"In the (cyclic) year Nandana, which was the 17th year (of the reign) of king Jaṭāvarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Sundara-Pāṇdyadēva,—on the day of Rōhiṇī, which corresponded to a Saturday and to the 5th *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Mīna."

As in the last case, this year must be either 1232-33 or 1292-93 A.D. For the first it is irregular, for though the *nakshatra* is correct, the 5th *tithi* in question fell that year on a Thursday.

For the second, the date is perfectly regular. In A.D. 1292-93 the 5th *tithi* of the first fortnight of luni-solar Chaitra fell on Saturday, the 20th day of solar Mīna, which corresponded with March 14th, A.D. 1293. This 5th *tithi* ended 14 h. 18 m. after sunrise. The *nakshatra* was Rōhiṇī throughout the *tithi* by all the systems.

The corresponding date is therefore Saturday, March 14, 1293 A.D., and the inscription belongs to the reign of Jaṭāvarman Sundara-Pāṇdyā II. It was four days earlier than the last inscription. It fixes the king's accession on or after March 15, A.D. 1276.

78.— In the Rājasimhēśvara temple at Siṅṅamapūr.²

1 Svasti śri [6.] Kō-Chchaḍavarman-āna Tribhuvanachcha[kra]vattigal śri-Sundara-
[Pa]ṇdyadēvaṅku [y]āṇḍu 7vadu Magara-[n]āyarṅṅu pūrva-pakshattu mūṅṅān-di-
[ya]diyūm Velli-kki[la]maiṅṅu peṅga Mṛigaśirisha(śirsha)ttu nāl.

"In the 7th year (of the reign) of king Jaṭāvarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Sundara-Pāṇdyadēva,—on the day of Mṛigaśirsha, which corresponded to a Friday and to the third solar day of the first fortnight of the month of Makara."

This date is irregular, for the reign of either of the two known Jaṭāvarman Sundara-Pāṇdyas. I have tried the years 1256, 1257, 1258, 1281, 1282, 1283, which might possibly coincide with, or approximate to, the 7th regnal year of either of those kings, without success. Some element of the inscription appears to be wrong, either in the original or in the copy.³

The exact date of Jaṭāvarman Sundara-Pāṇdyā II.'s accession is still doubtful, and must for the present remain so. The following analysis, however, may be found useful. To the list published by Kielhorn in Vol. IX. p. 228 of dates previously examined I now add four more, viz. Nos. 74, 75, 76, 77, above. The tested dates of J. Sundara II. are now fourteen in number.

Of these K. 26⁴ must be discarded. The wording of the date is "intrinsically wrong." K. 53 is doubtful because the regnal year is not clear in the injured original. It appears to be either "11th" or "19th." Working for a possible 19th year, Professor Kielhorn found the date regular for November 10th, A.D. 1294, but is "not fully convinced" that this conclusion is correct. I find myself equally unconvinced, because that date seems too late for this king

¹ No. 594 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1907.

² No. 434 of the same collection.

³ Mr. Venkayya has examined the original with reference to my remarks and states that there is no doubt about the date. I have again gone through my calculations and can only confirm the remarks made in the text; the original is at fault. Indeed in 500 years I find no date for which the given details are satisfactory.

⁴ "K" stands for the dates published by the late Professor Kielhorn.

Wassāf and Rashid-ud-dīn assert that "Sundar Pandi" died in Hijra 692, the last day of which year was December 1st, A.D. 1293 (Yule's *Marco Polo*, II. 269). I see no real reason why we should not accept the date as being one of the 11th year, viz. October 29th, A.D. 1287, and if so, it supports the evidence offered by the second of the two groups given below; but it is perhaps safer to reject the date as a basis for argument. K. 55 is also doubtful since it would seem that, if correct in other respects, a wrong solar month was quoted, and K. 56 must be set aside because it is evident that the regnal year has been wrongly quoted; the date given in A.D. 1286 as the ninth year is at variance with all the other dates yet examined, and would postpone the king's accession to a date subsequent to March 29th, A.D. 1277. I also discard my No. 75 (above) for the reason given in my note on that inscription. This leaves nine dates by which we may be guided, if No. 76 is accepted as I think it certainly may be.

Of these nine, K. 25, K. 27, K. 52, K. 54, put together, give us August 28th, A.D. 1275 to May 15th, A.D. 1276 as the limit; and K. 23, K. 24, and my 74, 76, 77 give us October 1st, A.D. 1276 to March 14th, A.D. 1277, as the limit of the accession of this king.

With regard to overlapping of reigns, e.g. August A.D. 1289 being in the 13th or 14th year of this king (K. 23, 24) when June 27, A.D. 1289, is placed also in the 22nd year of Mājavarmān Kulāśekhara I. (K. 48)—it is well to note that Marco Polo (Yule, II. 267) says "In this province (Maabar) there are five kings who are own brothers. . . . at this end of the province reigns one of those five Royal Brothers, who is a crowned King, and his name is SONDER BANDI DATAR." Wassāf, speaking of the same king under the name "DEWAR SUNDAR PANDI" says he had "three brothers, each of whom established himself in independence in some different country" (*ibid.* 269). This account is strongly supported by the Chinese annals (*ibid.* 273), where the country is called "Maparh," or Malabar, and is reported to have sent tribute (presents) to Kublai Khān in A.D. 1286. "Pauthier has given some very curious and novel extracts from Chinese sources regarding the diplomatic intercourse with Ma'bar in 1280 and the following years. Among other points these mention 'the five brothers who were Sultans.'" See also my remarks in the last paragraph of No. 69 above.

Colonel Yule's note from which I have quoted gives us some further important information regarding the kingdom (or kingdoms) of Madura at this period. Wassāf introduces (1310) a king whom he calls "Kales Dewar" who had ruled for 40 years, and whom we may identify with Mājavarmān Kulāśekhara I. in whose 40th year, viz. March 18th 1303 A.D., was engraved the inscription at Tiruvārūr (above VIII. p. 276), and in his 41st year, viz. June 9th, A.D. 1309, the inscription at Śīngamaṇṇūr (No. 73 of the present publication).¹ "He had two sons, Sundar Bandi by a lawful wife, and Pirabandi (Vira Pandi ?) illegitimate. He designated the latter as his successor. Sundar Bandi, enraged at this, slew his father" and seized the throne. Vira-Pāṇḍya drove him out, and Sundara-Pāṇḍya sought aid from the Muḥammadans, which led to Malik Kafur's raid. The story is confirmed by Amir Khusru.

It must be remembered that this Sundara-Pāṇḍya, who murdered his father Kulāśekhara I., was not our Jātāvarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya II. who seems to have died in A.D. 1293, but a subsequent prince of the same name and family. We have as yet no published inscriptions bearing date between 1309 and 1317 A.D. in the Pāṇḍya territories. If any of the patricide Sundara-Pāṇḍyas come to light we shall have to call that king (or prince) Sundara-Pāṇḍya III.

¹ This was the Kulāśekhara to whom the Tamils entrusted the tooth relic carried away by them from Ceylon (*Mahāvamsa*, ch. XC, verse 48). It was returned a few years later. The *Mahāvamsa* also mentions "the five brethren who governed the Pāṇḍyan kingdom" in the reign of Bhuvaneka Bāhu of Ceylon whose date Bell gives as 1277-1288 A.D.

I have written the above, not with the intention of intruding historical notes into a paper which should perhaps be solely chronological in character, but as explanatory of the overlapping of dates at this period. Nevertheless a certain amount of historical discussion in connection with dates will surely be welcomed.

E.— MARAVARMAN KULASEKHARA II.

79.— In the Siddhajñānēśvara temple at Pāpāṅḡlam.¹

1 [Sva]sti [śrī] [||*] K[ṣ] Mārapanmar=ā[ṇa] Tribhuvanaśchakra[va]ttigala-
emana[nda]la[mun]=gond-a[ruli]ya śrī-Kulaśēgaradēva[x]ku yāṇḍu Svadu² Tulā-
[nāyaru 2]tēdi³ pūrvva-pakshattu [na]vamiyum [Bu]dhaṇ-kiḷamai[yu]m peṇra
2 Tiruvōṇ[a]ttu [nā].

"In the 8th year (of the reign) of king Māravarman alias the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulaśēkharadēva, who was pleased to take every country,—on the day of Śravaṇa which corresponded to a Wednesday, to the ninth *tithi* of the first fortnight (and) to the 2nd solar day of the month of Tulā."

The reign of Māravarman Kulaśekhara II, began according to Kielhorn (above, Vol. VIII, p. 228) between March 6th and March 29th, A.D. 1314. Work for Tulā in his 8th year proves that the 2nd solar day of that month was Wednesday, September 30, 1321 A.D. On that day, the 9th *tithi* of the bright fortnight of the luni-solar month Āśvina was current for 17 h. 13 m. after mean sunrise, while the *nakshatra* Śravaṇa was current by the equal-space and Garga systems for 23 h. 48 m. after mean sunrise, and by the Brahma-Siddhānta for the whole day except for 1 h. 15 m. after mean sunrise during which period Abhijit was current. This is probably the correct date.

The date is irregular for the 8th year of Māravarman Kulaśekhara I. in respect of the week-day. The month of Tulā in this king's 8th year fell in A.D. 1275. On Monday, September 30, A.D. 1275, which was the 2nd day of solar Tulā, the 9th *tithi* of the bright fortnight of luni-solar Āśvina expired 2 h. 37 m. after mean sunrise; the *nakshatra* being Śravaṇa by the equal space system and by Garga for 10 h. 13 m., and by the Brahma-Siddhānta for 11 h. 40 m. after mean sunrise. If, therefore, the week-day quoted had been Monday instead of Wednesday, the date would have been perfectly regular. It is worthy of note that the epithet "who was pleased to take every country" is applied only to Jātāvarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I. and Māravarman Kulaśekhara I. Whichever king this may belong to, the initial date of his reign remains unaffected.

80.— In the Siddhajñānēśvara temple at Pāpāṅḡlam.⁴

1 [Svasti] śrī [||*] Kṣ Mārapan[va]r=āpa⁵ Ti[ri]buva[nach]chakara(kra) yattigal
[śrī]-Kulai(la)śēgaradēvaṛku yāṇḍu⁶ Sva[du Da]nu-nāyaru 11 tēdiyum⁷ [a]para-
paksha [ttu] ⁸. . . . [m] Śevvāy-kki[lamaiyu]m peṇra Śōdi-[nā].

¹ No. 126 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1907.

² The words *yāṇḍu* and *vadu* are each expressed by an abbreviation.

³ The word *tēdi* is expressed by a symbol.

⁴ No. 125 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1907.

⁵ Read *panmar*-. The original has two symbols between *va* and *pa*, each of which looks like *rō*.

⁶ The letter *ḍu* is denoted by a flourish added to *u*.

⁷ The word *tēdi* is denoted by a symbol.

⁸ The name of the *tithi* cannot be made out as the original is badly damaged here.

Thursday, the fifth *tithi* of the bright half of Āshāḍha, while the *nakṣatra* was Puṣṭi; Phalgunī and Jupiter rose in (i.e. entered) the sign Dhanuṣ.—two private individuals Nidhiyanna and Chandiyanna—sons of a merchant from Śrīmaṅgala—built a Jaina temple (*basadi*) at Tagaḍūra (l. 40). The former of these received from the king, for from alienation branches, the village of Mūlapaḷḷi (l. 43 f.) and in his turn made it over to Kanakasiddhāntada-Bhaṭṭāra, pupil of, Vinayasēnasiddhāntada-Bhaṭṭāra of the Śigariya-gaṇa, the Sēn-ānvaya and the Mūla-saṅgha (ll. 47 to 51), for repairs, additions, worship, &c. in that *basadi* (l. 42 f.). The witnesses to this transaction were the four *śaṃayins*,¹ the *śiḡḡ nakhara*, and the *naraśāsana* (ll. 52 to 55). Inscription B, which consists of 10 lines is written at the bottom of A. (all round the four faces of the pillar) in the same old Kannada script as A. and in Kanarese prose. It records that a certain Lōkanga got from Lōkapaḍēra, son of Mahēndra-Nojamba, the village of Burugūru and made a gift of it to the Jaina temple built by Nidhiyanna—apparently identical with the one mentioned in A. The founder Nidhiyanna is also said to have presented a garden (P) for worship in the same temple.

From the foregoing it is evident that the subjoined records belong to the Nojambas who claimed descent from the Pallavas. The territory over which the Nojambas originally held sway has been suggested to be the small district of Nojambalge, mentioned in two Rāṣṭrakūṭa records² of about the 9th century A.D., which, later on, appears to have received the appellation of Nojambavāḍi thirty-two thousand. This province, which must have been originally confined to the districts of Tumkur and Chitaldroog in the Mysore State, and part at least of the Anantapur District in the Madras Presidency, was gradually extended as the Nojambas rose into power, and in the 10th century A.D. included the major portion of the Bellary, Bangalore and Kolar districts. Portions of Salem and North Arcot must also have been in the possession of the Nojambas at the time of the subjoined record.³

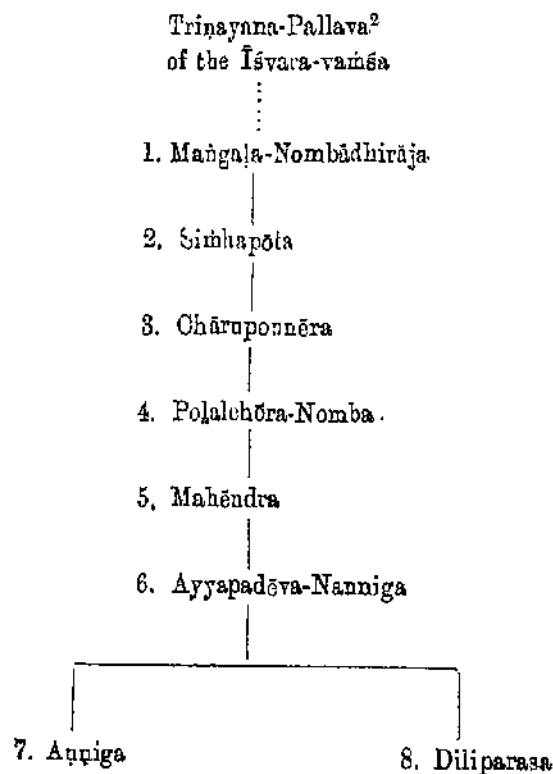
In his volumes on Chitaldroog and Tumkur (Vols. XI and XII of the *Epigraphia Carnatica*) Mr. Rice has collected a large number of Nojamba records which give us a fair outline of the history of that dynasty. Two pillar inscriptions from Hēmāvati in the Maḍaksira tāluka of the Anantapur District and two from the town of Maḍaksira itself, have been included by

¹ *Samayins* are literally the members of a congregation or religion. Here, perhaps, the reference is to the four main divisions of the Jains who, like the Hindus, recognise the four castes, viz. the Brāhmanas, Kshatriyas, Vaiśyas and Śūdras. The significance of the next three terms *nāḍu*, *nakhara* and *naraśāsana* is not clear. The first means 'country' or 'country-folk'; the second, 'town' or 'town-folk' and the third perhaps signifies 'rulers of men' or 'officers of government.' What the author wants to say may be that the witnesses to the transaction were the whole Jaina community consisting of 'country-folk,' 'town-folk' and 'officers.' Mr. Venkayya suggests that the three terms in question, with the reflexive pronoun *īvarē* which follows them, may be meant to serve as a clause explaining what has been stated before. In other words, it may mean that the *samayins* who were witnesses to the present grant, are to be considered in themselves as good as the *nāḍu*, the *nakhara* and the *naraśāsana* who, perhaps in ordinary cases, bore witness to public transactions.

² *Epigraphia Carnatica*, Vol. XI. Cl. Nos. 33 and 34 and Introduction, p. 7.

³ Dr. Fleet's *Kanarese Dynasties*, p. 313. That Nojambavāḍi included a part, if not the whole, of the Anantapur District is proved by the fact that Hēmāvati, i.e. the modern Hēmavati, the capital of the Nojambas, is situated in the Maḍaksira tāluka of that district. As regards the influence which the Nojambas exercised about the end of the 9th century A.D. in the northern portion of the Salem District, we have the evidence of the subjoined records at Dharmapuri. About this period, North Arcot too must have been subject to Nojamba influence; for, the Āmbūr inscriptions of the time of Nripatāṅgavikramavarman refer to a cattle raid organised by the Nojamba against Ānsiyūr (above, Vol. IV. p. 180). The original territory of the Nojambas, however, was in the Tumkur and Chitaldroog districts of the Mysore State where their sway in the past is still testified to by the existence of a class of ryots known as Nojabas and of town-names like Nojavukere (possibly a corruption of Nojambankere), Ayyamaṅgala (i.e. Ayyapamaṅgala, so called after Ayyapa, son of Mahēndra), Nojambapaṭṭana, Nannivāla, &c. (Mr. Rice's *Mysore Gazetteer*, Vol. II. pp. 163 and 500).

Mr. Rice in his Tumkur volume.¹ One of the Hēmāvatī epigraphs furnishes the following genealogy of the Nolambas :—



This record, which belongs to the time of No. 8 Diliparasa, is dated in Śaka 864 and is thus later than the Dharmapuri inscription (A.) by 50 years, i.e. about two generations. Consequently No. 5 Mahēndra may be identical with Mahēndrādhirāja-Nolamba or Mahēndra-Nolamba of inscription (A.) and No. 6 Ayyapadēva-Nanniga, with Ayyapadēva "the asylum of truth (*nanni*)" of inscription (B.). This identification further enables us to identify No. 4 Poḷalehōra-Nomba and No. 3 Chāruronnēra with Nolambādhirāja and Pallavādhirāja³ of the Dharmapuri record. We do not know of any dated records of these two last mentioned kings; but Mr. Rice refers to some from the Chitaldroog District⁴ which may prove that Pallavādhirāja-Chāruronnēra of the foregoing genealogy—son of Simhapōta—was a contemporary of the Hāshtrakūṭa king

¹ *Ep. Car.* Vol. XII. Si. Nos. 24, 28, 35 and 36.

² Triṇayana-Pallava is synonymous with Trilōchana-Pallava, Mukkaṇṭi-Pallava or Mukkaṇṭi-Kāḍuvetti (as the name sometimes appears in Telugu inscriptions). Trilōchana was the mythical Pallava king who was ruling the Telugu country prior to the advent of the Chalukyas under Vijayāditya of Ayōdhyā. In the mythical account of the Eastern Chalukyas given in copper-plates from the time of Vimalāditya downwards, Trilōchana-Pallava is mentioned as the king who opposed Vijayāditya in his victorious campaign against the south and perhaps also killed him (above, Vol. VI. p. 852, text, ll. 16 and 17). Trilōchana is also mentioned in Telugu inscriptions as the contemporary of the early Chōḷa king Karikālā to whom he was subordinate. Mr. Venkayya places Karikālā (and consequently also Triṇayana-Pallava) roughly about the end of the 5th century A.D. The Īśvara-varṇa to which Triṇayana-Pallava belonged (as disclosed by the Hēmāvatī record) is not mentioned elsewhere. One record from Nandālūr (No. 580 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1907) actually traces Mukkaṇṭi-Kāḍuvetti to the third eye of Śiva (Īśvara). The Pallavas of Kāñchi traced their descent from Brahmā, through many Purāṇic stages, to the Mahābhārata hero Aśvatthāman.

³ These two names appear more like general appellations and may have been borne by any one of the Nolamba kings who claimed descent from the Pallava family; whereas, those given in the genealogical record from Hēmāvatī were, perhaps, the real names of the two Nolamba rulers who immediately preceded Mahēndrādhirāja.

⁴ *Ep. Car.* Vol. XI. Ci. Nos. 33 and 34.

Jagattuṅga-Prabhūtavarsha-Gōvinda III. whose dates range from A.D. 794 to 813¹ and was, as a feudatory of that sovereign, ruling the Nolambalge one thousand and Nurgunda three hundred districts. Coming to Nolambādhirāja or Pojalechōra-Nomba of the Hēmāvati inscription, we gather from the subjoined record that he married Jābbe, the daughter of the Western Gaṅga king Rāchamalla-Varmaṁḍi. This identical relationship is mentioned in two other records of Mahēndra—one from Hēmāvati in the Anantapur District and the other from Baragūr in the Sira taluka of the Tumkur District.² These two inscriptions tell us that Jābbe was the daughter of Rāchamalla and the younger sister of Nitimārga-Permāḍi. According to Dr. Fleet, Rāchamalla, the father-in-law of Nolambādhirāja, is identical with Satyavākya-Rājamalla (A.D. 840 and 870-71).³ As the earliest record hitherto discovered of Mahēndrādhirāja-Nolamba is dated in Śaka 800, we may tentatively fix the lower limit of Nolambādhirāja's reign at A.D. 878-79. And as the father of Nolambādhirāja, viz. Pallavādhirāja, was a feudatory of the Rāshtrakūṭa king Govinda III. (A.D. 794 to 813), the upper limit would be 813 A.D. Thus, Nolambādhirāja—the second king mentioned in the subjoined record—may be presumed to have ruled between A.D. 813 and A.D. 878-79, though the period covered by this interval is an unusually long one.

¹ We arrive at the same result if we go back two generations from the earliest available date of Mahēndrādhirāja, viz. A.D. 878-79 (Si. 38), and shall be near to the close of Govinda's reign. Still another synchronism from a Chitaldroog record may help us to settle the probable period of Chārpuṇṇēra. Chārpuṇṇēra's father Siṅhapōta is therein mentioned (*ibid.* Cl. 8.) as the subordinate of a certain Permāṇḍi, who, as the name suggests, was evidently a Western Gaṅga king. According to Mr. Rice, Permāṇḍi was a title which the early Western Gaṅga king Śrīpuruṣa-Muttarasa "took away from the king of Kāñchi" (*Mysore Gazetteer*, Vol. I, p. 814 and *Ep. Carn.* Vol. VIII. Nr. 35). Dr. Fleet assigns this Śrīpuruṣa to the period A.D. 765 to 805 (*Ep. Ind.* Vol. VI. p. 84). Consequently, the time of Chārpuṇṇēra, son of Siṅhapōta, must have been subsequent to A.D. 805 as was already found to be the case.

² *Ep. Carn.* Vol. XII. Si. Nos. 24 and 38. Both of these inscriptions have been translated by Mr. Rice on pp. 91 and 94 of his Tumkur volume. Here, he connects *Jāyabbey-embōi mahādēvi* of both the records, with *Nolambādhirājarātāṅga* which precedes a long parenthetical clause giving the parentage of Jāyabbe. By separating the expression *Nolambādhirājarātāṅga* into *Nolambādhirājarā* and *tāṅga*, he arrives at the conclusion that the sister (*tāṅga*) of Nolambādhirāja was married to the Gaṅga king Rāchamalla. Jābbe (or Jāyabbe), we know, was the queen of Nolambādhirāja and mother of Mahēndra. If, accordingly, the phrase *Jāyabbey-embōi mahādēvi* is to be correctly connected with the word *Nolambādhirāja*, the latter must, according to strict grammatical rules, end in the dative. But this would not be the case if we divide, as Mr. Rice does, the phrase *Nolambādhirājarātāṅga* into *Nolambādhirājarā* and *tāṅga*. I think it is more natural to divide it into *Nolambādhirājar* and *ātāṅga*. That this is actually intended is apparent from what we find in the subjoined record which states that Mahēndrādhirāja was born to Nolambādhirāja (*Nolambādhirājargam*) and to Jābbe (*Jābbegam*). Mr. Rice's wrong interpretation of this phrase is evidently also responsible for the statement in the *Mysore Gazetteer*, Vol. I, p. 307, that "Pallavādhirāja's daughter was married to the Gaṅga king Rājamalla." An inscription at Chikka-Madhure in the Chalkere taluka (*Ep. Carn.* Vol. XI. Cl. 39), however, seems to prove that the Gaṅgas and the Nolambas were related by intermarriage already in the reign of Siṅhapōta. It is here stated that Permāṇḍi (i.e. the Western Gaṅga king Śrīpuruṣa-Muttarasa) married the daughter's daughter of Siṅhapōta.

³ Above, Vol. VI. p. 86. Mr. Rice suggests that the Nolambādhirāja mentioned in an undated Gaṅga record of Nitimārga at Kendatti-Maḍivāla (*Ep. Carn.* Vol. X. Kl. 79) and the Nolamba king of the same name mentioned in the Pallava record at Bhōga-Nandi (*ibid.* Cl. 26), also undated, may both be identical with Nolambādhirāja-Pojalechōra (*ibid.* Introduction, pp. xviii and xix)—father of Mahēndrādhirāja and brother-in-law of Nitimārga. This suggestion does not appear to be correct; for, Nitimārga-Permāṇḍigal under whom the former Nolambādhirāja is stated to have been ruling the district Gaṅgaruṣaṭra is, I believe, identical with Nitimārga-Permāṇḍi Raṇavikrama whom Dr. Fleet places between A.D. 810 and 840 and not with Nitimārga, the unidentified son of Satyavākya Rāchamalla. Nolambādhirāja of the Nandi record does not appear to have been a feudatory chief but an independent Nolamba sovereign who "was ruling the earth" (*prithvī-rājyam gey*) without any overlord. Very probably he is identical with Immaḍi or Irmaḍi-Nolambādhirāja whose record of Śaka 890 is found at Kandavāra not very far from Nandi (*Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I. Part II. p. 332 and *Ep. Carn.* Vol. X. Cl. 45). Nitimārga, the brother-in-law of Nolambādhirāja-Pojalechōra, did not, probably, succeed to the Gaṅga throne; for, we know from the Huskūra inscription that Satyavākya Rājamalla's chosen successor (*yuvarāja*) was Būtarasa (above, Vol. VI. p. 66).

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Of Mahēndrādhirāja-Nolamba the subjoined record states that he destroyed the family of the Mahābalis (i.e. the Bāpas).¹ The Baragūr and the Hēmvati records report that Mahēndrādhirāja "uprooted Chōra and others of his kinsmen." The Chōra here mentioned may refer to the Chōlas of the Telugu country,² a branch of whom appears to have been ruling about Hēmvati and Nidugal about that period.³ How these Chōlas of the Telugu country were 'kinsmen' of the Nolambas, is not quite clear. But in an inscription from the Maddagiri tāluka of the Tumkur District (*Ep. Carn.* Vol. XII. Mi. No. 102) Chaladānkakāra Chōḷiga, who is referred to about 900 A.D. by Mr. Rice, is stated to have been of Pallava descent. A later Chōla chief of Nidugal had the prefix 'Vira-Nolamba' added to his name.⁴ It may, perhaps, thus be possible to explain how the Chōras mentioned in the Baragūr and Hēmvati inscriptions were 'kinsmen' of the Nolambas. The statement that Mahēndrādhirāja "destroyed the Bāpas" is not a mere boast; for, the very existence of the subjoined records (A.) and (B.) almost on the borders of, if not actually within, the Bāpa country, proves beyond doubt the occupation of that part of the country by the Nolambas. From an inscription at Būḍidepalle⁵ in the Puṅganūr Zemindāri which, on palaeographical grounds may be referred to about the 9th century A.D., we learn that the Nolamba raided Puli-nāḍu (in the Bāpa territory) in the reign of Mahāvali-Bāparasa Bānavidyādhara. If this Bānavidyādhara be identical with the Bānavidyādhara Mahābali-Vānarāyar "who was governing (the country) to the west of the Telugu road" as a subordinate of the Gaṅga-Pallava king Nripatūṅga, his date would fall into the last quarter of the 9th century A.D.⁶ And, as Mahēndrādhirāja's conquest of the Bāpas is to be referred to about the same period, the raid on Puli-nāḍu recorded in the Būḍidepalle inscription may be supposed to have occurred in the early part of the reign of Mahēndrādhirāja and would, in that case, be but the commencement of his campaign against the Bāpas, which eventually earned for him the title 'destroyer of the Mahābali-race.'

Pallava sovereignty came to an end about the middle of the 8th century A.D. and in the subsequent struggle for power and supremacy among the various tribes that owed allegiance to the Pallavas, the Nolambas were often ranged against the Bāpas. The incidents recorded in the Baṅgavādi *viragal*,⁷ for instance, show that during the reign of the Gaṅga-Pallava king Vijaya-Narasimhavikramavarman, Skanda-Bāpādhirāja met in battle Daḍiya (Daḍiga), Bāparāja and Mahēndravikrama. During the reign of the Vaidumba-Mahārāja Gaṇḍa-Trinētra, Bāparasa and Vaidumba-mahārāja marched on Soremaṭi and were met on the battlefield by the Nolamba, Rāchamalla and Daḍiga.⁸ An inscription at Pedda-Tippasamudram in the Cuddapah District states that the Vaidumba king Gaṇḍa-Trinētra fought with Nolombi (i.e. the Nolamba king) on the battlefield just referred to.⁹ The *viragal* at Chedalla near Puṅganūr¹⁰ belongs to the reign of Mahāvali-Bāparasa and states that the king on behalf of the

¹ An undated inscription in the Bowringpet tāluka of the Kolar District (*Ep. Carn.* Vol. X. Bp. 64) states that Mahēndrādhirāja was ruling the district Gaṅgarasāira. This indicates his feudatory position, though the record does not expressly state it. At any rate, it must be referred to a period before A.D. 878 when, as will be shown in the sequel, Mahēndra must have extended his kingdom and become an independent sovereign. The feudatory position of Mahēndra thus suggested would reduce the long period of rule of Nolambādhirāja, arrived at on the previous page, by at least a few years.

² *Annual Report on Epigraphy for 1904-05*, Part II. paragraph 5. The Mēlāgāni inscription of Śaka 896 refers to a Pallava prince named Chōrayya-Nolamba (*Ep. Carn.* Vol. X. Mb. 84). Another record of Śaka 933 (*ibid.* Ct. 118) mentions a Nolambādhirāja-Chōrayya. It is, therefore, not impossible that the Chōra of the Hēmvati and Baragūr records was the name of one of the contemporaneous kinsmen of Mahēndra.

³ *Ep. Carn.* Vol. XII. Introduction, p. 7.

⁴ *Ibid.* Vol. XI. Cl. 21.

⁵ No. 571 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1906.

⁶ *Annual Report on Epigraphy for 1908-04*, paragraph 26.

⁷ Above, Vol. VII. p. 22. Another *viragal* noticed at the end of the same article mentions Mahāvali-Bāparasa on one side and Nolamba, Rāchamalla, Mayindaḍiya and Daḍiga on the other.

⁸ No. 295 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1905.

⁹ No. 693 of the same collection for 1906.

¹⁰ No. 543 of the same collection.

Permanaḍi led an offensive campaign against the Nolamba, Rāchamalla and Mayindaḍi and met them in battle at Soremaṭi. We have already referred to the raid into Puli-nāḍu by the Nolamba during the reign of Bāṇavidyādharma. In the reign of the Bāṇa king Vijayādityan Virachūlāmaṇi Prabhumēru,¹ a certain Kāḍuvaṭṭi Muttarasan, perhaps connected with the Nolambas, attacked Kōyatūr, the modern Laddigam near Puiganūr² in the Bāṇa territory. Thus, in these early conflicts we always see the Nolambas opposed to the Bāṇas and it is not unlikely that herein we have to seek for the cause which led to the destruction or complete conquest of the Bāṇas by the Nolamba king Mahēndrādhirāja-Nolamba which is claimed for him in the Dharmapuri inscription A. It will also be easy, now, to see how Nolamba records came to exist in such large numbers in the Bangalore and Kolar districts of the Mysore State which apparently belonged partly to Gaṅgavāḍi 96,000³ and partly also to Perumbāṇappāḍi⁴—the territory of the Bāṇas. Mahēndra before he entered into hostilities with the Gaṅgas and the Bāṇas appears to have been a subordinate of the former ruling the Gaṅgaṇasāsira.⁵ What led to his hostilities with the Gaṅgas it is not possible to say at present.⁶ The fact that Rācheya-Gaṅga, as stated in the Iggali inscription, died in battle against the Nolamba (i.e. Mahēndrādhirāja) about A.D. 891—927 and that Eṇeyappa (A.D. 908 to 938) “governed the Gaṅgavāḍi province as a united whole after depriving all his enemies of their power”⁷ shows clearly that Mahēndrādhirāja, at least during his lifetime, held under subjection a pretty large portion of the Gaṅgavāḍi province. This perhaps accounts also for the existence of an intrusive record of his time at Tāyalūr in the Maṇḍya tāluka of the Mysore District⁸ (the very heart of the Gaṅga country) which gives for Mahēndra the date Śaka 817—the latest known for him so far. It will be enough to state before closing this paragraph, that the Nolambas started a petty state in and around Hēmāvati in the Tumkur District about the beginning of the 8th century A.D. and continuing to hold it as the subordinates of the Rāshtrakūṭas and the Gaṅgas, they fell into frequent conflicts with the Bāṇas, the Vaidumbas and the Chōlas and even with their overlords the Gaṅgas. About the end of the 9th century A.D. they found a favourable opportunity and rose to eminence under Mahēndrādhirāja-Nolamba.

A new name in the succession list of the Nolambas which, as will be shown below, has to be placed between Mahēndra and his son Ayyapa, has apparently been missed by Mr. Rice in his treatment of the chronology of that family. From an inscription at Āvani in the Muḷbāgal tāluka of the Kōlār District,⁹ it appears as if Mahēndra had a brother called Iṇṇa-Nolamba who was born of a different mother. The inscription states that Divabbarasi or Divālāmbā, born of the Kaḍamba family, was the chief queen (*agra-mahishī*) of Poḷaḷchōra, who, as stated

¹ No. 542 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1906.

² *Annual Report on Epigraphy for 1906-07*, Part II, paragraph 38. Ep. No. 13 of Mr. Rice's *Epigraphia Carnatica* Vol. X. refers to an earlier conquest of the same place and states that the conqueror Mādhava-Muttarasan belonged to the Gaṅga race.

³ Kōlāhalapura, the modern Kōlār, was built by the mythical Gaṅga king Kōlāhala in the great Gaṅgavāḍi-vishaya. Bampūr (Bāgūr) twelve in the Bangalore District was granted to one of his subordinates by Eṇeyappa who was ruling over the Gaṅgavāḍi 96,000. The large number of Gaṅga records on stone both in the Bangalore and Kōlār districts prove that these districts were included in the Gaṅga dominions. In the Bangalore District a good portion of the agricultural population of the Wokkaliga sect belong to a subdivision called Gaṅgaḍikāra. This name, according to Mr. Rice, is derived from Gaṅgavāḍi—the country of which these people were the original inhabitants.

⁴ Muḷbāgal, Chintāmaṇi and Bowringpet tālukas of the Kōlār District bear traces of the supremacy of the Bāṇa kings over these parts; Mr. Rice's *Mysore Gazetteer*, Vol. II. p. 105.

⁵ Nolambādhirāja, father of Mahēndra, was ruling the same district as a feudatory of the Gaṅgas; see above, p. 59, footnote 2.

⁶ It is not unlikely that, in the matter of succession to the Gaṅga throne after the death of Rājamalla, there were disputes between his son Nitimārga (not identified) and the *yuvarāja* Satyavākya Būṭuga I. the actual successor of Rājamalla. Perhaps Mahēndra helped his brother-in-law Nitimārga against Būṭuga I.

⁷ Above Vol. VI. p. 68.

⁸ *Ep. Carn.* Vol. III. Md. 13.

⁹ *Ibid.* p. 49.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* Vol. X, Mb. 88.

above, is identical with **Noḷambādhiraṇja**, father of Mahēndra. From the way in which **Iṇiva-Noḷamba** is introduced in the inscription, it looks as if he was born of **Divaḷāmbā** after Mahēndra's succession to the throne, or, if born earlier, his claims to succession had been overlooked in preference to those of Mahēndra, who had perhaps stronger support than **Iṇiva-Noḷamba**. Still it is not possible to assert that, after Mahēndra, the succession passed on direct to his son **Ayyapa**. The only sure date for **Ayyapa** hitherto known is Śaka 841.¹ Between this and Śaka 817, the latest known date for Mahēndra, there is an interval of nearly one generation. Mr. Rice refers to two inscriptions of the time of **Noḷambādhiraṇja-Nolipayya**, from the **Mad-dagiri taluka** of the **Tumkur District**,² one of which supplies the date Śaka 820, **Paingala**. This **Noḷambādhiraṇja-Nolipayya** is believed by Mr. Rice to be the same as **Ayyapa**. But we know that the latter's distinctive surname was **Nanniga** and not **Nolipayya**. It is not impossible, therefore; that **Iṇiva-Noḷamba**, the son of **Divaḷāmbā** and step-brother of Mahēndra succeeded the latter under the name **Noḷambādhiraṇja-Nolipayya**.³ If this conjecture is proved by future researches to be correct, it follows that **Iṇiva-Noḷamba** mentioned in the **Āvani** record was the son of **Divaḷāmbā** and not her grandson (**Dilipayya Iṇiva-Noḷamba**) as Mr. Rice puts it.⁴ Unfortunately the record is not dated. Otherwise, it would have given us the date of Mahēndra's death and that of the succession of **Nolipayya**; for, it states that **Divaḷāmbā** on the death of Mahēndra built a temple and called it **Noḷamba-Nārāyaṇēśvara** after **Noḷamba-Nārāyaṇa**, one of Mahēndra's *birudās*. She also granted the village of **Āvināṣi (Āvani)** and called it **Polalchōra-maṅgala**, perhaps after the name of her husband and in it constructed the tank **Divaḷabbā-samudra** after her own name.

Ayyapādēva, son of Mahēndra, must have succeeded **Nolipayya**. Of him we learn from inscription (B.) that he had the *biruda* "the asylum of truth (*nannī*)."⁵ It is this *biruda* evidently that accounts for his other name **Nanniga** or **Nanniga**, which occurs in his inscriptions. He was the contemporary of the **Gaṅga** king **Ereyappa** and about A.D. 938 fought with the latter's help the battle of **Tumbepāḍi** against **Vīramahēndra** whom Dr. Fleet has identified with the **Eastern Chalukya** king **Chālukya-Bhima II**.⁶ The only date available for **Ayyapa** from inscriptions published hitherto has been Śaka 841, **Īśvara**=A.D. 918-19. Although **Ayyapa** must, in the early part of his reign have been at war with the **Gaṅgas**,⁷ while the latter were attempting to regain what they had ceded to **Ayyapa's** father **Mahēndrādhiraṇja**, he, later on, became their friend as appears from his war against the common foe,⁷ the **Eastern Chalukya** king **Chālukya-Bhima II**. If the statements made in the **Kaluchumbargu** grant of **Amma II**.

¹ *Ibid.* Vol. XII, Sl. 39. The Śaka date 841 does not agree with the cyclic year **Vikrama**. It is two years too early. The same cyclic year without the Śaka date is given for **Ayyapādēva** in *Ep. Carn.* Vol. XI, Jl. 29. But Cd. 62 of the same volume gives the correct cyclic year **Īśvara** which corresponded to Śaka-Samvat 841 current.

² *Ibid.* Mi. Nos. 27 and 52.

³ **Noḷambādhiraṇja-Nolipayya** (-**Nolipayya**) receives the surname **Iṇiva-Noḷamba Nolipayya (Nalipayya)** in two records from the **Kolar District** (*Ep. Carn.* Vol. X. Kl. 198 and Bp. 4). If this refers to **Dilipayya**, the grandson of Mahēndra, as Mr. Rice takes it, it appears to have been applied to him in accordance with the custom by which grandchildren are often named after their grandfathers; we may thus have to presume that **Dilipayya's** surname was not that of his direct grandfather Mahēndra but that of the latter's brother **Iṇiva-Noḷamba Nolipayya (I)**.

⁴ *Ibid.* Introduction, p. xix. Evidently the mistake is due to his taking **Divabharasi** and **Divaḷabharasi** to be two distinct individuals. But the record does not admit of any such interpretation.

⁵ Above, Vol. VI. p. 47.

⁶ See, for example, *Ep. Carn.* Vol. XII. Mi. 71.

⁷ The **Noḷambas** seem to have been in conflict with the **Eastern Chalukyas** from still earlier times. **Guṇaga-Vijayāditya III**. (A.D. 844 to 888) is stated to have "cut off the head of Maṅgi in battle." The **Maliyapūṇḍi** grant of **Amma II**. (above, Vol. IX. p. 48 f.) says that this **Maṅgi** was "the king of the great **Noḷambarāṣṭra** (i.e. the **Noḷambavāḍi** country)." We do not know of any ruler of **Noḷambarāṣṭra** about this period, that bore the name or surname **Maṅgi**. The long interval between 814 and 878 A.D., noticed already, must have counted more than one **Noḷamba** king besides **Noḷambādhiraṇja-Polalchōra**. Perhaps **Maṅgi** was one of these. **Nombādhiraṇja**, the first historical ancestor of the **Noḷambas**, was, according to the **Hāmavati** inscription, known to the **Karnāṭas** (i.e. the **Kāśhtrakūṭas**) as **Maṅgala**. The **Maṅgi** of the **Maliyapūṇḍi** grant might have been named after this early **Maṅgala**.

are to be taken as literally true,¹ Ayyapa must have fallen in the fight with Chālukya-Bhīma II. Dr. Fleet places this event about the end of Ereyappa's reign, i.e. between A.D. 934 and 938. Accordingly, we may perhaps infer that Ayyapa ruled from Śaka 841 (=A.D. 918-19) to Śaka 860 (=A.D. 938-39). But his records registered by Mr. Rice in the volumes of the *Epigraphia Carnatica* do not assign to him dates later than A.D. 920. After Ayyapa's² the family appears to have gradually declined till it was subjugated by the Chōla king Rājārāja I. of Tanjore in A.D. 998-99.³

The Nolamba occupation of Tagaḍūru which is established by the existence in it of the records of Mahēndra and his son Ayyapa is corroborated by another inscription⁴ on a broken pillar discovered in the Māriyammaṇ temple at old Dharmapuri. It registers the grant of a tank (?) called Marudanēri by Mahēndra-Nolamba in Śaka 800 (corresponding to the cyclic year Vilambi) to the teacher Ponnēra-goravar who, as the suffix *goravar* indicates, must have been a Śaiva.⁵ It is also recorded in this inscription that the tank after repair was placed by the teacher in the hands of the *samayins*.⁶ On this occasion, the merchants (evidently those of Tagaḍūru), among whom figure Chandiyappa and N[ī]dhiyappa, the builders of the Jaina *basadi* recorded in inscription A., [assigned] tolls on certain commodities as a *dēvadāna*. The inscription being broken, it is not possible to say to what particular temple the *dēvadāna* was intended. The record at any rate supplies us with two important facts, viz. (1) that already, in Śaka 800 (the earliest date for Mahēndra, known also from the Baragūru record) Mahēndra had occupied Dharmapuri and the surrounding country, and (2) that the Śaiva and the Jaina faiths (*samaya*) were flourishing side by side at Tagaḍūru under the patronage of the Nolamba kings towards the close of the 9th century A.D. Still another fragmentary inscription on a pillar of black granite in the Mallikārjuna temple at old Dharmapuri⁷ begins with the phrase *svasti Pallav-āṇḍayāya* and introduces Nolambādhirāja and the Gaṅga king [Baḥamalla] in the very same terms as inscription A. The record does not appear to have contained any Śaka date but the month, fortnight, *tithi*, week-day, etc. are given on one of the mutilated

¹ Above, Vol. VII, p. 187, text line 38.

² In the Dōli plates of the Rāstrakūṭa king Kṛṣṇa III., dated in Śaka 803, a Pallava king named Appiga is said to have been defeated by Kṛṣṇa III. (Above, Vol. IV, p. 191). It is not unlikely that this Appiga was the son of Ayyapa.

³ The earliest Chōla inscription mentioned in the *Epigraphia Carnatica* (Vol. X. Introduction, p. xxiv) is one of Madiregopāda Kō-Parakēsarivarman. Mr. Rice himself doubts if this could be attributed to the early Chōla king Parāntaka I. The next sure record is one of Rājārāja I. from the Hoskote taluka (*Ep. Carn.* Vol. IX. Ht. 111). Rājārāja's conquest of Gaṅgavāḍi, Nulambavāḍi and Taḍiyavāḍi are mentioned for the first time in his records of the 14th year. Consequently, we have to suppose that Rājārāja overran those provinces in A.D. 998-99, but perhaps allowed the rulers to continue governing their kingdoms as Chōla feudatories. For, Ht. 111 states that in Śaka 920—the very year in which Rājārāja must have entered Mysore—Gannarasa, son of Ayyapa-dēva (apparently a Nolamba) was ruling a portion of Daḷigavāḍi as a feudatory of the Chōla king. In (Śaka 923) the 16th year of Rājārāja, a certain Nolambādhirāja made a grant in his capacity as the general of the Chōla emperor (*Ep. Carn.* Vol. X. Mb. 208). Nolambādhirāja Chōrayya, with Nolamba attributes, was ruling in Śaka 983 also as a tributary of the Chōla king Mummaḍi-Chōla (Rājārāja I.) (*ibid.* Ct. 118). In the 25th year of Rājārāja I. (i.e. A.D. 1009) Tagaḍūr-nāga was ruled by a Chōla subordinate named Paḍchavaṇa Brahmādhirāyaṇa (Madras Epigraphical collection for 1909, No. 254) and was included in the Muḷvāyi-rājya in the reign of the Vijayanagara king Dēvarāja I. (*ibid.* No. 251). It may be pointed out that Kl. 75, which Mr. Rice supposes to be one of Rājārāja I., dated in his 7th year (*ibid.* Introduction, p. xxiv), is a record of Rājārāja II.; for the introductory phrase *pā maruṇiga poḷil-ṣṭu* occurs in some of the Tamil records of the latter.

⁴ No. 348 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1901.

⁵ See Dr. Kittel's *Kannada-English Dictionary*, s. v. *gorava*; and above, Vol. VII, pp. 200 and 202. It may be noted that *guravadiḡa* is also used as an honorific title attached to the names of Jaina teachers.

⁶ See above, p. 57, footnote 1. *Samayin*, here evidently denotes the adherents of the Śaiva *samaya*. Dr. Winslow in his *Tamil and English Dictionary* mentions "twelve principal religious systems (*samaya*) of which six are approved and six rejected by the Śaiva sects."

⁷ No. 306 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1901.

The donor here was a certain Bhairavaśakti-Bhaṭāra of Nandi. Bhairavaśakti, as his name indicates must have been a Śaiva preceptor like Pōnnēra-goravar of the record just quoted, and Nandi is undoubtedly the village of that name at the foot of the historic hill Nandagiri in the Kolar District.

Tagadūru, in which the Jaina temple was built by the merchants Nidhiyappa and Chandiyappa, has been identified with the modern Dharmapuri where the pillar was found.² Neither the Jaina temple nor the palace (*śrināḍa*) referred to in l. 86 could now be traced.³ Tagadūru was at this time perhaps a very important city, and from what is said of it in an undated inscription⁴ on a stone set up on the bund of the big tank at old Dharmapuri, it was, as it were, "a reflected image of the whole earth; for in it were:— this⁵ Śaiva teacher Vidderāsi; the temples Kali-Chōrēśvara,⁶ Pallavēśvara, the great Bhōgēśvara, the magnificent and apoleka Nannēśvara and Bhujāṅgēśvara of Kāñchi which shone in its imperial (?) fame; the enclosing walls (*prākāra*) and the pleasure-gardens (*nandana-vana*) of kings who were as powerful as lions."⁷ The village Mūlapalli which was granted to the Jaina temple and the two other villages which touched its boundary line have been kindly identified for me by Mr. C. Hayavadana Rao, B.A., B.L. He writes:—Mūlapalli is probably represented by the modern village of Mūlakāḍu, 9 miles west of Dharmapuri. Sembalattūru may be Semmanahalli, now a railway station on the Morappur-Dharmapuri section of the South Indian Railway, and Budugūru is apparently Buduganahalli, about 7 miles south of Dharmapuri." It may be noted that Budugūru which is mentioned in l. 86 of (A.), is the object of the grant in inscription (B.).

¹ *Bhādrapa:da-mā** [ada bahula-pakṣada tadi[ge*]yūm Brihaspati-vāramuṁ Rēvatī-[nakṣho*]tramunī Vṛddhi-vembada nitya-yō[ga]mu*]m-āge Kanne-saṁkrāntiḍa tat-kā[ḷaḍo*]lī. The details of this date, which is probably one of Mahēndrādhirāja, were submitted to Professor Jacobi of Bonn for verification. He remarks:—"Kanyā-samkrānti fell on Thursday (1) 21st August 891 A.D. which day was Bhādrapada ba. di. 3. But the moon had left Rēvatī and stood in Aśvini and the yōga Vṛddhi was just over and Dhruva was the current yōga; (2) 25th August 880, but this was Bhādrapada ba. di. 2 with nakṣatra Rēvatī and yōga Vṛddhi. These are the only possible years."

² Above, Vol. VI, p. 331. In two later inscriptions of about the 12th century A.D. found at Dharmapuri (Nos. 307 and 308 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1901) the place is called Tagadūr in Tagadūr-nāḍu, a sub-division of the Gaṅga country (*Gaṅga-nāḍu*). It is not known when and why the name of the town was changed to Dharmapuri. The *Madras Manual of Administration*, Vol. III, p. 271 states that it is derived from the name of a local chief called Dharmarajah, who is not known to any epigraphical records. It is doubtful also if we could connect the name Dharmapuri with Dharmavola which is mentioned in the Baragūr record of the Nūlamba king Mahēndra, as having been ruled by Parama-Mahādēvi, a lady of the royal household. In the records of this period found at Dharmapuri and in the Tamil poem *Purāṇāṇṇu*, the place is known only as Tagadūru.

³ I have been informed by Mr. C. Hayavadana Rao, B.A., B.L., who inspected the place, that "a few hundred yards from the temple of Mallikārjuna in old Dharmapuri and just opposite the European cemetery, there is a small slab bearing Jaina figures." This perhaps is the only relic of the Jaina *basadi* built by Nidhiyappa and Chandiyappa at Tagadūru (Dharmapuri).

⁴ No. 308 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1901. The old Kanarese characters in which this record is written are beautifully engraved and present a box-headed type which is unique. They may be referred to about the same period as the Nūlamba records. Vidderāsi (i.e. Vidyārāsi) in whose praise the Kanarese verses are composed must have been a teacher of great fame. Perhaps he was one of the two preceptors of the Kājamukha ascetic Mallikārjuna of Madura mentioned in an inscription from Koḍumbālūr (No. 129 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1907).

⁵ The demonstrative 'this' is used with reference to a figure of the ascetic engraved on the slab, below the inscription.

⁶ The temple of Chōlēśvara at Kadabattūr, a village quite close to Dharmapuri, is, according to Mr. Hayavadana Rao, "a typical Chōḷa temple and contains numerous inscriptions on its walls in Telugu and Tamil." He thinks that this may represent the old Kali-Chōrēśvara.

⁷ The verse runs:—

Kali-Chōrēśvara-[Pallavē]śvara-mahā-Bhōgēśvar-ōttuṅga-ni-
rmmala-Nannēśvara-kirtti-śāsana-lasat-Kāñchi-Bhujāṅgēśvara-
rovala-kupṭhira-bhūpa-nandana-vana-prākāra-saṁ[sthā]nadi-
nandak-allaṁ paḍiḥḍadam-āyṁ Tagadūr=i Vidderāsiṇdarim.

On the date of inscription A., Professor Jacobi of Bonn, to whom I had submitted the details for verification, has very kindly contributed the following :—"The date won't come out right. The Paridhāvi year was 892. On the 1st June of that year Jupiter entered Dhanu. Āshāḍha su. di. 5 fell on 3rd June, Saturday, not Thursday, and the *nakshatra* was Maghā, not Pūrva-Phalguni." Inscription B. is not dated, but may be referred to the beginning of the 10th century A.D.

INSCRIPTION A.

TEXT.¹

West face.

- 1 @ Śrīmatām jñānarūpānām lō-
- 2 kālōk-āvalōkinā[m] [l*] śāsa-
- 3 nasya Jinēndrāpā[m] bhadrām
- 4 bhūyūn=nīrantarām [l l*] Svasti Pa-
- 5 llav-ānvayāya [l*] Vijita-cha-
- 6 turanta-mahimāṇḍala-śrī-
- 7 Pallavādhīrājara magarū a-
- 8 vanata-samasta-sāmanta-
- 9 makuta-ma[n]i-kīraṇ-āru-
- 10 pīta-cha[raṇa]-sarasīru-
- 11 ha-śrī-[No][lām*][b]ādhīrāja-
- 12 rgga[m] svasti [Satyav*]ākya Kōṅgu-
- 13 pīvarmma [dharmma]mahārā-
- 14 jā[dhīrāja Na]n[da]gīrī-nā-
- 15 tha Kova[āla]-puravarē-
- 16 śvara śrī-R[ā]chamalla-Vermma-
- 17 ḍigalgaṁ Ma[hā]dēviyarggaṁ
- 18 puṭṭido[akhi]la-[bh]uvana[ta]-
- 19 la-ratna . . [ya]r-appa l Jāa-
- 20 bbega[m] puṭ[t]ido[m] samadhiga-
- 21 ta-pañchamahāśabda- Pallav-ā-
- 22 nvaya-śrī-prithuvi-vallabha Pa-
- 23 llav[a]kulatilaka śrī-Mahā-
- 24 ndrādhīrāja-Noḷamba Mahā-
- 25 bali-kula-vidhvaṁsanam geydu
- 26 prithuvi-rājyam geyyuttirē³ [l*]

South face.

- 27 Svasti [l*] ³Saka-nripa-kāl-ātita-
- 28 samvatsaramgaḷ-ēṇṭunūra-
- 29 padīnaydan[e]ya Paridhā-
- 30 viy-ēmba' sa[m]vatsara ⁴pravarttise
- 31 Āshā[ḍha]māsada śukla-
- 32 pakshada pañchamiyu Bṛi-
- 33 haspativāramu Pūrvva-Pā⁵

¹ From three sets of inked estampages prepared in 1901.

² Read *geyyuttire*.

³ The syllable *ra* is engraved below the line.

⁴ Read *Saka*.

⁵ Read *-Pā*.

- 34 Iguni-nakshatramuñ Dhanu-
 35 vinoḥ Bṛihaspatiy-uda[ya]-
 36 m-āge Taga[dū]ra śrīmāda-
 37 man-¹Nola[mhan-i*]ruvandu Śrī-
 38 māṅgala . . . veyā
 39 setṭiya . . . [i Cha]ndiya-
 40 nṇanu² Nidhiyaṇṇanu Tagaḍū-
 41 roḥ-basa[d]iyam-māḍisi ā
 42 basadige khaṇḍa-³[s]puṭita-nav[a]-
 43 karma-dēvārṇchchan-ā[d]igaḷge Mūla[pa]-
 44 ḷiyam sa-sarvvapādaparih[ā]-⁴
 45 ran=Nolaṁba[m] dhāreyaṇ-eyē-
 46 du kṇḍe Nidhiyaṇṇa paḍedu
 47 śrī-Mūlasāṅgha-Sēnānvay-ā-
 48 gragamāya Fogariya-gaṇada
 49 Vinayasēnasiddhānta[d]a-bhaṭā-
 50 rara ⁵sishyar-Kkanakasēnasiddhā-
 51 ntada-bhaṭārargge pāda-prakṣhā-
 52 ṇana-purassara koṭṭa [i*] Ida[kk]e
 53 sākshi nāḷka samayigaḷu⁶

East face.

- 54 nāḍun-nakaramun-narasāsana[mu]-⁷
 55 m-ivarē [i*] Mūlapaḷliya polasi[me i*]
 56 Mūḍa Sembalattūra b[e]tt[ā]da [ke]-
 57 ḷagaṇa pēr-[a]ḷ[v]ina temkaṇa kuṇuki
 58 adin-te[m]ku uḷugu-gaḍaḷe [a]-
 59 din-temku m[ā]l-[s]ariye adin-temku
 60 uḷugu-guṇuki adin-temku karu-
 61 ṅal-kuḷi karuṅgal-kuḷ[i]yind-ḷidū
 62 paḍuva banda paḷḷada poṇarppu-
 63 [ṇu]se allindam=ante pōgi paḍu-
 64 vaṇa paḷḷam ā paḷḷamē viḍidu
 65 pōgi Minamjaṇeyim temkaṇa pa-
 66 ḷa Koyilē[ri]ge vōgi K[o]yilē-
 67 riya kīḷa . . . m=ante Anduva-
 68 r[ē*]riḷe v[ō] . . . ḷavarasi-
 69 yēri [i] Anduva[rēri] A[nḍu]varēri-
 70 ya paḍuvaṇa kaḍe-guṇbu a[n]ṭe [pa]-

¹ The accusative *śrīmādaman* with the verb *iru* is peculiar to the Kanarese idiom. It reminds strongly of the Sanskrit *grihaṁ tiṣṭhan*.

² *Nṇa* is written for *ṇa* here as well as in l. 46 and l. 9 of inscription B. Perhaps the *anuvāras* after the two names are missing and must be inserted also.

³ Read *-sphuṭita*.

⁴ *Sarva-pāda-parihāraṇ* stands for *sarva-bādhā-parihāraṇ*.

⁵ Read *sishyar*.

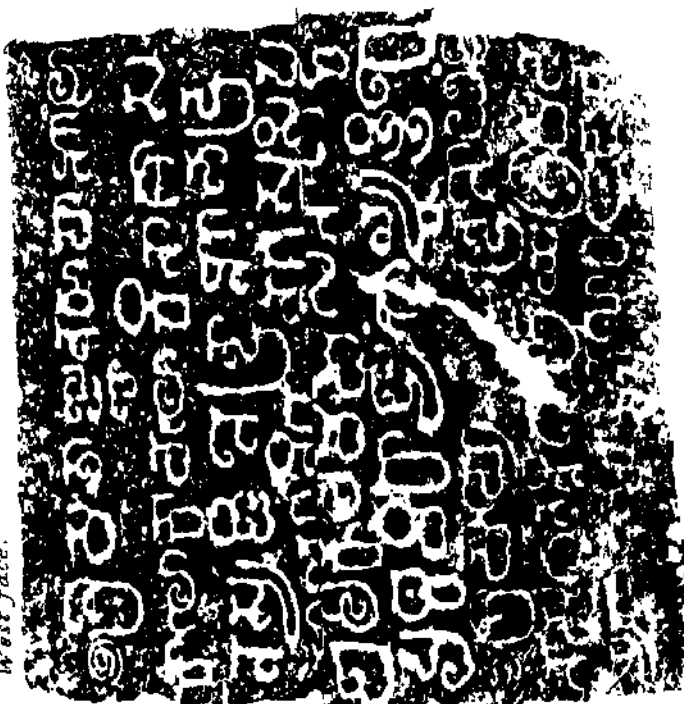
⁶ Perhaps an *anuvāra* is to be inserted at the end of the line, in order to connect *samayigaḷu* with the witnesses mentioned immediately after.

⁷ Read *śāsana*. *Mu* at the end of the line is partly seen on the original. The neuter ending *muṇ* perhaps indicates the whole class of officers (*narasāsana*). I cannot explain how the demonstrative *ivarē* is used in the masculine, while the nouns to which it refers (except *samayigaḷu*) are in the neuter; see above, p. 57 footnote 1.

Two Nolamb

சென்னை
சென்னை
சென்னை
சென்னை
சென்னை

West face.



2

26

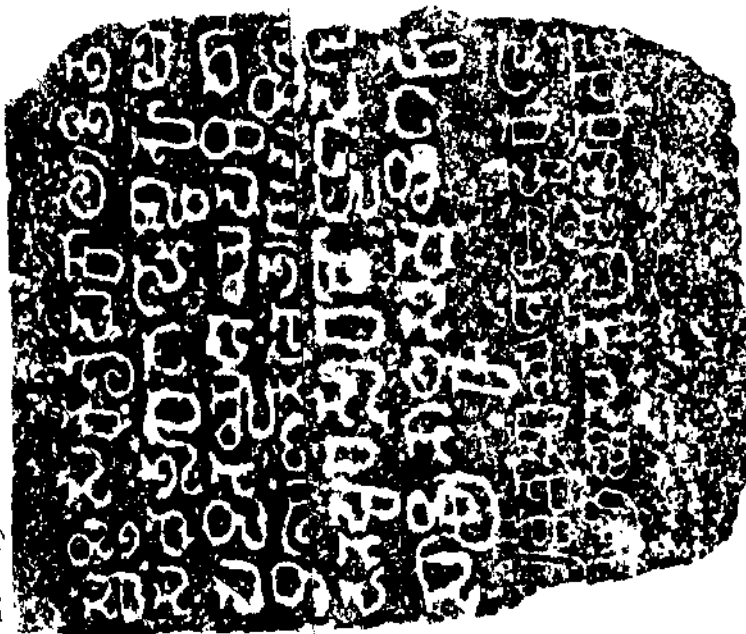
1

2

3

V. VENKAYYA.

South face.



28

30

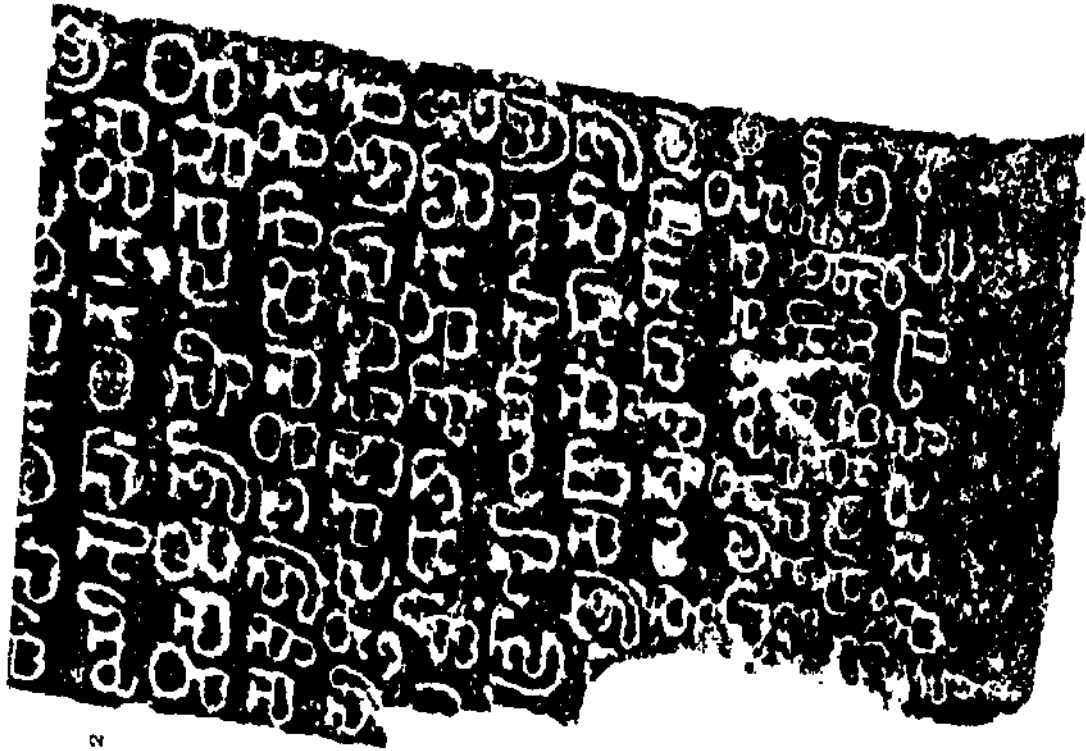
52

4

5

SCALE - 2

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102

104

106

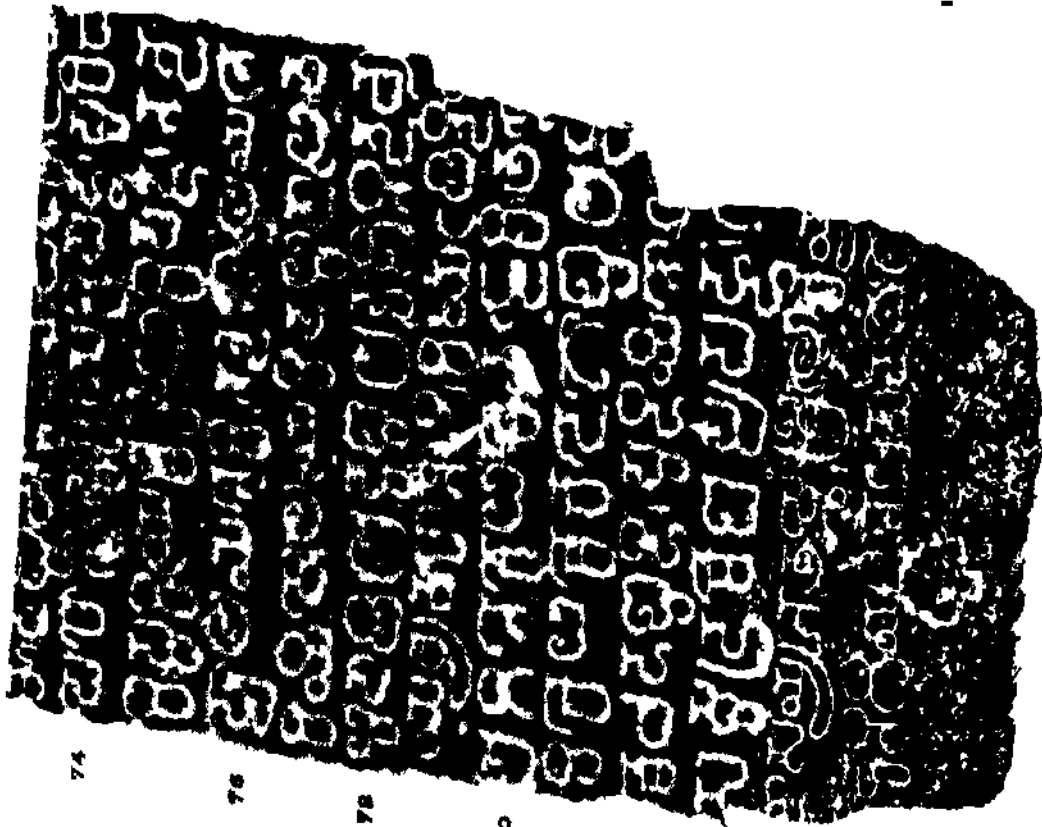
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110

8

9

10



74

76

78

80

82

8

9

- 71 [ḍu]vapa pēr-o[ṅge] Anduvarereya¹
 72 n[e]lam nairatiya² kōṇa Mūlūra [m]u-
 73 kkūdal-paḷi | puliyi[m] baḍakku pōḍa
 74 pēr-o[ṅge]-Puriyēri³-paḷla [l] Puri[ē]-⁴
 75 ri Puriyēri-[ki]l[ē]ri-paḷla | Nanda-
 76 ppolayanēri Nundapoleyanē-
 77 riyi[m] Mēlayēri- talumḍāle [l] [ta]-
 78 [ndā]ḷi aḍumba aḍu[m]biṇaḍam vā-
 79 yavya[da] kōṇa piriya ulindi
 80 aṇṅine keḷakke [Ta]ttēri | Ta[tt]ē-
 81 ri keḷakke kaḍegombu [l] a .
 82 kke eḷabūḷi | puḷiyi[m] No[la][mā*]-
 83 samudrakke barpa paḷlam | [i]=

North face.

- 84 [ppa*][ladi[nde] keḷagaṇa paral-ā-
 85 la [i]. aḍaṇa mūḍaṇa Kōva-
 86 na[kere] alli mūḍakal-[B]uḍu-
 87 gūra-keṇeya temkaṇa ka[ttē]
 88 ante mūḍa āno-gundu⁵ [m[ū]-
 89 ḍa piriya-āla | ante mūḍa
 90 Paṭṭidamanōriya temkaṇa
 91 paḷlam [l] ā paḷladiṇ mūḍaṇa
 92 kiṇuvaṭi | temka Baṇḍalvara-
 93 la sope | ante te[m]ka atti-
 94 y-ōḍu paḷlam | [be] . gālu cheṇbaḍi [l*]
 95 Bahubhir=vva[su]dhā bhuktā
 96 rāja[bhi][s=Saga*]r-ādibhiḥ [l*]
 97 yasya [ya][sya*] [ya]dā bhūmi[h*]⁷
 98 tasya tasya [ta]dā phala[m] [l 2*] ⊙
 99 Sva[m*] dātu[m] sumahach=chhakya[m] du[h]-
 100 kham=anyasya pālana[m] [l*] dānam
 101 vā pālanaṁ v=ēti dānāch=chhrē-
 102 yō=nupālanaṁ | [l*] Na visham
 103 visham=ity=āhu[h]⁶ dēva-svaṁ vi-
 104 sham=uchyatē [l*] visham=ēkākinaṁ
 105 hanti dēva-sva[m*] putra-pantrikam⁸ [l 4*]
 106 [Sa]rvvān=ētān=bhāvina-⁹ pārtthi-
 107 [vā*]ndrām=bhūyō bhūya-⁹ prā-
 108 [rtha*][ya]ty=ēsha Rāmaḥ [l*] sāmāny[ō]=
 109 [yam dha*]rma-s[ē]tur=upipāṇam kālē
 110 [kālē*] pālaniyō bhavadbhiḥ [l 5*] ⊙

¹ Read *rāriya*.

² Read *nairatiya*.

³ To the syllable *pu* is also attached a sign of *a*.

⁴ Read *Puriyēri*.

⁵ Read, perhaps, *-gundu*.

⁶ The marks of punctuation inserted at the end of each boundary point begin only from here. Perhaps the writer forgot to insert them in the earlier portion.

⁷ Read *bhūmis*.

⁸ Read *-dhura*.

⁹ Read *-pantrikam*.

INSCRIPTION B.

TEXT.

West face.

- 1 [◎] ¹Śrī-Mahēndra-Noḷam[ba]-
- 2 na maga[m] nanuig=[ā]śraya śrīmad-A-
- 3 yya[padē]var [B]u[d]ugūra udaka-

South face.

- 4 pūrvvan=dhāreya=śreṇu kuḍe
- 5 [A]rhach-chāhāsana-pradipakan=a[ppa]

East face.

- 6 D[ō]sayyana tammom śrī-Lōkayya-
- 7 [ga]lu Nidhiyaṇṇana basadige go-

North face.

- 8 [tṭa [*] . vina paḍu[va]na taḍiyo-
- 9 [l=a*][rehoḥa]nege Nidhiyaṇṇam to-²
- 10 [tṭ]umam paḍedu ³kōṭṭam [l*]

TRANSLATION OF INSCRIPTION A.

(Verse 1.) May there be uninterrupted prosperity to the doctrine of the glorious Jinēndras,—the embodiments of wisdom, who see the non-world in the world.⁴

(L. 4 f.) Prosperity to the Pallava family !

(Ll. 5 to 26.) While the prosperous Mahēndrādhirāja-Noḷamba, the ornament of the Pallava race, the lord (of the goddess) of Fortune of (i.e. residing in) the Pallava family (and) of the Earth, who has acquired the five great sounds and is born to the glorious Noḷambādhirāja—whose lotus-feet are reddened by the lustre (proceeding) from the gems (imbedded) in the diadems of the whole (circle of) prostrating feudatory chiefs (sāmantas) (and) who is the son of the glorious Pallavādhirāja who had subdued the circle of the Earth (right up) to (its) four corners—and to Jāabbe who is a gem on the whole surface of the Earth born to—Hail! Satyavākya Koṅṅunivarma Dharmamahārājādhirāja, lord of Nangadiri, ruler of Kuvalāla the best of cities, the glorious Rāchamalla-Vermmaḍigaḷ and to Mahādēviyar—was ruling the earth (after) having destroyed the Mahābali race,—⁵

(Ll. 27 to 36.) Hail! while the (cyclic) year named Paridhāvin, the eight-hundred and fifteenth of the years elapsed, of the era of the Śaka kings, was current,—on Thursday,

¹ Between the syllables *āz* and *nāra* space enough for two letters has been left vacant. This may be due to the crack in the stone which runs between them.

² Read, perhaps, *tōḷamam*.

³ The phrase *lōk-āiōk-āraḷōkinām* may also be translated "who see (i.e. distinguish) the world from the non-world."

⁴ Read *kōṭṭam*.

⁵ Without the adjectival clauses which complicate the general sense, this lengthy sentence might be reduced to : "While Mahēndrādhirāja-Noḷamba born to Noḷambādhirāja and to Jāabbe, was ruling the earth."

The fifth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of the month of Āshāḍha, when the *nakṣatra* (was) Pūrva-Phalgunī and Brihaspati (Jupiter) appeared in the (sign) Dhanuṣ,—

(Ll. 30 to 52.) while the Nolamba was staying at the royal mansion (*śrīmāḍa*) at Tagaḍūru, Chandiyanna and Nidhiyanna, [sons of?] setṭi of Śrīmāṅgala, caused a *basadi* to be built at Tagaḍūru; (and) when, with libations of water, the Nolamba gave so that *basadi* for (repairing) gaps and cracks, for new works (and) for worship of the deities, etc., (the village) Mūlapalli, free from all encumbrances, Nidhiyanna received (it) (and) gave to Kanakasēnasiddhāntada-bhaṭṭāra,¹ pupil of Vinayasēnasiddhāntada-bhaṭṭāra of Pogariyagana, the foremost of the teachers of Sēnānvaya in the glorious Mūla-saṅgha, having first washed (his) feet (with water).

(Ll. 52 to 55.) The witnesses to this (transaction) are the four *śamayas*, the *nāḍu*, the *nakaru* and the *narasēṣana* (i.e. the rulers of men, officers of Government): only these.

(Ll. 56 to 94.) (This is) the boundary of the fields of Mūlapalli:—(On) the east—the *kurchi*² (trees) south of the big waste³ on the eastern side⁴ of the hill of Sembalattūru; thence southwards, the *mimosa*-bush⁵; thence southwards, the ravine higher up (?); thence southwards, the *kurchi*-bush; thence southwards, the pit of (i.e. from which) black granite (is quarried); descending from the pit of black granite, the couple-tamarind (tree) in the ditch (which runs) westwards: thence, going in the same direction, the ditch to the west; keeping to (the course of) the same ditch, the ditch from the southern side of the natural pond (jane, done) called Mīnamjane; passing on to (the tank) Koyilēri, of Koyilēri in the same direction, the Anduvarēri (tank); (thence), the remote outlet⁶ west of Anduvarēri; likewise (in a) westerly (direction) the big *oṅge* (tree) and the land (?) of Anduvarēri. The south-west corner (point) is the tamarind (tree) at the triple junction (*mukhūḍal*) of Mūlūru; from (this) tamarind (tree) in a northerly direction, the ditch of Puriyēri with the big *oṅge* (tree); (thence) the Puriyēri (tank); (thence) the ditch (connecting) Puriyēri (and) Kilēri; (thence) the Nandappolayanēri (tank); from Nandappolayanēri, the *taḷumḍāḷe* (shrubs)⁷ of Mēlayēri; (thence) the *aḍumbu* plant (in) *taḷumḍāḷe*; from the *aḍumbu* (the next point is) the north-west corner—the big⁸ to the east, (the tank) Taṭṭēri; (thence) to the east, the remote outlet of Taṭṭēri; the

¹ A Jaina teacher named Vādirāja alias Kanakasēna-bhaṭṭāraka is mentioned in two Jaina inscriptions of the 11th century A.D. (*Ep. Carn.* Vol. VIII. Nr. Nos. 35 and 36) and one of the 12th century (*ibid.* Nr. 37) as the guru of the Gaṅga king Rāchamalla. Some of his disciples were Śrīvijaya, Śāntidēva, Dayāpāla and Kamalabhadra. Vādirāja and his pupils are mentioned in the Śrāvāṇa-Belgoḷa epitaph of Malliṣēṇa (above, Vol. III. p. 187 f.) as belonging to about the 11th century A.D. Consequently, Vādirāja Kanakasēna-Bhaṭṭāraka of these records must have been the guru of the Gaṅga king Rāchamalla III who ruled from A.D. 989 to 1005 (above, Vol. VIII. p. 50).

² *Kuruki* is not given in Dr. Kittel's *Kannāḍa-English Dictionary*. The word *kurike* means 'a small village.' In the description of boundaries it is very unlikely that an unspecified village would be mentioned. Accordingly, I take *kuruki* as tentatively equivalent to *guruchi* or *gurige*, the former of which is the name of a tree and the latter that of a plant.

³ *Alu* is the same as *alivu* or *aḷipu* which means 'ruin, waste.' It also means 'the burning (of forest fire) beyond the limit.' Perhaps *pār-alu* is to be explained as 'big waste,' though its exact significance is not clear to me.

⁴ I have taken *keḷagana* (*keḷagana*) in the sense of 'eastern'; compare the Tamil word *kēl*.

⁵ *Gadare* is perhaps synonymous with *kadara*, and *uḷugu* means 'attached to, or loving.' As the *kadara* (*mimosa*) plants could be poetically said to be attached to one another when they are densely grown, I have taken tentatively, the phrase *uḷugu-gadare* to mean 'a mimosa-bush.'

⁶ *Kombu* in Tamil means the outlet of a tank. Hence *kaḍegombu* may denote 'the remote (*kaḍe*) outlet.'

⁷ Dr. Winslow explains *taḷumḍāḷe* as the shrub *Clerodendrom phlomoides* which is known to cure flatulency (*vātamadakkī*).

⁸ *Uḷḷai* (perhaps *uḷḷai* [ke] of the text) is according to Dr. Winslow 'a kind of cotton shrub,' and *angine*, according to the same authority, is 'a species of aloe.'

tender tamarind (*tree*); from the tamarind (*tree*) the ditch that runs into (*the tank*) Nolambasamudra; from the ditch, in an easterly direction, the banyan (*tree*) in pebbles (*ie.* in a gravelly soil) east of it (*the tank*) Kōvanakere. There, (*is*) the eastern (*boundary*) stone; (*thence*) the southern embankment of the tank of Budugūru; likewise, to the east, the elephant-[like] boulder; (*thence*) to the east the big banyan (*tree*); likewise, to the east, the southern ditch of (*the tank*) Paṭṭidamanēri; to the east of that ditch the short banyan (*tree*) (?); to (*its*) south the natural pond (*sope*) of Baṇḍalvaralu(?); likewise, to the south the ditch with the tree

[Lines 95 to 110 contain four of the usual imprecatory verses].

TRANSLATION OF INSCRIPTION B.

The prosperous Ayyapadēva, the asylum of truth, son of the illustrious Mahēndra-Nolamba, having given Budugūru with libations of water,⁸ the glorious Lōkayya, younger brother of Dōsayya, who is the illuminator of the doctrine of the Arhats, presented (*that village*) to the *basadi* of Nidhiyanna. (And) Nidhiyanna too, presented (to the same *basadi*) for worship (*therein*) a garden on the western bank of having acquired (it).

NO. 15.—KARAMDANDA INSCRIPTION OF THE REIGN OF KUMARAGUPTA [GUPTA-] SAMVAT 117.

By PROFESSOR SIEN KONOW, PH.D.; CHRISTIANIA.

This inscription is incised on a stone *linga* which was excavated from an ancient site called Bharādhi Dīh near the village of Karamdāṇḍā, about 12 miles from Faizābād on the road to Shahganj, District Faizābād, United Provinces. Karamdāṇḍā will be found as Karamdanda in the Indian Atlas, Quarter Sheet 87 S.E., at 82° 4' long. and 26° 40' lat. The existence of the inscription was first brought to notice by Kunwar Kamta Prasad, Deputy Collector, Faizābād. A preliminary account of the find has been given by Dr. Vogel in his *Annual Report*, 1907-08, page 39, and I now publish the inscription from impressions supplied by him.

The *linga* itself consists of an upper, circular portion, 1' 1" high and 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ " in diameter, rising from an octagonal base 1' 9" high. The lower portion of the base including the end of the inscription has been broken. The *linga* will be deposited in the Provincial Museum, Lucknow.

The inscription itself is incised on the base and covers a space 1' 5 $\frac{1}{4}$ " high and 1' 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ " broad. The letters in the uppermost right hand corner are much effaced, but they can be restored from other inscriptions. Across the base, at a distance of 11" from the bottom, runs a line, which has made some of the top *mātrās* indistinct in the impression, and the final portion of the inscription has been broken off. In other respects, it is in an excellent state of preservation.

The characters belong to the western variety of the Gupta alphabet. The short *u* is denoted in two different ways, compare *Kumāragupta* in lines 3 and 7, where the *u* of *gu* has two

¹ It is doubtful if the Sanskrit *śafa* (banyan) could be compounded with the Kanarese *kigu*=small. *Kiguśafa* may denote a plant not explained in the dictionaries.

² The last words at the end of this description of the boundary line are not intelligible to me. We must have expected some words which mean—'the boundary thence joins the (starting) point.'

³ The phrase *śāhrya-śreṇa* *śreṇa* would have been enough to express the idea, as in l. 45 f. of inscription A; *śāhrya-śreṇa*, though redundant, has perhaps, been put in with the object of introducing a familiar Sanskrit phrase.

“ In the 7th year (*of the reign*) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājarājadēva,— on the day of Mūla, which corresponded to a Monday and to the third *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Rishabha.”

I take the date to correspond to Monday, the 30th March 1222 A.D., though the *nakshatra* of that day was not Mūla, but Uttarāshāḍhā and Śravaṇa. The third *tithi* of the dark fortnight of the month Rishabha (*Jyāishṭha*) ended, according to the Ārya and Śūrya Siddhāntas, 1 *ghaṭikā* 44 *palas*, and 46 *palas*, respectively, after mean sunrise, and something more after true sunrise; while the 4th *tithi* ended on the next day. According to the Brah̥ma-Siddhānta, however, Sunday was the third *tithi* and Monday was an *adhika* or repeated *tithi*. The result is practically the same as was found by the two other Siddhāntas.

208.—In the Mantrapuriśvara temple at Kōvilūr.¹

- 1 ௨ Svasti śrī [||*]
- 2 Tiribuvāṇach[cha]-
- 3 kkaravattigaḷ śrī-
- 4 ²Rājarājadēvarkku y[ā]-
- 5 [u]ḍu 7 āvadi[n*] edirām=[ā]-
- 6 ṇḍu Kumba-nāyarṇu [p]ū-
- 7 rvva-pakshattu tṛitiyaiyu[m]
- 8 Tiṅgaḷ-kkiḷamai[y]u[m] pe-
- 9 rra Śodi-nāḷ.

“ In the year opposite the 7th year (*of the reign*) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājarājadēva,— on the day of Svāti, which corresponded to a Monday and to the third *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Kumbha.”

The date corresponds almost certainly to Monday, the 20th February 1223 A.D. But the original date contains two errors : (1) it was not the ‘ first ’ fortnight, because in it the *nakshatra* Svāti is impossible ; (2) it was not the 3rd but the 4th *tithi*. For, on calculating the above date, we find that the 20th February corresponded to the 4th *tithi* of the dark fortnight of Kumbha (*Phālguna*), and that almost the whole day coincided with the *nakshatra* Svāti.

209.—In the Viḷināthasvāmin temple at Tiruvilimilalai.³

- 1 Svasti śrī [||*] Tribuvāṇachchakkaravattigaḷ [ś]rī-Irājarājadēvarkku yāṇḍu
[1]l [va]ḍu⁴ Kumbha-nā[ya]rṇu apara-[pa]kshattu ēkādaśiyum Śaṇi-[k]kiḷamaiyura
perṇa
- 2 Mūlattu nāl.

“ In the [1]lth year (*of the reign*) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājarājadēva,— on the day of Mūla, which corresponded to a Saturday and to the eleventh *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Kumbha.”

This date is the same as that in No. 214 below and will be dealt with in that place. It deserves to be remarked that, in this inscription just as in No. 214, the month Kumbha has been erroneously quoted instead of Makara.

¹ No. 215 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1908.

² The name Rājarāja is denoted by two abbreviations.

³ No. 400 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1908.

⁴ The date may also be read as 21.

310.—In the Mantrapuriśvara temple at Kōvilūr.¹

1 Svasti śrī [I*] Tiribuvanaḥchakkaravatt[i]ga[ī] śrī-Rāśarāśadēvarku yāḍu
2 11th Dhana-nāyaru pūrva-pakkattu saptam[i]yum Nāyaru-kk[i]lāmai
3 perra Magattu nāl.

"In the 11th year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājarājadeva, — on the day of Maghā, which corresponded to a Sunday and to the seventh tithi of the first fortnight of the month of Rishabha."

If we take the year to be the 11th, neither the week-day nor the *nakshatra* comes out right. But if we calculate for the 21st year, both items come out right. The date corresponds to Sunday, the 3rd May 1237 A.D. The 7th tithi of the bright fortnight of Rishabha (Jyāishṭha) ended about 27 *ghaṭikās* after mean sunrise of the 3rd May, and the *nakshatra* Maghā covered nearly that whole day.

311.—In the Viṇāthasvāmin temple at Tiruvīlīmīlalai.²

1 Svasti śrī [I*] Tiribuvanaḥcha[k*]karavattiga śrī-Rāja[rājadēvark]ku yāḍu
2 11th valdu Dhanu-nāyaru pūrva-pakshattu daṣamiyum T[i]ṅga-kk[i]lāmai
3 yam
4 perra Rāvatī-nāl.

"In the 11th year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rāja-rājadeva, — on the day of Rāvatī, which corresponded to a Monday and to the tenth tithi of the first fortnight of the month of Dhanus."

The date as given in the inscription would correspond to Thursday, the 31st December 1226 A.D., which was coupled with Kṛittikā. This result is wrong in all details. If we calculate Monday, the 20th December of the same year, the *nakshatra* comes out right, but it is the 7th tithi. Now, assuming that the month Dhanus has erroneously been quoted for Makara, the original date would correspond to Monday, the 30th November 1226 A.D. This is apparently the right date. On that day, the tenth tithi of the bright fortnight of Makara ended about 37 *ghaṭikās* after mean sunrise, and the *nakshatra* Rāvatī ended about 18 *ghaṭikās* after mean sunrise.

312.—In the Mantrapuriśvara temple at Kōvilūr.³

1 Svasti śrī [I*] Tiribuvanaḥchakkaravatt[i]ga śrī-Rāśarāśadēvarkku yāḍu
2 20th valdu Dhanu-nāyaru pūrva-pakshattu saptamiyum T[i]ṅga-kk[i]lāmai
3 yam
4 perra⁴ Aśvati-nāl.

"In the twentieth year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājarājadeva, — on the day of Aśvini, which corresponded to a Monday and to the seventh tithi of the first fortnight of the month of Makara."

The calculation of the original date yields Wednesday, the 16th January 1236 A.D., which day was coupled with the *nakshatra* Aśvini; but as the week-day is wrong, we must reject this

¹ No. 198 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1908.

² Two unintelligible symbols are engraved at the beginning of the line before the akshara *sva*.

³ The figures in brackets may also be read as 21.

⁴ No. 403 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1908.

⁵ No. 198 of the same collection for 1908.

⁶ Read *yāḍu*.

⁷ Read *perra*.

date. Assuming a mistake in the month, viz. Makara for Dhanus, we get Tue day, the 18th December, which corresponds to the given *tithi* (ending 9 *ghatikās* after mean sunrise, but the *nakshatra* was Rēvati (beginning 13 *ghatikās* after mean sunrise). If we calculate for the following year, the 21st instead of the 20th, the date comes out right in all details. It corresponds to Monday, the 5th January 1237 A.D. On that day, the 7th *tithi* of the month Makara ended 14 *ghatikās* after, and the *nakshatra* Āśvini began 13 *ghatikās* before mean sunrise. This is probably the equivalent of the date, though it is rather surprising that the number of the regnal year should have been erroneously quoted.

213.—In the Viṇāthasvāmin temple at Tiruvīlmiḷalai.¹

1 Svasti śrī:— T[i]rubu[va]nachchā(cha)kravartti[ga] śrī-R[ā]jarājadēva[ra] yāndu
20 iru[bad]ā[va]du Rishabha-[n]āyā[ra] pūr[vva]-pakshattu daśa[m]i[ya]m
[V]e[li]²-kkīlamai[yum] p[er]e[ra] Utt[ira]ttu [nāl].

"In the 20th— twentieth— year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājarājadēva,— on the day of Uttara-Phalguni, which corresponded to a [Friday] and to the tenth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Rishabha."

The date probably corresponds to Friday, the 16th May 1236 A.D. On that day, the 10th *tithi* of the bright fortnight of the month Rishabha (Jyāishṭha) ended 12 *ghatikās*, and the *nakshatra* Uttara-Phalguni 14 *ghatikās* after mean sunrise at Laṅkā. It appears therefore that, in the original date, the tenth *tithi* has been erroneously quoted instead of the ninth. Calculating Māsha instead of Rishabha, we find that the 10th *tithi* of the bright fortnight ended on Thursday, the 17th April 1236 A.D., 40 *ghatikās* after mean sunrise, and the *nakshatra* Uttara-Phalguni began only 50 *ghatikās* after mean sunrise. If this date be the right equivalent, we have to assume that the month as well as the week-day are erroneously quoted in the original.

214.—In the Viṇāthasvāmin temple at Tiruvīlmiḷalai.³

1 Svasti[i] śrī[ī] [i] Tir[i]buva[n]achaka[va]ttigal⁴ śrī-Irājarājadēva[r]ku⁵ yāndu
21 vadu Kum[ba]-n[ā]yā[ra] apara-pakshattu ēk[ā]daśamiyum⁶ Śaṅ[i]-kkīlam[aiyu]m
peṇṇa Mūlattu
2 nāl.

"In the 21st year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājarājadēva,— on the day of Mūla, which corresponded to a Saturday and to the [eleventh] *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Kumbha."

The date corresponds to Saturday, the 24th January 1237 A.D. But the month Kumbha has erroneously been quoted instead of Makara. For, it is impossible that in Kumbha (Phālguna) the 11th *tithi* of the dark fortnight should coincide with Mūla; and besides, in that year Phālguna badi 11 was a Monday (or possibly a Sunday, for the end of the *tithi* fell very near sunrise), but certainly not a Saturday. But on the day stated above, the 11th *tithi* of the dark fortnight of Makara ended about 18 *ghatikās* after mean sunrise, and the *nakshatra* Mūla ended about 27 *ghatikās* after it.

¹ No. 407 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1908.

² The space between *m* and *kkī* is just enough for *veḷḷi* and not for *śevṛāy* (Tuesday).

³ No. 410 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1908.

⁴ Read *chakravarti*.

⁵ Read -Rājarāja.

⁶ The syllable *mi* is written below the line. The *tithi* intended may have been either *ekādaśi* or *daśmi*.

But No. 209 above, which is identically the same date, gives *ekādaśi*.

215.—In the Mantrapuriśvara temple at Kōvilūr.¹

- 1 Svasti śrī [||*] Tr[i]bhuvanachchakrava[tti]gaḥ śrī-[R]ājarā[ja]-
 2 d[ī]varkk[u] yāṇḍu [2]6 āvadin=edirā[m=ā-
 3 n[ā] Kāṇṇi-nā[ya[r]ru=[p]pūrvva-[pakshattu ashṭa]³mi-
 4 [p]m Tiṅgaḥ-kiḷamaiyum [p]eṇṇa Aniḷattu nāl.

"In the year opposite the [2]6th year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājarājadēva,—on the day of Anurādhā, which corresponded to Monday and to the eighth *tithi* (or the fifth *tithi*) of the first fortnight of the month of [Kanyā]."

The date as given in the inscription admits of four cases: (1) 16th year, 5th *tithi*: the equivalent is Tuesday, the 2nd September 1231 A.D.; the *nakshatra* Anurādhā began 14 ghṛtikās after mean sunrise; (2) 26th year, 5th *tithi*: Wednesday, the 11th September 1241 A.D. Anurādhā ended 47 ghṛtikās after mean sunrise. Assuming the eighth *tithi* to be given, the week-days will be (3) Friday and (4) Saturday for the 16th and 26th year respectively, and the *nakshatra* will also be wrong. If we compute the same four cases for Śirīha instead of Kanyā, we get a Monday only for case 1, viz. Monday, the 4th August 1231 A.D., but the *nakshatra* is Chīṭā and Svāti. If we compute for Tulā instead of Kanyā, case No. 4 gives a Monday, viz. 11th October 1241; but then the *nakshatra* would be Śravaṇa and Śravishṭhā. Therefore the date of this inscription seems not to admit of verification.

216.—On some detached stones in a grove at Tirukkāravāśal.²

- 1 Svasti śrī [||*] Tiribuvanaachchak[karava]tt[i]gaḥ śrī-⁴Rājarājadēvaṅku y[ā]ṇḍu
 2 āvadu Karkkaḍaga-nāyaṅgu pūrvva-pakshat[t]u śaturttē[ī]yum Budaṅ-
 k[ī]lamaiyum pe[ṇ]ra* Utt[i]rattu nā[ī].

"In the 28th year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājarājadēva,—on the day of Uttara-Phalgunī, which corresponded to a Wednesday and to the fourteenth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Karkāṭaka."

The original date erroneously quotes the 14th *tithi* instead of the 4th; for, Śrāvaṇa (=Karkāṭaka) sudi 14 cannot coincide with Uttara-Phalgunī, but sudi 4 may coincide with it. The corrected date corresponds to Wednesday, the 22nd July 1243 A.D. On that day the 4th *tithi* of the bright fortnight of the month Karkāṭaka ended 36 ghṛtikās after mean sunrise, and the *nakshatra* Uttara-Phalgunī ended 24 ghṛtikās after mean sunrise.

217.—In the Mantrapuriśvara temple at Kōvilūr.⁵

- 1 Svasti śrī [||*] T[i]r[i]bhuvanachchakkaravattigaḥ śrī-Rāsarāśadēvaṅ[k]ku
 yāṇḍu 31 āvadu Mēsha-nāyaṅgu 6[pa]ñjami[y]um Tiṅgaḥ-
 kiḷamaiyum [p]eṇṇa [A]niḷattu nāl.

"In the 31st year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājarājadēva,—on the day of Anurādhā, which corresponded to a Monday and to the fifth *tithi* of the month of Mēsha."

The 5th *tithi* of both fortnights in Mēsha did not fall, in the year of the inscription (1247 A.D.), on a Monday; and the *nakshatra* Anurādhā cannot be coupled with the 5th *tithi* of

¹ No 182 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1908.
² The reading may also be *pañjamiyum*.

³ No 454 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1908.
⁴ The word *Rājarāja* is expressed by two abbreviations.

⁵ No. 199 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1908.
⁶ In the original it cannot be made out whether *apara-* or *pūrvva-paksha* was engraved.

either fortnight in Mēsha. The *tithi* is therefore wrong. Now, calculating for the week-day and the *nakshatra* given in the inscription, I find that on Monday, the 22nd April 1247 A.D., the *nakshatra* Anurādhā commenced 4 *ghaṭikās* after mean sunrise. The first *tithi* of the dark fortnight ended 34 *ghaṭikās* after mean sunrise. If this day is the one intended in the inscription, the word 'pañjamiyūm' is a mistake for 'pradamaiyūm.'

G.—RĀJĒNDRA-CHŌLA III.

218.—In the Mantrapuriśvara temple at Kōvilūr.¹

- 1 ||— Svasti śrī [|*] Tiribuvāṇachchakkaravatt[i]ga[! śrī]-Irāśēndi[ra]-Śōḷadēvaṛkku
yāṇḍu pa[t]tā[va]dinn= ed[i]rā[m=ā]ṇḍu Kaṇṇi-nā-
- 2 yaṅṅu a[pa]ra-pakshattu shashṭhiy[u]m Tiṅga-k[i]lā[m]aiyū[m] peṅṅa Rōṣaṇi-nāḷ.

"In the year opposite the [tenth] year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājēndra-Chōḷadēva,— on the day of Rōhiṇī, which corresponded to a Monday and to the sixth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Kanyā."

The date corresponds to Monday, the 11th September 1256 A.D.; however the month Kanyā has erroneously been quoted instead of Siṃha. On the day in question, the 6th *tithi* of the dark fortnight of the month of Siṃha (being the 15th solar Kanyā) ended 51 *ghaṭikās*, and the *nakshatra* Rōhiṇī 45 *ghaṭikās* after mean sunrise at Laṅkā.

219.—In the Mantrapuriśvara temple at Kōvilūr.²

- 1 [S]vast[i] [śrī] [|*] [Tiribuvana]chchakkaravatt[i]ga[! śrī]-Irāśēnd[i]ra-Śōḷadēvaṛkku
yāṇ[ḍu] pa[di]ṇ-ēḷāvadu I.³
- 2 [I]shabha-nāyaṅṅu pūrvva-pa[k]shasattu⁴ tri(tri)tiyaiyūm Nāyaṅṅu-kkiḷa[m]aiyūm⁵.
peṅṅa Pūsat[tu*] nāḷ.

"In the seventeenth year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājēndra-Chōḷadēva,— on the day of Pushya, which corresponded to a Sunday and to the third *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Rishabha."

The date corresponds to Sunday, the 21st May 1262 A.D., if we assume that the third *tithi* has erroneously been quoted instead of the second. For, on that day, the 2nd *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Rishabha (Jyaishṭha) ended about 42 *ghaṭikās* after, and the *nakshatra* Pushya commenced about 40 *ghaṭikās* after mean sunrise at Laṅkā.

220.—In the Mantrapuriśvara temple at Kōvilūr.⁶

- 1 ௨ Svasti śrī [|*] Tiribuvāṇachcha[kka*]ra[vatti*]ga[! śrī]-Rā[j]ē[ndra]-Śōḷadēvaṛk[u]
yāṇ[ḍu]
- 2 17 vadu Tulā-nāyaṅṅu pūrvva-pakshattu chatu[rddasīy]um Velli-kkiḷa[m]aiyūm
- 3 peṅṅa Aśvati-nāḷ.

"In the 17th year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājēndra-Chōḷadēva,— on the day of Aśvinī, which corresponded to a Friday and to the fourteenth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Tulā."

¹ No. 208 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1908.

² No. 213 of the same collection for 1908.

³ Cancel the letter i.

⁴ Read *pakshattu*.

⁵ The *m* of *kiḷamai* is entered below the line.

⁶ No. 223 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1908.

* There is some unaccountable space between the aksharas *ku* and *m* of *Kumba*.
 † The length of *na* is inserted below the line.

are not satisfactory; still I thought it advisable to state what they are since they may be useful either for further consideration of historical questions involved by the inscriptions or for deciding the uselessness of the dates as being altogether wrong.

Nos. 90-94 enable us to fix the commencement of Jatāvarman Vira-Pāṇḍya's reign, which has approximately been placed in 1310 A.D. by Mr. Krishna Sastri (*Journal of the Epigraphy for 1908-09*, Part II, § 27). Four of these inscriptions quote, besides the details usually given in them, the corresponding solar day; thereby, as stated by Prof. Kāthān (above, Vol. VI. p. 301), we can find the precise equivalent, though the year is not stated in any era, the regnal year only being given. For, as a given solar day may be coupled with any of the thirty *tithis* and of the seven week-days, a given combination of these three items will, on the average, occur only once in $7 \times 30 = 210$ years, and the chance will be still rarer if the *nakṣatra* is mentioned, as is usually the case. In No. 89 the *tithi* is not given, but the combination of the remaining three items is such as will recur only once in about 150 years.

In order to solve the problems to which such dates give occasion, I have developed my tables (above, Vol. I) in detail for several centuries, and with their help the task became an easy one. These developed Tables will be published in book form in the *Encyclopedia for Indo-Aryan Research*. I shall there explain the method of solving the problem in question.

I now proceed to discuss the results of my examination of the dates in Nos. 90-94. They may be summarised as follows:—

Jatāvarman Vira-Pāṇḍya (*September 29, December 1, A.D. 1295*).

- No. 90. 6th year: 28th September 1302.
- No. 91. 22nd year: 3rd May 1318.
- No. 92. 44th year: 2nd December 1339.
- No. 93. 43 (Cor. 46)th year: 2nd August 1339.
- No. 94. 46th year: 16th June 1342.

Nos. 90-92 show that the king must have commenced to reign between the 29th September and the 1st December 1295. With this date for the commencement of the reign No. 94 agrees if we read the regnal year as 46, as we may, since the second figure of 4[9] put in brackets in the transcript, may also be read 6 as stated in the note. In No. 93, the regnal year cannot be 46, since No. 92 is dated in the same year of our era. The date, 2nd August, shows that the 46th year has wrongly been given instead of the 43rd.

According to No. 89 Tribhuvanachakravartin Kulasēkhara seems to have begun reigning in 1379-80 A.D. I should, however, not place too much reliance on this result, before it has been corroborated by more inscriptions of the same king. For, if in our inscription the wrong *nakṣatra* had been quoted, as is rather frequently the case in these records, the calculated equivalent would of course be also intrinsically wrong.

No. 84 fixes the beginning of the reign of a Tribhuvanachakravartin Sundara-Pāṇḍya in A.D. 1237-38.

MĀRAVARMAN SUNDARA-PĀṇḍYA I. (A.D. 1216-35).

81.—In the Tiruttalīśvara temple at Tirupputtūr.¹

- 1 **Swast[i] śrī [i]** śrī-kō-Mārupa[n]mar-āpa Tiribu[va]-
nāchchakkravattigal Sōpāṇu valāngiy-aruliya śrī-Sundara-Pāṇḍi-
- 2 yadēvaṅku yāṇḍu 20 vadun(diṇ) edirām-āṇḍu [Ka]ṇṇi-nāyarru spara-[pakahat]t[u]
Viya[la]-kkaḷamaiyu[m*] shashthiyum perra Pūṣattu pā.

¹ No. 129 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1908.

"In the year opposite the 20th year (*of the reign*) of the glorious king Māvarman, *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Sundara-Pāṇḍyadēva, who was pleased to distribute the Chola country,—on the day of Pushya, which corresponded to the sixth *tithi* and a Thursday of the second fortnight of the month of Kanyā."

The date seems to correspond to Thursday, the 18th September 1236 A.D. That day was Āsina badi 2 as required, the second *tithi* ending about 36 *ghaṭikās* after mean sunrise at Laṅkā. But the day was coupled with the *nakshatras* Āsvinī and Bharanī, and not, as quoted in the inscription, with Pushya. It is impossible, on any supposition, that Āsina badi 2 should be coupled with Pushya; the *nakshatra* will always be one between Āsvinī and Mṛgaśīras, and never beyond the latter.

JATĀVARMAN SUNDARA-PĀṇḌYA I. (P)

(A.D. 1251 to 1261).

82.—In the Viṇāthasvāmin temple at Tiruvilimilalai.¹

1 Kō=Chadapape(n)mar ²Tiniribuvunach[cha]ttaravattigaḷ ³Sundara-Pāṇḍiyadēvarkku
4yūḍu 2 [vaḍu] irap[ḍ]āvaḍu Danu-nāyargu apara-pasakshat[tu⁵ chu]tu[r*]daśi-
yum Nāyari[u-kkila]mmai⁶.

2 yūm perra Āyiliyattu na(nā)].

"In the 2nd—second—year (*of the reign*) of king Jaṭāvarman (*alias*) the emperor of the three worlds, Sundara-Pāṇḍyadēva,—on the day of Āślēshā, which corresponded to a Sunday and to the fourteenth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Dhanus."

In this date, the wrong fortnight is cited; for, in the month of Dhanus or Pausha, Āślēshā cannot be coupled with *badi* 14, but only with *sudi* 14. However, the week-day does not come out right in either fortnight, if we assume the king to have been Jaṭāvarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya II. For, in K.Y. 4378 (=1276 ff. A.D.) Pausha was expunged, and both *sudi* 14 and *badi* 14 falling in the solar month of Pausha were not Sundays. The same holds good with Pausha *sudi* 14 and *badi* 14 of the preceding year. Assuming the king to have been the first of this name, the week-day comes out right for K.Y. 4354 Pausha *sudi* 14 corresponding to Sunday, the 4th January 1254. But the *nakshatras* coupled with that day were Punarvasu and Pushya; on the next day occurred Āślēshā.

JATĀVARMAN SUNDARA-PĀṇḌYA.

83.—In the Viṇāthasvāmin temple at Tiruvilimilalai.⁷

1 Svast[i] śr[i] [i]* Kō=Chchadapapmar Tr[i]bhuvanachchakravatt[igaḷ] śr[i]-
Su[ndara-Pāṇḍya-dēva]rkku yāḍu eṭṭāva[d]u Dhanu-nāyargu pūrvva-pakshattu
ashtami[yu]m Velli-[k]k[i]lammaiyum perra Rē-
2 vati-nā].

"In the eighth year (*of the reign*) of king Jaṭāvarman (*alias*) the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious [Sundara-Pāṇḍyadēva],—on the day of Rēvatī, which corresponded to a Friday and to the eighth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Dhanus."

¹ No. 395 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1908.
² Read Trībhuvanachchakravartigaḷ.

³ A symbol resembling the figure 4 is engraved before *su*. Perhaps it stands for *śrī*.
⁴ Read yāḍu.
⁵ Read pakshattu.

⁶ No. 411 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1908.

⁷ Read "kkilamas".

I have calculated the date for both Jaṭavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I. and II.; in both cases the result is not satisfactory. I give them here. In 1258 A.D. Pausa was an *expurgated* month. If we assume that *sudi* 8, falling in solar Pausa, was intended, we find that it ended 15 *ghaṭikās* after sunrise at Laṅkā on Thursday, the 5th December, and the *nakṣatra* Rēvati began 15 *ghaṭikās* after sunrise. Therefore, the date would be right, if the eighth *tithi* had been coupled with the ninth. — Now assuming the king to be the second of his name, the date would fall in 1292 A.D. The calculation proves that on Friday, the 19th December 1292 A.D., the 9th *tithi* ended a few *ghaṭikās* before the end of the day according to all *śāstras*, and the 8th *tithi* ended on Thursday. But as the *nakṣatra* Rēvati ended about 15 *ghaṭikās* before sunrise of Friday, it could not have been coupled with that day.

TRIBHUVANACHAKRAVARTIN SUNDARA-PĀṇḌYA (A.D. 1237-38 to ?).

84.—In the Tiruttalīśvara temple at Tirupputtūr.¹

- 1 || ॐ Svasti śrī [||*] Tribhuva[ṇa]chakra[ra]vart[ti]ga
śrī-Sundara-Pāṇḍiyadēva[ra]ku yāṇḍu 2 ṇḍāvad[u] Dhanu-nāyar[ra] 11 ṇḍ[ya]ś[ra]ś[ra]
yum pūrvva-pakshattu daśamiyum
- 2 Budhan-kiḷamai[ya]m [p]erra Aśvati-nāḷ.

“In the 2nd year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Sundara-Pāṇḍyadēva,—on the day of Aśvinī, which corresponded to a Wednesday, to the tenth *tithi* of the first fortnight and to the 11th solar day of the month of Dhanu.”

Between 1200 and 1500 A. D. there is but one day which fulfils all requirements of the date of our inscription, *viz.* 4340 Kaliyuga, Pausa *sudi* 10, which corresponds to Wednesday, the 7th December 1239 A.D. On that day, at mean sunrise at Laṅkā, the 10th *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month Dhanu (Pausa) was running, and ended about 42 *ghaṭikās* afterwards, and the *nakṣatra* Aśvinī had begun 7 *ghaṭikās* before mean sunrise at Laṅkā and ended about 49 *ghaṭikās* after it. Accordingly, this king began to reign in 1237-38 A.D.

JATĀVARMAN SUNDARA-PĀṇḌYA II. (?)

(A.D. 1275-76 to 1290).

85.—In the Viḷināthasvāmin temple at Tiruvīlīmīlalai.²

- 1 Svasti [śrī ||]³ K[ṣ]r-Chaḍai[paṇ]mar T[i]ru[b]uṇachchakka[ra]va[t]t[i]ga¹ śrī-
śu]ndara-P[āṇḍi]yadē[va]rku yāṇḍu 9]vadu Tulā-nāyar[r]u [a]jama-pakshattu
saptamiyum [N]āyar[ra]-kkīla-
- 2 maiyum per[ra] P[ā]śattu nāḷ.

“In the [9]th year (of the reign) of king Jaṭavarman (*alias*) the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Sundara-Pāṇḍyadēva,—on the day of Pushya, which corresponded to a Sunday and to the seventh *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Tulā.”

The week-day does not come out right for the 9th year of either Jaṭavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I. or II. I have calculated the years 1259, 60, 61 and 1283, 84, 85 A.D.

¹ No. 130 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1908.

² No. 414 of the same collection for 1908.

³ The punctuation after *śrī* is not distinct; the existing traces seem to point to the reading *Gm*.

JATĀVARMAN SUNDARA-PĀṆDYĀ II.

(A.D. 1275-76 to 1290).

86.—In the Mantrapuriśvara temple at Kōvilūr.¹

- 1 Svasti [śrī]² [||*] Kō=Ch[cha]ḍapaṇmar=āṇa Tiribu[va]nachchakkarava-
2 ttiga[] Śu[n][dara]-Pāṇḍiyadēvaṛku yāṇḍu 14 vadu Sim-
3 ha-nāyaṛru pūrvva-pakshattu trit[ra]gaiyum³ Budan-kiḷamaiyum
4 perṛa Attattu nāl.

"In the 14th year (*of the reign*) of king Jaṭavarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, Sundara-Pāṇḍiyadēva,—on the day of Hasta, which corresponded to a Wednesday and to the third *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Simha."

The date of this inscription is K.Y. 4391, Bhādrapada sudi 3 = Wednesday, the 9th August 1290 A.D. For, on that day the 3rd *tithi* of the first fortnight of Bhādrapada (Simha) ended about 46 *ghaṭikās* after mean sunrise at Laṅkā and the *nakṣatra* Hasta began about 9 *ghaṭikās* after mean sunrise.

KŌṆĒRIMĒLKONḌĀṆ JATĀVARMAN SUNDARA-PĀṆDYĀ.

87.—In the Nilakanṭhēśvara temple at Veḍāl.⁴

- 1 [Sva*]stī śrī [||*] Kōṇērimēlkonḍāṇ kōr=Chadapaṇmar Tirubuvānachchakkaravattigaḷ
śrī-Sundara-Pāṇḍiyadēvaṛku yāṇḍu paḍi[n-mū]ṇṛāvadiṇ=edir mu(mū)ṇṛāvadu
Karkadaga-nāyaṛru pūrvva-pakshattu saptam[iy]um Budan-kiḷamaiyum perṛa
Attattu nāl.

"In the third (year) opposite the thirteenth year (*of the reign*) of Kōṇērimēlkonḍāṇ king Jaṭavarman (*alias*) the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Sundara-Pāṇḍiyadēva,—on the day of Hasta, which corresponded to a Wednesday and to the seventh *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Karkāṭaka."

[Professor Jacobi has not recorded the results of his calculation of this date.—Ed.]

MĀRAVARMAN KULASĒKHARA I. (A.D. 1268-1308).

88.—In the Sundararāja-Perumāl temple at Poṇ-Amarāvati.⁵

- 1 ௨ [Śrī] Svatt[i](stī) kō-Māru[pa]-
[ṇma*]r=āṇa(āṇa) Ti[ri*]buvānachchakkaravatt[i]gaḷ=emmaṇḍalamuṇ-gonḍ-aruliya
Kulasēga-
2 radēvaṛku yāṇḍu 18 vadu Simha-nāyaṛru [pū]rvva-pakshattu pañchamiyum
Tiṅgaḷ⁶-kiḷamaiy[u]m perṛa Utt[i]rādattu nāl.

"In the 18th year (*of the reign*) of king Māra[varman] *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, Kulasēkharadēva, who was pleased to take every country,—on the day of Uttarā-shāḍhā, which corresponded to a Monday and to the fifth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Simha."

The date of the inscription seems to correspond to Monday, the 6th August 1295 A.D., on which day the 5th *tithi* of the month of Simha (Bhādrapada) ended, about 52 *ghaṭikās*

¹ No. 214 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1908.

² The punctuation after the syllable *śrī* is indistinct.

³ Read *tritiyati*.

⁴ No. 69 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1908.

⁵ No. 21 of the same collection for 1909.

⁶ Read *Tiṅgaḷ*.

after mean sunrise at Laṅkā. But the *nakshatra* was Chitrā. It may be remarked that the *nakshatra* Uttarāṣāḍhā can never be coupled with Bhādrapada sudi 5, as required by the inscription.

TRIBHUVANACHAKRAVARTIN KULASĒKHARA (A.D. 1379-80 to ?).

89.—In the Tiruttaliśvara temple at Tirupputtūr.¹

1 [S]vasti [śrī] [||*] [T]ribhuvanachchakravattiga! śrī-Kulasēkharadē[va]rku
y]āṇḍu 4 vadin=edi[rā]m=ā[ṇḍu] Ka[r]kaḍaga-[nā]yarr=irubattē[ān]=tiyadi Śapi-k-

2 [k]i[ā]m[ai]yum perra Rōṣaṇi-nā.

"In the year opposite the 4th year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulasēkharadēva,— on the day of Rōhiṇī, which corresponded to a Saturday (and) to the twenty-seventh solar day of the month of Karkāṭaka."

The only day between 1200 and 1500, which I found to correspond to the date of the inscription, would be Saturday, the 25th July 1383 A.D.; it was the 27th solar Karkāṭaka, (Śrāvaṇa *baḍi* 10) and the *nakshatra* was Rōhiṇī. This king therefore would appear to have commenced reigning 1379-80 A.D.

In the years 1262 A.D., 23rd July, and 1475, 25th July, the 27th solar Karkāṭaka fell on a Saturday and the *nakshatra* was the next after Rōhiṇī, viz. Mrigaśīras; we need therefore take no account of these years.

[The alphabet in which the inscription is engraved shows that it must be older than A.D. 1200.—Ed.]

JATĀVARMAN TRIBHUVANACHAKRAVARTIN VĪRA-PĀNDYA (A.D. 1295-1342 ?).

90.—In the Viṇāthasvāmin temple at Tiruvīṇimīlalai.²

1 Svast[i] śrī:— ³Kōr=Chadāpaṇmar Tirubuvanachchakkaravattiga! śrī-Vira-
Pāṇḍiyadēvaṅku yāṇḍu 6 vadu⁴ āṇḍadu

2 [Ka]ṇṇi-nāyarru pūruva-pa[k*]shattu shatti(shṭhi)yum Velli-kki[āmai]yum perra
Mūlattu nā.

"In the 6th—sixth—year (of the reign) of king Jātāvarman (*alias*) the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Vira-Pāṇḍiyadēva,— on the day of Mūla, which corresponded to a Friday and to the sixth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Kanyā."

The date of this inscription corresponds to Friday, the 28th September 1302 A.D. On that day, the 6th *tithi* of the first fortnight of Āśvina (Kanyā) 4403 Kaliyuga ended 6 *ghaṭikās* after mean sunrise at Laṅkā and the *nakshatra* Mūla was running till about 15 *ghaṭikās* after mean sunrise.

91.—In the Tiruttaliśvara temple at Tirupputtūr.⁵

1 Śrī-kō=Chchadāpaṇmar=āpa Tribhuvanachchakravatti[ga]! śrī-Vira-[P]āṇḍiyadēvaṅku
yāṇ[ḍu] 22[vadu⁶] I[shaba-nā]yarru [4]tēdiyum⁷ pū[rva-pa]kshattu
[dvi]tiyaiyum perra Rō[hi]ṇi-n[ā]*.

¹ No. 101 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1908.

² No. 401 of the same collection.

³ In the syllable *kō*, the *ō* of the *ō*-sign is corrected from *t*.

⁴ *Vadu* is expressed by a flourish added to the figure 6.

⁵ No. 128 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1908.

⁶ *Vadu* is also expressed by a symbol.

The word *tēdi* is expressed by a symbol.

"In the 22nd year (*of the reign*) of the glorious king Jaṭavarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Vira-Pāṇḍyadēva,— on the day of Rōhiṇī, which corresponded to the second *tithi* of the first fortnight and to the [4]th solar day of the month of Rishabha."

I take this date to correspond to Sunday, the 3rd May 1318 A.D. This day was actually the 8th solar Rishabha (Jyaishṭha), not the 4th as found in the transcript of the inscription; the 2nd *tithi* of the first fortnight of Jyaishṭha (Rishabha) ended about 13 *ghaṭikās* after mean sunrise at Laṅkā, but the *nakshatra* Rōhiṇī had ended about 26 *ghaṭikās* before sunrise. It would therefore appear that the *nakshatra* quoted was that current at the beginning of the *tithi*, though it had ended before the day which is called after that *tithi*.

92.—In the Tiruttaḷṣvara temple at Tirupputtūr.¹

- 1 Svasti [i] śrī [||*] Kō-Chchaḍaipaṇmar-āṇa Tr[i]bhuvanachchakravatt[i]gaḷ śrī Vira-Pāṇḍiyadēvaṅku yāṇḍu 44 vadu Dhanu-nāyaṇṇu
- 2 5 tēdiy[um]³ pūrvva-pakshattu prathamaiyum Bṛihaspati-vāramum perṛa Mūlattu nāḷ.

"In the 44th year (*of the reign*) of king Jaṭavarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Vira-Pāṇḍyadēva,— on the day of Mūla, which corresponded to a Thursday, to the first *tithi* of the first fortnight and to the 5th solar day of the month of Dhanus."

This date corresponds to Thursday, the 2nd December 1339 A.D., on which day the first *tithi* of the first fortnight of Pausa (Dhanus) ended 32 *ghaṭikās* after mean sunrise at Laṅkā, and the *nakshatra* Mūla was current at sunrise and ended about 41 *ghaṭikās* after it.

93.—In the Tiruttaḷṣvara temple at Tirupputtūr.³

- 1 Svasti ś[r]i [||*] Kō-Chchaḍaipaṇmar-āṇa Tr[i]bhuvanachchakravattigaḷ śrī-Vira-Pāṇḍiyadēvaṅku yāṇḍu 46 vadu Karkāḍaga-nāyaṇṇu 1[4 tēdi]⁴
- 2 pūrvva-pakshattu [pa]ñjaniyam Sōmavāramum perṛa Uttirattu nāḷ.

"In the 46th year (*of the reign*) of king Jaṭavarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Vira-Pāṇḍyadēva,— on the day of Uttara-Phalguni, which corresponded to a Monday and to the fifth *tithi* of the first fortnight (and) to the 14th solar day of the month of Karkāṭaka."

This date apparently corresponds to Monday, the 2nd August 1339 A.D. On that day, the fifth *tithi* of the first fortnight of Śrāvapa (Karkāṭaka) ended about 15 *ghaṭikās* after mean sunrise at Laṅkā, and the *nakshatra* Uttara-Phalguni was current at sunrise, and ended about 6 *ghaṭikās* after it. However, the calculated date was actually the 15th solar Karkāṭaka, and not the 14th as stated in the inscription.

94.—In the Tiruttaḷṣvara temple at Tirupputtūr.⁵

- 1 [a-] Svasti śrī [||*] Kō-Chchaḍaipaṇmar-āṇa Tr[i]bhuvanachchakravatt[i]gaḷ śr[i]-Vira-P[ā]ṇḍiyadēvaṅku yāṇḍu 4[9]⁶ vadu Mithuna-nāyaṇṇu 21 tēdim⁷ pūrvva-pakkattu tnvādesiyum Āditya-v[ā]ramu[m] p[ā]rra Anilattu nāḷ.

¹ No. 122 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1908.

² The word *tēdi* is expressed by a symbol.

³ No. 119 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1908.

⁴ The word *tēdi* is expressed by a symbol.

⁵ No. 120 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1908.

⁶ The figure in brackets may also be read 6.

⁷ *Tēdi* is denoted by a symbol; *tēdim* stands for *tēdiyum*.

"In the 4[9]th year (of the reign) of king Jaṭavarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Vira-Pāṇḍyadēva,— on the day of Anurādhā, which corresponded to a Sunday, to the twelfth *tithi* of the first fortnight and to the 21st solar day of the month of Mithuna."

The date corresponds to Sunday, the 16th June 1342 A.D. On that day, at mean sunrise at Laṅkā, the 12th *tithi* of the first fortnight of Āshāḍha (Mithuna) and the *nakshatra* Anurādhā were current, the former ending about 24 *ghaṭikās*, and the latter 45 *ghaṭikās* after mean sunrise at Laṅkā. And the day actually was the 21st solar Mithuna.

JATĀVARMAN VIKRAMA-PĀṆDYA.

95.—In the Tiruttaḷśvara temple at Tirupputtūr.¹

- 1 ||| 6. Svasti śr[1] [||*] Kō-Chchadaipānmar=āṇa Tr[i]bhuvanaachhakravatt[i]gaḷ
śri-Vikrama-Pāṇḍiyadēvaṅku yāṇḍu 8[vadi]ṇ² edir 14 āvadu
- 2 Śak-ābdam 1344ṇ mēl sellāṇiṇṇa Śubhakiṇi³-varuṣham Dhanu-ravi 19 tēdi⁴
pūrvva-pakshattu tritigaiyum Buda-vāramum peṇṇa Tiruvōpattu
- 3 nāḷ.

"In the 14th (year) opposite the 8th year (of the reign) of king Jaṭavarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Vikrama-Pāṇḍyadēva,— in the (cyclic) year Śubhakṛit, which was current after the (expiry of the) Śaka year 1344,— on the day of Śravaṇa, which corresponded to a Wednesday and to the third *tithi* of the first fortnight (and) the 19th solar day (when) the Sun (was in) Dhanus."

This date apparently corresponds to Wednesday, 16th December 1422 A.D., the corresponding Jovian year of southern reckoning being Śubhakṛit. But the third *tithi* has wrongly been quoted for the second. For, on the calculated day which was the 19th solar Dhanus, the 2nd *tithi* of the first fortnight of Pausa (Dhanus) was current at sunrise at Laṅkā and so was the *nakshatra* Śravaṇa. The third *tithi* began about 5 *ghaṭikās* after mean sunrise at Laṅkā, and the *nakshatra* Śravaṇa ended about 52 *ghaṭikās* after sunrise. It would therefore appear that the current *tithi* has been quoted instead of the one which ended on that day.

No. 13.—GOHARWA PLATES OF KARNADEVA.

BY PROFESSOR E. HULTZSCH, PH.D.; HALLE (SAALE).

These plates were found, whilst ploughing, in a field in an old fort at Goharwa, a village in the Manjhanpur tahsil of the Allahabad District. The finder was a Kewat. He states that his plough turned up the plates and broke the ring which fastened them together. The find was rescued from him by one Ramnath, a zamindar of Mawai Kalan, and produced first before the Collector, and then, by the Collector's directions, before Mr. E. A. H. Blunt, C.S., Sub-Divisional Officer, Karwi, Banda district, who sent the plates to Rai Bahadur Venkayya. I edit the inscription from two sets of ink-impressions received from Mr. Venkayya.

These are two copper plates, resembling ordinary trays, which fit one into the other and form a compact box, with corresponding ring holes at the bottom of the first and at the top of the second plate. They were originally held together by a ring, in such a way that the

¹ No. 124 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1908.

² The syllables *vadi* are expressed by a flourish added to the figure 8.

³ Read *Śubhakṛit*.

⁴ The word *tēdi* is expressed by a symbol.

No. 27.—TWO CAVE-INSRIPTIONS AT DALAVANUR.

By PROFESSOR E. HULTZSCH, PH.D.; HALLE (SAALE).

These two well-preserved inscriptions are engraved on a pillar in a rock-cut cave at Dalavānūr in the Tiṇḍivāṇam tāluḱa of the South Arcot district. They were first brought to notice by the late Rai Bahadur V. Venkayya in his *Annual Report on Epigraphy for 1904-05*, p. 47. I edit them from inked estampages received from Rao Sahib H. Krishna Sastri.

The first inscription (A) consists of a single Sanskrit śloka, each pāda of which, as in the Mahēndravāḍi cave-inscription,¹ occupies a separate line.

The second inscription (B) is divided in two sections, of which the first is written in Tamil verse, and the second in Tamil prose.

The alphabet of A is Grantha of exactly the same type as at Mahēndravāḍi. The Tamil inscription B exhibits less archaic forms and, as suggested by Mr. Venkayya, was probably engraved at a later date than A. The following Grantha letters occur in B:—śri (l. 1), śa (l. 7), śva (l. 8), [b]ra (l. 11), and dīsan (l. 13 f.).

The inscription A states that the cave which contains it was made on the hill at the order of a king Narēndra or Śatrumalla and named (after himself) Śatrumallēśvarālaya, i.e. 'the Īśvara (Śiva) temple of Śatrumalla.' Śatrumalla is known to have been a surname of the Pallava king Mahēndravarmān I., who reigned about the beginning of the seventh century.² Perhaps Narēndra, 'the Indra among men,' is a mere variant of the name Mahēndra, 'the great Indra,' and Narēndra Śatrumalla has to be identified with Mahēndravarmān I., whose inscriptions show the same alphabet as A.

The first section of B states in Tamil the same fact as A, viz. that Narēndra founded the Śatrumallēśvarālaya. It gives the name of the locality as Venbeṭṭu and confirms the surmise that Narēndra belonged to the Pallava family by calling him 'the king (who wore) a beautiful garland of tonḍai,' and Pōttaraiyaṇ, i.e. 'the Pallava king.'³ The second section of B records the name of the composer of the preceding Tamil stanza.

A.—SANSKRIT INSCRIPTION OF NARENDRA SATRUMALLA.

- 1 Daṇḍ-ānata-narēndrēṇa
- 2 Narēndrēṇ-aisha kāritaḥ [!*]
- 3 Śatrumallēna śailē-smin⁴
- 4 Śatrumallēśvarālaya[h] [!]*

TRANSLATION.

Narēndra Śatrumalla, who has humbled kings by (his) army, caused to be made on this hill this (temple named) Śatrumallēśvarālaya.

B.—TAMIL INSCRIPTION MENTIONING THE PALLAVA KING NARENDRA.

First Section.

- 1 Śri [!]* Tonḍaiy-an-dār
- 2 vēndaṇ Narēndira-

¹ Above, Vol. IV, No. 19.

² Above, Vol. VI, p. 320.

³ For Tamil pōṭṭu = Sanskrit pallava see *South-Ind. Insors.*, Vol. II, p. 241, note 1.

⁴ Read. smīn-.

- 3 Ppöttaraiyaṇ Ve-
- 4 ṇbeṭṭiṇ-ṇeṇb[ā]-
- 5 l miga magiṇdu ka-
- 6 ṇḍāṇ śara-mikka-ve-
- 7 ṇ-jilaiyāṇ Śa-
- 8 tturumallēśva-
- 9 rālaiyaṇ-ṇeṇ-Ara-
- 10 ṇukk-iḍam-āgav-āṅgu¹ [||*]

Second Section.

- 11 Ivv-ār [B]ram-
- 12 mamaṅgalavaṇ
- 13 Śellaṇ Śivadā-
- 14 san śolliya-
- 15 du [||*]

TRANSLATION.

First Section.

Prosperity! The king (who wore) a beautiful garland of *tonḍai*,² Narēndra-Pōttaraiyaṇ, whose cruel bow bristled with arrows, made with great joy in the south³ of Venḇeṭṭu⁴ (this temple) named *Śatrumallēśvarālaya*, to be the residence of Hara (Śiva).⁵

Second Section.

Brahmamaṅgalavaṇ Śellaṇ Śivadāsa of this village composed this.

No. 28.—KUDIMIYAMALAI INSCRIPTION ON MUSIC.

By RAO BAHADUR P. R. BHANDARKAR, B.A., L.M. & S. (Bo.), INDORE.

This inscription, which I edit from an inked estampage supplied by Rao Saheb H. Krishna Sastri, was discovered in the year 1904 at a place called Kudimiyāmalai in the Pudukkōṭṭai State, Southern India. It is written on a rock on the slopes of the hill behind the Śikhānāthasvāmin Temple. Close to it on its right side is a rock-cut shrine called Mēlaikkōvil, in front of which is a *maṇḍapa*, constructed of cut stone. The inscription at the right end of the 6th and 7th sections is covered by the basement of this *maṇḍapa*, but it is easily seen that only the last few notes in each sub-section (line) are lost, in addition to the words *saṁāptāḥ svarāgamāḥ*.

¹ In this stanza *tonḍai* (l. 1) seems to rhyme with *kaṇḍāṇ* (l. 5 f.).

² Mr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, whom I consulted on this passage, divides *tonḍaiyaṇḍār* into *tonḍai* + *am* + *tār* and remarks as follows:—"The garland (*tār*) is one of the usual insignia of the kingly office. Sometimes the personal noun *tārāṇ* is used for 'a king.'—*Tonḍai* or *āḍonḍai* is the name of a creeper (*Capparis horrida*) which, as tradition asserts, furnished the materials for his garland to the Pallava or ruler of Tonḍai-maṇḍalam, just as the palmyra (*paṇai*) to the Chōra, the *ātti* (*Bauhinia racemosa*) to the Chōla, and the *nim* tree (*nēmbu*) to the Pāṇḍya.

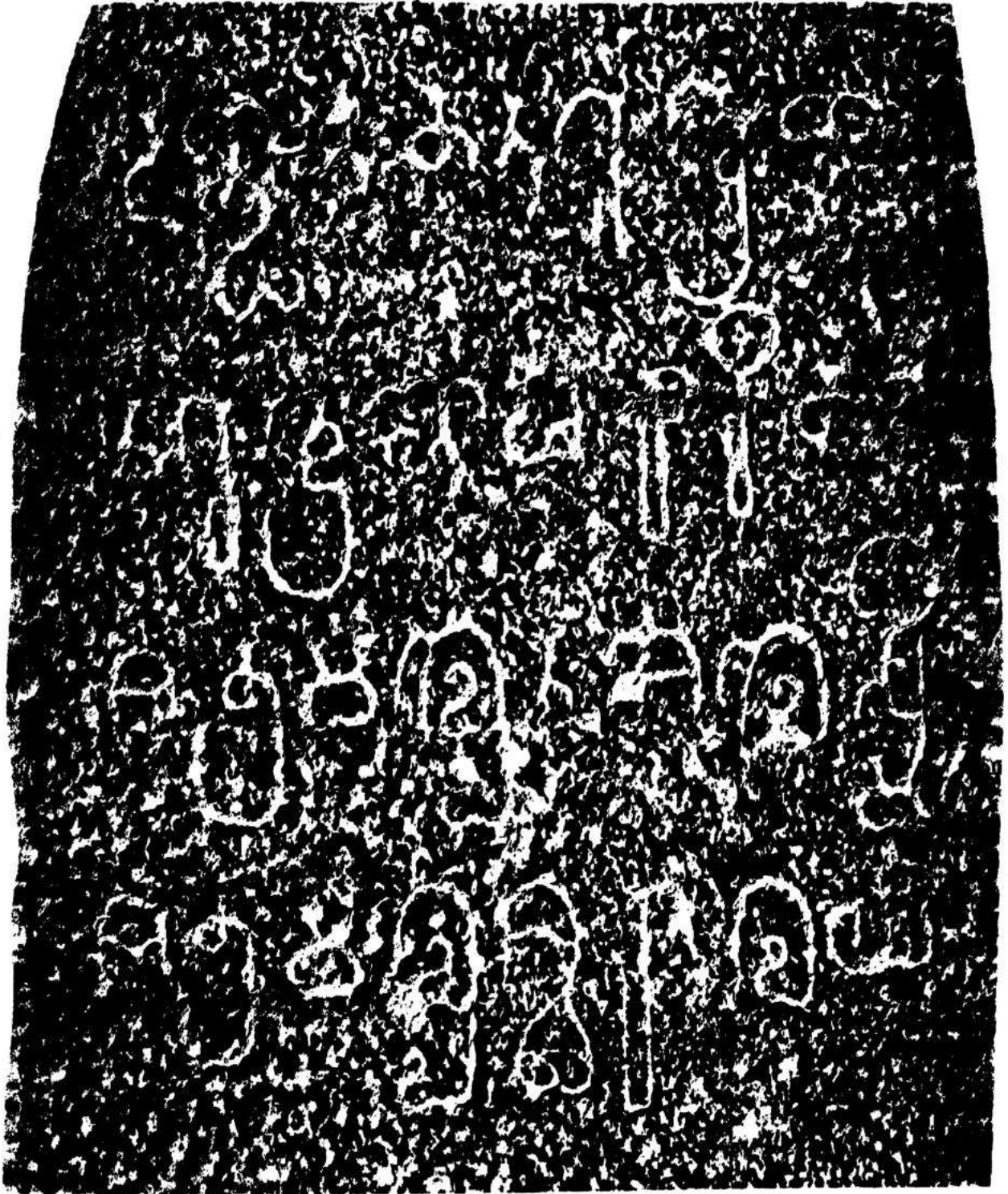
³ The syllable *pāl*, which follows the noun *teṇ*, is one of the many affixes of the locative case.

⁴ This name may be composed of the Tamil *veṇ*, 'white,' and Kannada *beṭṭu* (usually *beṭṭa*), 'a hill'; or the second portion of the word, *peṭṭu*, may be identical with Tamil *paṭṭu*, a frequent ending of village-names.

⁵ The last word of line 10, *āṅgu*, is a mere expletive.

Cave-inscriptions at Dalavanur.

A.— Sanskrit inscription of Narendra Satrumalla.

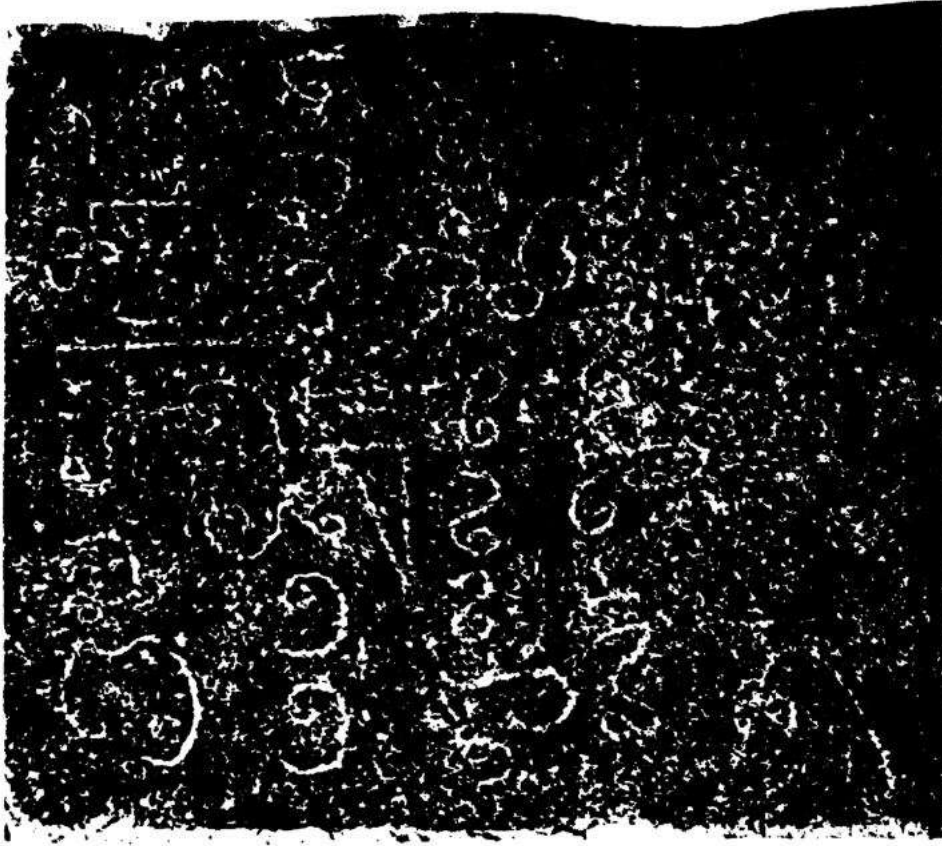


F. Hultzsch.

Collotype by Gebr. Plettner.

Scale - 3

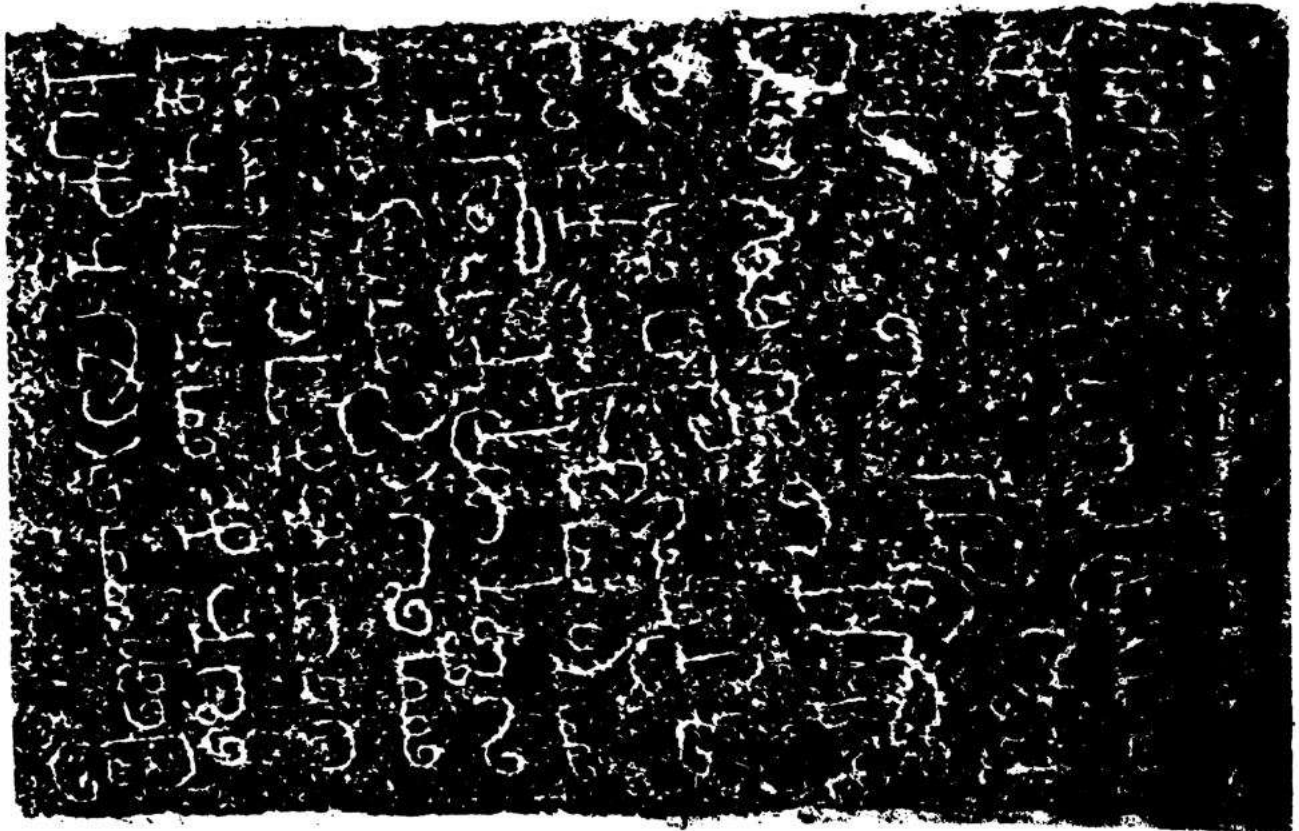
B.— Tamil inscription mentioning the Pallava king Narendra.



Scale - 2

12

14



2

4

6

8

10

The characters seem to belong to the 7th century. They closely resemble those of the early Chalukya period. In particular, it may be noted that the letter *ḍ*, as in Pallava inscriptions of this period, is almost identical with *ba*. Other peculiarities to be noted are, (1) the use of a small *ma* below the line to indicate a final *m* in the first line of the heading of Section I; (2) the two dots of the *visarga* are sometimes joined by a line, as in l. 2 of the same heading, and (3) the *ṣ-mātrā* of *hā* in the same line is represented by a stroke above, and not to the right of *hā*. The dots above the letters, which mark the notation, are in several cases doubtful, and in the absence of a clue to their meaning (see below) I have only kept such as were broad and deep.

The most ancient Sanskrit work, which treats of music, is the *Bhāratya-nāṭya-śāstra*. This treatise, as it has come down to us, shows signs of having been handled and re-handled, and all its parts are not of the same age. The chapters treating of music are among those which show this re-handling to a very marked degree, and for reasons which I have given elsewhere¹ they cannot be assigned to an earlier period than the 4th century A.D. This work while defining different modes of music (*jāṭis*), does not give actual examples in notation, so that it is impossible for us to obtain a clear notion of the music of that period.

The next treatise available to us is the *Saṃgīta-ratnākara* by Śārṅgadēva, written between A.D. 1210 and A.D. 1247. Though the author of this work gives examples in notation of the modes of music (*jāṭis*) defined by Bharata, he evidently does so on the authority of some previous writer or writers, though he does not name them. This is clear from the fact that after giving such an example he adds that the music resembles some particular kinds (*rāgas*) existing in his own time. Incidentally it may be mentioned that these examples of *jāṭis* often do not agree with Bharata's definitions, so that they must be regarded as belonging to a later period. Anyhow in the *Saṃgīta-ratnākara* we have, in notation, music belonging to the author's own period as well as that of some previous period; and examples of the latter the author must have borrowed from earlier works available to him. As a matter of fact many writers on music intervened between Bharata and Śārṅgadēva, but though the latter gives a string of their names, their treatises are unknown to us except in a few scattered quotations given by later authors. In short, at the present day the earliest music in notation available to us is that given in the *Saṃgīta-ratnākara*. Unfortunately the attitude of the author of this work is to explain away discrepancies by interpreting ancient rules so as to make them agree with the actual practice of the day, as I have pointed out elsewhere,² so that only a few of such discrepancies are actually noted by him.

In these circumstances, it is easy to imagine the great value of the discovery of any noted music belonging to a period earlier than that of the *Saṃgīta-ratnākara*. The Kudimiyāmalai inscription supplies such music. The inscription is in characters of about the 7th century A.D., i.e. about six centuries before Śārṅgadēva, the author of the *Saṃgīta-ratnākara*. It is divided into seven sections corresponding to the seven³ classical *rāgas* of the time, viz. (1) *Madhyamagrāma*, (2) *Shadajagrāma*, (3) *Shādava*, (4) *Sādhārīta*, (5) *Pañchama*, (6) *Kaiśikāmadhyama*, and (7) *Kaiśika*. Each section consists of a collection of groups of four notes, arranged in sub-sections of sixteen, each sub-section taking up one line of the inscription. Of course, only those notes are used which are proper to the particular *rāga*. Each group in a sub-section ends in the same note. The note in which a particular *rāga* must be ended is called the *nyāsa* (final). That sub-section, which consists of groups having the *nyāsa* for their ending note, is put the last in a section. The other sub-sections are arranged according to the position of the ending note in the Hindu gamut *sa, ri, ga, ma, pa, dha, ni*: a sub-section consisting of groups ending in *sa* preceding one of groups ending in *ri* and so on.

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XLI, pp. 158 f.² *Loc. cit.*³ See below.

The notes employed in the music of this inscription are as follows :—

sa ra ga a (antara) ma pa dha na ka, (kākalī)
The relative vibration-frequencies of these notes determined from the data in the *Bhāratiya-nāṭya-sāstra* are¹ respectively

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|----------------|----------------|----------------|---------------|---------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|
| 1 | $\frac{1}{9}$ | $\frac{2}{7}$ | $\frac{3}{5}$ | $\frac{4}{3}$ | $\frac{5}{3}$ | $\frac{6}{5}$ | $\frac{7}{4}$ | $\frac{8}{3}$ |
| C | D ₁ | E _b | E ₁ | F | G | A ₁ | B _b | B ₁ |

In the *Saṃgīta-ratnākara* these notes had the same value, but it seems that the values $\frac{6}{5}$ and $\frac{8}{3}$ for *ga* and *ni* respectively had probably come into use also,² which differ from the other values only by a comma. We can, therefore, with certainty, accept these values for the various notes in this inscription. The alternative values of *ga* and *ni* will not affect the character of the music.

In the notation of this music two points deserve special notice :—(1) Each note is expressed by a combination of the initial consonant in the name of the note with the vowels *a*, *i*, *u*, or *ē*, e.g. we have *sa*, *si*, *su*, *sē*; *ra*,³ *ri*, *ru*, *rē*, etc. Following the same rule, for the note *antara*, which begins with the vowel *a*, we must have the modifications *a*, *i*, *u*, and *ē*; and for the *kākalī*, *ka*, *ki*, *ku*, and *kē*. But in this inscription, we find *a*, *u*, and *ē*, and *ka*, *ku*, and *kē* only. The *i* and *ki* are wanting. In old Hindu music the *antara* and the *kākalī* received the same treatment and it is therefore to be expected that of *i* and *ki*, if one should be excluded, the other would be excluded on identical grounds.

I am not able to say what the different vowel endings are intended to indicate, but any one can see that it has no affinity with the similar nomenclature invented by Gōvinda Dikshita at a later period.⁴ The music in the inscription appears to be intended for the *viṇā*, since it has been given the title *chatusprahārasavarāgamāḥ* or authoritative texts of notes produced by four *striking*s (of the string); and I think the vowel endings may indicate the particular ways of striking or plucking the string, such as are mentioned in various old works on music, e.g. the four *sāraṇās* mentioned in the *Saṃgīta-ratnākara*, p. 485.

(2) The second point in the notation deserving notice is the dots on the tops of some of the notes. I cannot suggest any explanation of this sign. I do not think, however, that it indicates the lowest of the three octaves as it does in the notation of the *Saṃgīta-ratnākara*.

The seven *rāgas* in which the music is written did not exist at the time of the *Bhāratiya-nāṭya-sāstra*, for none of them are mentioned in the chapters of that work especially devoted to music. That work, as has been already remarked, has received numerous re-handlings, and what is still more noteworthy, many quotations said to have been derived from it cannot be found in any of the manuscripts available to us. Thus Kallinātha quotes the following verses as from Bharata in his commentary on the *Saṃgīta-ratnākara*⁵ :—

tathā ch-āha Bharataḥ |
pūrvarāṅgē tu śuddhā syād bhinnā prastāvanāśrayā |
vēsarā mukhya(kha)yōḥ kāryā garbhē gauḍi vidhiyatē |
sūlāhārit(ran)-āvamarshe syāt saṃdhau nirvahanam(nē) tathā ||

These verses are nowhere to be found in Bharata's work. Indeed Kallinātha ought to have seen that they go contrary to the teaching of that author, as he has himself noticed pre-

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, pp. 254 ff.

² The grounds for this statement will appear in a subsequent article in the *Indian Antiquary*.

³ The name *riśabha* begins with a vowel, but the consonant *r* is used in the case of that note.

⁴ Chinna Swami Mudaliyar's *Oriental Music*, pp. 14 ff.

⁵ *Saṃgīta-ratnākara* (Ānandāśrama series), p. 165.

vously that Bharata speaks of four *gītis* only, viz. the *māgadhi* and others,¹ which are quite different from these five. The alleged quotation proceeds further thus,—

mukhē tu madhyamagrāmaḥ śhaḍjaḥ pratimukhē tathā |
garbhē sādharitāś=ch=aiva hy=avamarsē tu pañchamaḥ ||
samhārē kaiśikaḥ prōktaḥ pūrvaraṅgē tu śhaḍvamaḥ(vaḥ) |
chitrasyāśādasāṅgasya (?) tv antē kaiśikamadhyamaḥ |
suddhānām viniyōgō=yam brahmaṇā samudāhṛitaḥ ||

These verses lay down the rules as to when the seven *suddha rāgas* are to be used in a *nāṭaka* (drama), and these are the very seven *rāgas* in which the music of this inscription is written. Though these verses are quoted by Kallinātha as from Bharata, that work has only got the following :²—

tataś cha kāvyabandhēshu nānābhāvasamāśrayam |
grāmadvayam cha kartavyam yathā sādharāṇāśrayam ||
mukhē tu madhyamagrāmaḥ śhaḍjaḥ pratimukhē bhavēt |
sādharitam tathā garbhē vimarsē ch=aiva pañchamam ||
kaiśikam cha tathā kāryam gāna[m] nirgra(rva)haṇē budhaiḥ |*
samnisṛittāśrayam ch=aiva rasubhāvasamaṇvitam ||

In the first place let it be noted that only five names, likely to be understood as being those of the above mentioned *rāgas*, occur in these verses. Secondly, the manuscript A³ reads *madhyamaḥ* for *pañchamam*, which further reduces the number. The manuscript A, I may remark, is on the whole more trustworthy than those on which the printed edition is based. Thirdly, it must be remembered that none of these names occur as belonging to *rāgas* in the special chapters of the work treating of music. All this at once makes one think that the names, as used here, do not belong to *rāgas* at all, and this conjecture is borne out by the explicit statement contained in the first *śloka*, which Kallinātha has not quoted. From this *śloka* it is evident that the rules in the following verses are not for the use of *rāgas* of those names, but for the two *grāmas* and the *sādharāṇa* mentioned in an earlier part of the work. Thus, music in the *madhyama-grāma* is to be used in the *mukha* portion of a *nāṭaka* and again in *vimarsa* (or *avamarsa*), music in the *śhaḍja-grāma* in the *pratimukha*, music in the *sādharāṇa* (*sādharitam* is thus a mistake for *sādharāṇam*) in the *garbha*, and music in the *kaiśika* in the *nirvahaṇa*.⁴

It is thus clear that the seven *rāgas* of this inscription did not exist in the time of the *Bhāratīya-nāṭya-śāstra*. When they came into existence is not known, the present inscription being their earliest record. They occur in the *Samgīta-ratnākara*, a treatise of a much later date (see above), and in a work called the *Nārādī-śikshā*, the date of which is not known, but which is presumably based on a certain work of Nārada, referred to in the *Samgīta-ratnākara*. What is more, the *Śikshā* mentions only these seven *rāgas*, whereas the *Ratnākara* mentions many others, thus showing that the former represents music of an earlier period.

I shall now proceed to discuss whether the music of the inscription agrees with the definitions of these seven *rāgas* as given in the two works. It must be remembered that out of the various modifications of these *rāgas* given in the *Ratnākara*, we have to deal with the *suddha* variety only, e.g. *suddha sādharita*, *suddha kaiśika*, etc. In the *Śikshā* there is no mention of any modifications.

I. Madhyama-grāma.—According to the *Ratnākara* this *rāga* contains the *kākalī* (*B* of the European music, if *C* represents the *śhaḍja*) instead of the *nishāda* (*Bb*). According to the

¹ Loc. cit., p. 161, *Bharataḥ punar māgadhy-ādayaś chataśra eva gītīr uktavān*.

² See p. 406 (ed. Kāvya-mālā).

³ See *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XLI, p. 158, n. 2.

⁴ For *sādharāṇa* and *kaiśika* see *Bhāratīya-nāṭya-śāstra*, pp. 306-309. For the five *sandhis* (*mukha*, *pratimukha*, etc.), see pp. 211-212.

Śikshā, however, this *rāga* contains the latter note. The music of the inscription agrees with this. Further, the *Śikshā* says that in this *rāga* the note *dhaivata* is *ḍurbala* (weak), which is borne out by the inscription. For, there are no combinations of notes ending in *dha*. A weak note is never made the *nyāsa* (final) or *apanyāsa* (a secondary resting note, the *nyāsa* being the final resting note). The final is *ma* (F).

II. *Shādja-grāma*.—According to the *R.* this contains the notes *antara* (E) and *kākalī* (B); but according to the *Śikshā* it contains the regular notes *gāndhāra* (Eb) and *nishāda* (Bb). The inscription again agrees with this. But though the *Śikshā* says that the *nishāda* is only 'touched a little,' we have groups of notes ending in that note. The final is *ma* (F).

III. *Shādava*.—According to the *R.* this contains the notes *antara* (E) and *kākalī* (B), whereas the *Śikshā* says it contains the *nishāda* (Bb) and says nothing about the other note, and we must therefore assume it to be the usual *gāndhāra* (Eb). In the inscription we find the *antara* (E) and *nishāda* (Bb). We have no groups of notes ending in the *antara*. Nor have we groups of notes ending in *pa* and *ni*. The *R.* notices that *pa* is 'weak.' The final is *ma* (F).

IV. *Sādhārīta*.—According to the *R.* this *rāga* contains the notes *gāndhāra* (Eb) and *nishāda* (Bb), but according to the *Ś.* we ought to have *antara* (E) and *kākalī* (B). The inscription agrees with the latter. There are no groups ending in *antara* and *kākalī*. The sub-section of groups ending in *dha* precedes the one ending in *pa*, for which I have no explanation to offer. The final is *ma* (F).

V. *Pañchama*.—According to the *R.* this contains *antara* (E) and *kākalī* (B) notes; but according to the *Ś.*, *antara* (E) and *nishāda* (Eb). The inscription agrees with the latter. There are no groups of notes ending in the *antara* (E). The final is *pa* (G).

VI. *Kaiśika-madhyama*.—According to the *R.* this contains *gāndhāra* (Eb) and *kākalī* (B) and leaves out *ṛishabha* (D) and *pañchama* (G).¹ The *Ś.* simply says that the notes are the same as those of the *Kaiśika*, but the final note (*nyāsa*) is *madhyama* (F). In the *Kaiśika* it is *pañchama* (G). The *Ś.*, in its definition of the *Kaiśika*, only makes a special mention of the *kākalī* (B), and we must therefore presume that the other notes, if they occur, must be the ordinary ones and among them the *gāndhāra* (Eb). Thus there is an agreement of the two works. The inscription, however, shows *antara* (E) and *kākalī* (B). There are no groups ending in these notes.² The note *pa* (G) is altogether wanting, which agrees with what the *R.* says in its definition of the *rāga*. But the note *ri* (D) does occur, though according to *R.*'s definition it should be absent. In the *ākshiptikā*, however, given as an example in the *R.*, both *ri* (D) and *pa* (G) are found, though they are absent in the *ālāpa* and the *karāṇa* given in that work. The final is *ma* (F).

VII. *Kaiśika*.—According to the *R.* this *rāga* contains the *kākalī* (B), the other notes being the usual ones. The *Ś.* also says the same (see above). In the inscription, however, we find the *antara* (E) instead of the *gāndhāra* (Eb). The final is *pañchama* (G). In group 4, l. 33, we have *amimarē* which is a mistake, probably for *apamarē*, since nowhere else in the inscription does the same note occur consecutively.

It will thus be seen that there are discrepancies in the three works as to the nature of the *rāgas*. Even in the days of Maṭaṅga, a writer previous to Śārṅgadēva, the author of the *S. R.*,

¹ The *ālāpa* and *karāṇa* given in the *S. R.* agree with this, but the *ākshiptikā* does not. Further the *grāha* or initial note is said to be the *shādja* of the *tāra* octave (the highest of the three octaves). In the examples it is the *shādja* of the *mandra* (lowest) octave, probably a misprint.

² In the *Bhāratīya-nāṭya-sāstra* the *antara* and the *kākalī* are described as weak notes to be used under great restriction, and that they can never occur as finals. If we examine the inscription we find that this rule apparently holds good here also (see Sections IV, V, VI) except in Section VII. Even in this section it will be noticed that these notes are not the absolute finals (*nyāsas*) but only *apanyāsas* (intermediate resting notes), the real final of the *rāga* being the *pañchama*.

such discrepancies existed, as can be seen from certain quotations from that author which have come down to us. But on the whole the inscription agrees more with the *Nāradi-sikshā* than with the *S. R.*, which must be explained, I think, by the former work representing an earlier period of music. Further, the author of the *S. R.* consulted works on music from *various parts of the country* (see below), before writing about the music of an older period than his own, and he made a selection of definitions—on what principle we do not know. The music in the inscription, on the other hand, must have been current at the time of its composition in the district in which the inscription is found. We have seen that this music is in much better agreement with the *Nāradi-sikshā* than with the *S. R.*, which was influenced by musical treatises of different parts of the country (see the introductory *ślokas* and frequent references to the Southern Indian music in the *S. R.*). Mr. Chinnuswami Mudaliar in his *Oriental Music* says that the Southern Indian Music is founded on the teachings of Nārada, whereas that of Northern India rests on the basis of Hanūmat's teachings.¹ Mr. Mudaliar gives no authority for his statement; perhaps it is a tradition. If so, the better agreement of the inscription with the *Nāradi-sikshā*, which we have noticed, would seem to lend colour to it, though a similar comparison with the treatise of Hanūmat (which is no longer extant) is necessary before one can make a definite statement. Of course, this refers to olden times. The more modern Indian music from the 16th century onwards has been greatly influenced by the music of the Arabs, in all parts of the country.

This treatise, according to the colophon, was composed by some king, who was the pupil of Rudrāchārya. It is impossible to say whether this Rudrāchārya be the same as Rudraṭa mentioned by Maṭaṅga (*vide S. R.*, p. 82).

SECTION I.

सिद्धम् ।² नमः (।) शिवाय(ः) ॥

मध्यमग्रामि चतुश्चहारस्वरागमाः

| | | | | |
|---|-------------------------|-------------|-----------------------|-----------|
| 1 | सनेपुंस | गिनेगिस | नेधुनेस | सुपुनेस |
| | मिरगिस | रुंगेनुंसुं | सगिनेस | नेमुपेसुं |
| | मिगनेस | पेमुनेस | रमिगसे | धुनेगिस |
| | नेपुनेस | पिमपिसे | गधुनेस | मुनेपु |
| 2 | नपेरुंगे | मिगरिग | नेसरगि | धुनेरगि |
| | सगिनेगुं | पेमुंरगि | [मुं]पेरुंगे | गिसरगि |
| | सनेरगि | रुंगेनुंगे | पिगरिग | नेपुंरगि |
| | सुंगेरुंगे | गरिमिग | पिनेरगि | सेरमिग ॥ |
| 3 | पुंस[मुं]पे | गिसनेपुं | नेसनेपुं | मनिमपि |
| | धु[ने]मुपे | समुनेपुं | निमनिप | रेगमुपे |
| | ³ धुस[नि]पुं | मिधुनेपुं | सधुनेपुं ⁴ | नेसमुपे |
| | गुपेमुपे | सगिनेपुं | नेधुनेपुं | गिसमुपे ॥ |

¹ Of course, this is to be understood to mean that the two authors have recorded the music of their respective provinces.

² The *akṣhara* सु and the vertical stroke after it are entered below the line. The headings are all written in the left-hand margin.

³ धु seems to be corrected from सि.

⁴ Originally धु was engraved in place of ने.

| | | | | |
|---|--|---|---|---|
| 4 | नेपुंधुने निमप'नि मिगसेतु सनेधुने | मुंसधुने नेसधुने सेगसेतु [मुं]गिधुने | रगिधुने मुनेधुने गसेमुने निमधेन | गिसधुने समिधुने पुंसगुने पेसुंगिने |
| 5 | मुंसपेमुं नेगिसमि धेसनेमुं रगिसेमुं | गिनेसमुं मुपेसमि गसेपिम नेसनेमुं | नेमिसमि रगिपेमुं सुगेसुमं निसेपिमं | सधुनेमुं गिसपेमुं मिधुनेमुं रुमेगुमे |
| | समाप्ता[:*] [स्व][रागमा:* | | | |

SECTION II.

षड्भ्यामे चतुष्पद्वारस्वरागमाः

| | | | | |
|----|--|---|---|---|
| 6 | सगि'धेस गिनेधुसे समुंगिस रुगेधुसे | सुंरुगेसुं पुंसधेस पुंधुनेस धिमगेसुं | मिगधेस पेनपेसुं नेरगिस सपुं[धेसु] | धेसेपेसुं सगिपेसुं धिनेपुंस नेपुंगिस ॥ |
| 7 | सुंरुगेरुं पुंनेगिर धेसगिर धुनेसरि | गेधुसुंरे धेसनेर पिसेगिर नेपुंसेर | गिधेगिर धिमगेरुं पुंगिधेरुं धेरुंगिर | गसेगिर रधेगिर न[पे]गिर गिरधेरुं ॥ |
| 8 | गुपेरुगे धुसेरगि रुगेसुगे धुसेमिग | गिधेरगि सपेरुगे पिसेरगि नेपुंसेग | सधेरगि मिरमिग समिरगि धिपसुगे | धेसुंरगि धेगिसगि [धे]गिरगि गपेसुगे ॥ |
| 9 | नेपुंरपि मुंधेनपे पुंसनेपुं पसेगपि | पुंधुनेपुं रगिनेपुं धेनगुपे धुसेगपि | गिधु[नेपुं] गिरनेपुं [सरं]गिपे धेसगुपे | नपेगुपे नेसरपि पिरगुपे गिसगुपे ॥ |
| 10 | धुनेपुंधे गुपंधे धुसुगेधुं सुंरुगेधुं | गपिगधे पिसेगधु पेसुंन[धे] गेसुंगेधुं | गिसनेधु सेगनेधु रगिपुंधे सगिपुंधे | [नेपुं]गिधे समिगधे पिरगिधे मिर[गिधे] ॥ |

¹ प is corrected from पि.

² The ग is preceded by an ङ-mātrā in addition to the ङ-mātrā.

| | | | | |
|------------------------|---|--|---|--|
| 11 | நெகிபுநி புங்கிபெந புங்குசெநு பு[நு]புநெ | புசுபுநெ பெகிபெந ரெகசெநு கபிபெந | கிபுங்குநெ கிபுசுநெ கிசுகிநெ பெசுகிநெ | சுபுங்குநெ ர[பெ]சுநெ கசெபுநெ பிபுங்குநெ ॥ |
| 12 | குநபெமும் கும்செமும் கிங்கும் பிரெகமி | சுகி[பெ]மும் கிசு[பெ]மும் கும்பெமும் மும்பெமும் | கிபெசுமி நெசபெமும் கபுநெமும் ரெகபெமும் | செரகம்மி சுரெகமி மிபெமும் சுபுங்கும் ॥ |
| சமா[சா][: சுவராகமா:]*] | | | | |

SECTION III.

பாடவே சதுஷ்ரஹர்ஸுர[ர*]கமா:

| | | | | |
|----------------------|--|---|--|---|
| 13 | சபுநெச கும்பெ[சு] மும்புசெ பெநரிசெ | மும்புநெச மும்சுபெச ரபுநெச மும்பெசெ | நெபுரசெ அமிபெசும் பெமர்ரிச சும்புசெ | மிநெபுச ரிசபுசெ ரிபெரிச மிரபுசெ ॥ |
| 14 | கும்பெசரி அமிபெர நெபுசெர புநெசெரி | பெநபெகும் பும்சும்பெகும் மும்பெசரி பெகும்மிர | மிரபெகும் மும்சும்பெகும் சும்[பெ]கும் மிரமெகும் | சரிபெகும் ரிசபெகும் பிபெமெர ரமிசெர ॥ |
| 15 | மும்சுரெபும் சநெமும்பெ செ[ர]மும்பெ மும்பெநபெ | சும்பெநபெ [கும்]மெநபெ நபெமும்பெ ரிசநெபு | சபுநெபு மிரநெபு பெமெநபெ நெமும்பெ | ரிசமும்பெ செமும்பெ மி[ர]மும்பெ சபெமும்பெ ॥ |
| 16 | நெபுநெ[மும்] புநெபெ பபிபெம பும்பெநமும் ¹ | ரிபெநமும் [அ]பிபெமி [ரெ]சுபெம நபெபெ | மபிபெமி மும்பெ புநெபெ மிபுசெமும் | புசெபிபெமி பிபெசெமும் பிபுபெம பெ[கும்பெ] ॥ |
| சமாச[ர: சுவராகமா:]*] | | | | |

¹ The & sign which is attached to this letter is probably due to a mistake.

SECTION IV.

साधारिते चतुष्पहारस्वरागमाः

| | | | | |
|----|--|---|--|---|
| 17 | सपुंकेस कसिपेस पुंभुकेस मैरपेसुं | मुंघेपुंस सुंरुपेस मैरुमेसुं मिरक[सि] | धेपुंकेस धेरुपेस मिसेरसे अमिरसे | रिसपे[सुं] रिधेपुंस रपुंकेस पुंघेर[से] ॥ |
| 18 | सेपुंघेरुं उंमैसुंरे पुंघेमिर मिरसुंरे | समैसुंरे धसिधेर धे[पुं]घेरुं सुंरुमे[र] ¹ | मिसेधुरे धेरधेरुं मिपुंघेरुं धि[म]धेर | पुंघेसरि सधेसरि सधेमिर धेपुंसरि ॥ |
| 19 | धेसपुंघे सुंरुसधे रपुंसेधु सेरपुंघे | पुंकेसधे रिसेसधे केरि[प]धे रुंघेपुंघे | सपुंसधे मिरसेधु मुंसपुंघे सधेपुंघे | रिसपुंघे केसपुंघे धिरेपंधि मिरपुंघे ॥ |
| 20 | पुंसधेमं संधेरुपे ² [सि]पुंघेपुं मि[रे]धेपुं | धेसधे[पुं] रुंघेरपि धेसरुंघे केसधेपुं | मएधिप धेरुंघेपुं उंमुंघेपुं अमिरुंघे | रिसधेपुं मएमपि धिपरेपुं मुंस[धे]. ² |
| 21 | पुंसधेमं सधेउंमै [पि]एम सधुसेम | मिरसेमुं रिसधेमं सुरेधिम पुंकेसमि | सेमुंअमि पुंघे[स]मि रेपुंघेमं मैसुंघेमं | अमिसेमं धेपुं . . ³ मि[सुं]धेमं धि . [सुं] ⁴ |

SECTION V.

पञ्चमे चतुष्पहारस्वरागमाः

| | | | | |
|----|--|--|---|--|
| 22 | पुंनेधुसे समिरसे सधेरिसं नरुपेसुं | रपिमसे धुनेमिस नेपुंरिस नेरमिसे | पिमपेसुं नेसपेसुं पुंसेरसे धुरपि[सि] | ने[उं]मैसुं रिसमैसुं धिअमिसे मिअमै[सुं] ॥ |
|----|--|--|---|--|

¹ The letter in brackets may possibly be ह'.

² The stone is here broken. The missing letter must be a variant ए, probably पुं ; after it, the usual symbols of punctuation (see above).
Stone damaged here.

³ The stone is here mutilated. The letter immediately following धि may possibly be ने. The usual words ending a section (see above) are also wanting.

| | | | | |
|----|--|---|--|--|
| 23 | मुपेसरि रुडंमैरुं धेनपेरुं रंनपेरुं | नेमुपेरुं मधेनरि रिसमैरुं धेन[मै]रुं | सधुनेर नेधुनेर मपिमरे पिअमिरि | पिमसेर पिरसेर पुंधुनेर स[उं]मैरुं [॥*] |
| 24 | पंमुरमि पिरपेमुं रुपेसुमै सेरअमि | रुमैउमै पिमसेमुं नपेउमै रसेरमि | मपिअमि नपेरुमै मिसेरमि धुसेपिम | नेरसेमं रुधउमै नेपुनेमुं पिरसेमुं ॥ |
| 25 | धुनेसधे रधुनेधु अमिरधे से[मु]पुंधे | नधेपुंधे नेरिसधे मुपुनेधु रुमैसधे | पिरमिधु मुपेमुंधे सेरमुंधे रमिपुधे | नेपुनेधु रिसरिधे पिसनेधु धिनेमुंधे |
| 26 | नेरुधेन पुंरधुने ¹ [र]मिधेन मुपुंधेन | उमुंधेन सुरिधेन रिपुंधेन धेरुंसने | रिसधुने पेमुंधेन धेरुंधेन धिपुंधुने | रनेधुने मिरधुने रुडंमैन सरिधेन ॥ |
| 27 | [र] ² एमपि मपिरेपुं [र]मिउपे रिपुनेपुं | मैउमुपे ने[उं]मुपे रुनमुपे धेरुनपे | रिसनेपुं रुपेउपे मिअमपि सुपमपि | रधुनेपुं धिएमपि धेनरिपे र[ने]मं[]पे ³ |

SECTION VI.

कैशिकमध्यमे चतुष्पञ्चारस्वरागमाः

| | | | | |
|----|--|---|---|--|
| 28 | समुंकेस रि[स]केस धुंसेरिस [सुं]रुंकेस | मुंधेकसि सुंमैधसि धेरिकेस मिरकेस | धेमुंकेस धेमुंकेस रिसरेंस रमिकेस | मिरमिसे अमिकेस सं'रि'केस मै[सि].. |
|----|--|---|---|--|

Originally रि was written and then corrected to र.

also possible.

² Stone broken. The missing portion must be the usual punctuation.

³ Originally सुं was written and then corrected to सं.

⁴ The form of this letter is somewhat abnormal. It is possibly धं.

| | | | | |
|----|--|---|--|--|
| 29 | धिमसरि सकेसरि धुकेसरि संपंमंरं | धेरिसरि मुंधेमिर केसधेरं रमिधे[रं] | रुंधेसरि के[स]मिर रिकेसरि रिधंमंरं | सरिसुरं मिकेसरि धेरसरि सके .. |
| 30 | धुकेसधे केसमंधे समंसधे धिरमधि | मि[संमं]धे उमंस[धे] धिएमधि धेरंसधे | मधिसधु रिधेसधे धेसमंधे मुंकेसधे | सेकुसेधु सउमंधे सुंधेसधे मधि .. |
| 31 | संमंरंमं समंधेमं [रं]मंधेमं मधिरंमं | रिसधेमं केसधेमं सधेरंमं धंमंरंमं | केसउमं धिमएम रिकेसमु ¹ मिकेसमु | धुरंसंमं धुसेधुम धेकसिमं धे[स] .. |

SECTION VII.

केशिके चतुष्पहार[स्व]रागमाः

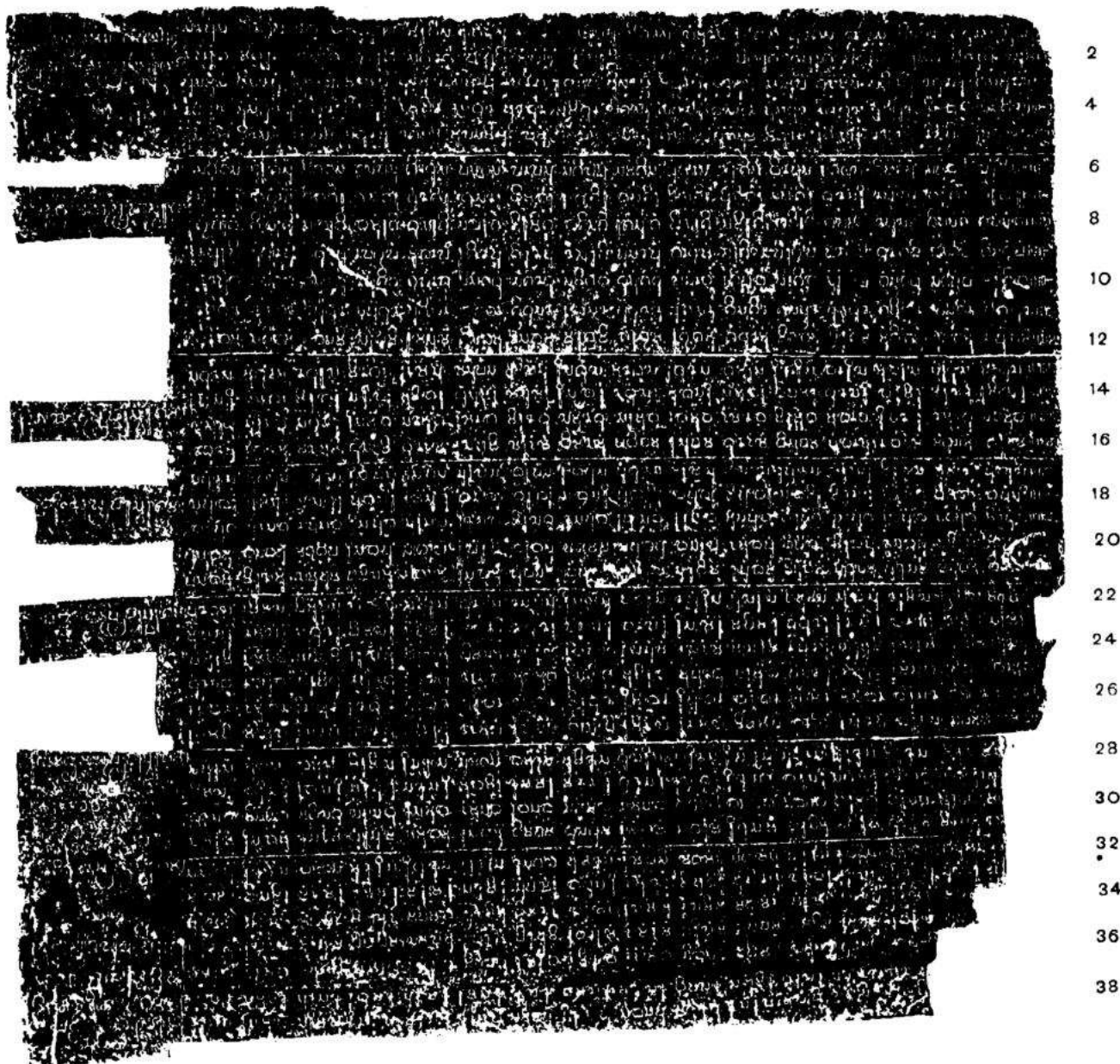
| | | | | |
|----|---|---|---|--|
| 32 | सउमंसं रिधुकेस रुंमंधसि केसरिस | रिकेरिस धुकेरिस मंधेमंसं उमंधेस | धेमंधेस केसधुसे सिधमंसं धिसुमंसं | मुंकेरिस अमिकेस सकेरिस क[सि] .. |
| 33 | मुंधेमिर मिरमंरं उमंकेर [के]रसरि | पिसेमि[र] सकेमिर मिअधिर मिसधिर | मंडमंरं सुमंपंरं अपिसर संपंसु[रं] ² | अमिमर धेपंसरि पेरंधे[रं] म[पि] .. |
| 34 | [सं]रं उं मपिमए रसेमिअ रपमए | सिधमंडं धु[से]मि[अ] कुसेमिअ रुंडमंडं | मंध[मंड] धि[मके]उं मिअमंडं मस .. | मिअकेउं धेरुमंडं मंरं[मंड] |
| 35 | सेकुसेमं सेमपेमं उमंरुमं उमं[धे]मु | रपेउं[मं] रपंरु ³ मं सरिपेमं रिधेरु[मं] | [सुरंसु]मं पिरे[अ]मि धिपएम अपिए ⁴ . | पिएपिम रुंधसंमं एमपिम |

¹ Possibly मं.

² Possibly रं.

³ Possibly रं or रु.

⁴ This wanting letter must be a variant of म.



No. 8.—CONJEEVERAM PLATES OF KRISHNADEVA-RAYA: SAKA 1444.

By S. V. VENKATESWARA AYYAR, M.A., AND S. V. VISWANATHA, M.A., KUMBHAKONAM.

These plates were obtained by us on loan from the present head of the Śāṅkarāchā: Maṭha of Conjeeveram together with six other grants belonging to the Maṭha. The grants examined by us may be enumerated as follows :—

(1) Grant of a village Ambikāpuram by Vijayagandagōpāla to Śrī Śāṅkarārya. Language Sanskrit. Characters Grantha. Astronomical data for 1291 A.D.; edited *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XI No. 8 (the present inscription).

(2) Grant of a village Krishnarāyapuram by Krishṇadēva-Rāya of Vijayanagara Chandrachūḍa Sarasvatī, disciple of Mahādēva Sarasvatī. Language Sanskrit. Characters Nandināgarī. Date Śaka 1444 (1521 A.D.).

(3) Grant of a village Udayambākam by Krishṇadēva-Rāya to Sadāśiva Sarasvatī, disciple of Chandrasekhara Sarasvatī. Language Sanskrit. Characters Nandināgarī. Date Ś. 1450 (1527 A.D.).

(4) Grant of land by Vijayarāṅgachokkanātha Nāyaka, son of Raṅgakṛishṇa Muthuvira Nāyaka, to Chandramaulīśvara Svāmin. Language Telugu and Sanskrit. Characters Telugu. Date Śaka 1630 (1707 A.D.).

(5) Grant of a village by Mahādēva Sarasvatī, disciple of Chandrasekhara Sarasvatī (originally given to the Maṭha by Akkanna Mādanna of Gōlkonḍa), to Rāma Śāstrin. Language Telugu and Sanskrit. Characters Nandināgarī. Date Śaka 1608 (verified as 1687 A.D.).

(6) Grant of a village Kuḍiyāntaṇḍal by Śrī Nṛsiṃharāya of Vijayanagara to Mahādēva Sarasvatī, disciple of Sadāśiva Sarasvatī. Language Sanskrit. Characters Nandināgarī. Date Śaka 1429 (1506 A.D.).

(7) Grant of a village Eluchuvi by Śrī Nṛsiṃha to the same donee as in (6). Language Telugu and Sanskrit. Characters and date the same.

No. 2, the Conjeeveram grant of Krishṇadēva-Rāya, has been engraved on three copper plates bored at the top and secured by a ring, attached to which is a seal bearing the Vijayanagara emblem of a boar, the Sun and the Moon on the upper half and some writing on the lower half.¹ The plates are in good preservation.

The plates measure 9·6" by 7·2", except in the middle which is 11·9" long on account of the arch at the top. The ring has a diameter of 2·6" and the seal of 1·3". The holes through which the ring passes have a diameter of ·65". All the plates have raised rims. The writing which runs across the breadth of the plates, is quite legible except in some places bordering the rims. The first and third plates are engraved only on one side, the second on both sides. Only the sides of the plates bearing inscriptions are ruled. The inscription contains 102 lines all excluding the signature. The height of each line is about $\frac{1}{4}$ " on the average. But the letters are larger in the signature, and smaller in a few places where there are erasures—viz. in lines 69-71, 82, 86-89.

The language is Sanskrit, and the whole inscription is in verse, excepting the opening invocation of Gaṇeśa. The metres used are the usual Anuṣṭubh, Śārdūlavikrīḍita, Sādharaṇa, Dōḍhaka and Śālinī. The poetry is of a low order. The characters of the inscription are Nandināgarī, except the signature at the bottom, which is in Kannaḍa characters. The inscription has several orthographical peculiarities. Stops are not supplied in their proper

¹ The letters denote, perhaps, the name of the king, as in the seal attached to the Kūṇiyūr plate Venkṛta II. The legend on that seal is read Śrī Venkṛtāy by Professor Hultzsch, (*Madras Epigraphical Report*, 1891, p. 6).

places. Instances of this have been pointed out in the text. Here and there we find the confusion of long and short *i* and *u*. We have =*praticihim disam=āsrītam*, l. 87, for *praticihim disamāsrītam*; *disi sthītam*, l. 88, for *disi sthitaṁ*; *pratyūha-*, l. 51, for *pratyūha-*; -*purvakaṁ*, l. 85, instead of -*pūrvakaṁ*. In the third plate *i* and *u* are represented only by a loop over the consonants. There is a redundant *anusvāra* previous to the double consonants *nya* and *nya*, e.g. *puṇṇyair=*, l. 7, for *puṇyair=*; =*avaṁṇyām=*, l. 28, for =*avanyām=*; -*dānāṇny=*, l. 30, for -*dānāny=*; -*hiraṇṇya-*, l. 85, for -*hiraṇya-*. We have instances of redundant *anusvāra* before other consonants in -*ākhyāṇm=*, l. 79, instead of -*ākhyām=*, and -*saṁyuktamāikabhōgyaṁ*, l. 81, for -*saṁyuktamēka. bhōgyaṁ*. *Visargas* are very often left out. If in some places they are wanting, they are superfluous in others. The letters *ya*, *va*, *pa*, *ta* and *na* assume forms which are capable of passing easily one into another. There is confusion between the letters *śa*, *sha*, *sa*. We have *nijavasē*, l. 16, for *nijavasē*; *turuskam*, l. 18, for *turushkam*; =*asēshēshu*, l. 34, for =*asēshēshu*; -*shisaya-*, l. 81, and -*shīśya-*, l. 82, for -*śīśya-*. We find the use of *ṭa* for *ṭha* in *jātapratishṭān=*, l. 53. The termination for the imperfect and the pluperfect 3rd person singular is omitted in a few instances, thus *vyatānī*, l. 20, instead of *vyatānīt*; =*akārshī*, l. 30, instead of =*akārshīt*. In l. 36 we have -*dhārōḥkaṁṭitā* instead of -*dharōtkanṭhitā*. Such forms occur in the plates of Venkata I and II. As in the Viḷupāka grant of Venkata I¹ for instance, a conjunct consonant is expressed by combining the full form of the first with the secondary form of the second consonant. This is specially noticeable in the case of *rya*. In certain cases, however, the *r* sign is written over the line. *Nna* and *ṇna* are invariably expressed by adding the *anusvāra* before the consonants *na* and *ṇa*. Instead of double consonants only one of the consonants is written in some cases, thus =*udabhūtasām=*, l. 12, instead of =*udabhūttasām=*; *nivṛityai*, l. 33, instead of *nivṛittyām*; -*rajaśūshya-*, l. 35, for -*rajaśūshya-*; *datavān=*, l. 85, instead of *dattavān=*.

The inscription records the grant of the villages *Kṛishṇarāyapuram* and *Kātapattu* by *Kṛishṇadēva-Rāya* of the second Vijayanagara dynasty, who was at the time encamped on the banks of the river *Kṛishṇā*. The donee is *Chandrachūḍa Sarasvatī*,² the head of the *Conjeeveram Maṭha*,³ reputed to have been founded by the great *Śaṅkarāchārya*. In the line of apostolic descent *Chandrachūḍa* was the disciple of *Mahādēva Sarasvatī*. He is styled *Śivachētas* (having his mind devoted to *Śiva*), *yatirāja* (prince among ascetics) and *dhīmat* (philosopher). He is also described as an expounder of the *śāstras*, as living at *Conjeeveram*, and as a great exponent of the doctrine of *māyā*. It may therefore be inferred that the donee was a teacher of the *Śaṅkarāchārya maṭha*. This is supported by the terms of the grant, *shisayaprashīshyar- (śīshyapraśīshyair) bhōgyaṁ*, l. 81 f., i.e. the land was to be enjoyed by the donee and his descendants in the apostolic line. The religious seat of these teachers is known as *Kāmakōṭi-piṭha*, probably after the goddess *Kāmakōṭyambikā* of *Conjeeveram*. The *maṭha* itself is known as *Śārādā-maṭha* to this day.

The villages are given in perpetuity as *sarvamānya*, to be enjoyed by the donee and his descendants in the apostolic line. The grant makes it clear that the villages had clearly marked boundaries. It is interesting to observe that the king reserves no right to himself over the land thus given away. All rights of property in the land, the products on it, in it and over it belong to the donee for ever, together with any unforeseen or unearned increments that might accrue on the same. The terms of the grant display a knowledge of the technicalities of the law of property.

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, pp. 269 ff.

² *Indra Sarasvatī* or merely *Sarasvatī* is the appellation of all the *Āchāryas* of the *Kāmakōṭi piṭha* of the *Śārādā Maṭha* of *Conjeeveram*. The *Āchāryas* of the *Śrīṅgeri Maṭha* founded by one of the *Śaṅkarāchāryas* style themselves *Bhārati*.

³ See below No. 8.

The date of the grant is Śaka 1444; Svabhānu, Mārgaśīrsha, *gōdvādaśī*. There is apparently a mistake here either of the Śaka or of the cyclic year as *Svabhānu* would be Śaka 1442. Curiously enough, neither the date of the month nor the *tithi* or the *nakshatra* is given.

Kṛishṇadēva-Rāya's journey to the holy places and the gifts made by him and his brother Vīra-Nṛisimha are substantiated by various inscriptions on temple walls. An inscription at the back of the *garbhagriha* of the Śārṅgapāṇi shrine at Kumbhaghōṇam records his visit to the place and his gifts there. The stone inscriptions copied by the Epigraphical Department of Madras in 1915 record the gifts at Śrīśailām and Ahōbalam. No. 10 of 1915 records Vīra-Nṛisimha's visit to the temple of Mallikārjuna at Śrīśailām. No. 18 (of Śrīśailām) records the construction by Kṛishṇadēva-Rāya of *maṇḍapas* in the car street, his gift of certain villages to the temple, and his 'remission of tolls on *kāvāḍis*, pack-horses, bullocks, asses and head-loads.' No. 64 records the king's gifts at Ahōbalam, his presents to the god of various jewels and of the revenues of the village Madūru in Chāṅgala-mari-sima. The *tulāpurusha* ceremony performed by the king is also mentioned in stone inscriptions (see Madras Epigraphist's Report, 1914-15, p. 109). The king's lavish gifts at the Tirumala temple attracted the greed of the Portuguese governor of Goa in 1545. In some of these places we find also statues of the king, his queens and ministers. At Tirumala are bronze statues of Kṛishṇadēva-Rāya and his queens, the king with his characteristic cap 'of brocade in fashion like a Galician helmet covered with a piece of fine stuff all of fine silk,' as described by Domingo Paes, having on either side his favourites, the courtesan Chinnādēvi, whom he afterwards made his queen, and a princess of Orissa, whom he likewise married. The figures are reproduced in Mr. Gangoly's *South Indian Bronzes* (p. 60 and pl. LXXIV). A stone image of the king was set up at Śrīśaila by the viceroy of that place, along with one representing the viceroy himself (Inscription No. 14 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1915).

The king's patronage of literature is mentioned in l. 91 and is too well known to need dwelling upon. Cf. Archaeological Survey Report, 1908-9, p. 185.

Various places are mentioned in the grant. These are Kṛishṇarāyapuram, Kāṭapaṭṭu, Chandragiri, Mūtukāvu, Cheṅgaḍu, Nivvālūr, Cheṅgōḍe, Kāñchūr, Akkāli-Vēlūru, Sēdamaṅgala, Poḍavūr, Śīruvāka, Paruṇḍūr, Koṭṭavāka and Śīruvallūr. Of these localities we are able to identify the following :—

Kṛishṇarāyapuram, which goes still by the same name, is situated to the south of Conjeeveram and is about 30 miles from it. It is a place of some historical importance, being the scene of the battle of Wandiwash.

Kāṭapaṭṭu is easily identified with Kātpāḍi which is now a railway station—a junction in the Madras and Southern Mahratta Railway.

Chandragiri¹ is well known by the same name in modern times. The Rāja of this locality sold Madras to the English in 1639.

Kāñchūr is the same as Kāñchivākkam situated 17 miles to the east of Kāñchī.

Vēlūr is the Vellore cantonment in North Arcot District.

Poḍavūr and Śīruvāka are villages 15 miles north-east and 7 miles north of Conjeeveram, respectively.

Paruṇḍūr is situated nine miles to the north of Poḍavūr. Near it runs a canal called Kutirākārpallam which is about 40 miles in length. Near this place is reported to be the scene of the battle of Pollilore which was fought during the course of the second Mysore War. Between Paruṇḍūr and Pollilore there are tombs of English generals who seem to have taken part in the war.

Koṭṭavāka is a small village situated 12 miles north-east from Kāñchī and quite close to Paruṇḍūr.

¹ A district of the Vijayanagara kings with its capital at Chandragiri. Cf. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III, pp. 119 f.

Śiruvallūr is a mile¹ to the south from Paruṇḍūr.

Sēdamaṅgala is perhaps the same as Samudramaṅgala, a small village near Conjeeveram. [There is a Sēdamaṅgala about 8 miles E. of Pōḍavūr.—H. K. S.]

Most of these places are now agricultural centres in the North Arcot and Chingleput districts.

Of the names occurring in the plates the most interesting are those of the donee and his guru. The names occur in the *Guruparamparā* of the Conjeeveram Maṭha, extracts from which must be interesting in this connection.

चन्द्रशेखरयोगीन्द्रः विद्यानाथयतिर्महान् ।

* * * * *

इमे ह्यष्ट स्मृताः शिष्याः श्रीविद्यातीर्थयोगिनः ।

शंकरानन्दयोगीन्द्रः पूर्णानन्दस्तथैव च

महादेवश्च तच्छिष्यः चन्द्रशेखर एव च ॥

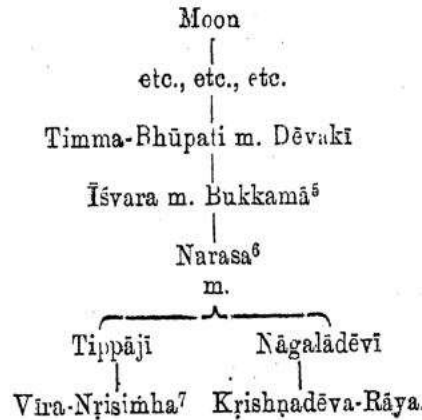
The *Guruparamparā-stava* gives us further information.

श्रीपूर्णानन्दमौनोन्द्रं नेपालनृपदेशिकं ।

अव्याहवस्वसंचारं संश्रयामि जगद्गुरुं ॥

Bühler in the *Inscriptions from Nepal*² mentions a certain Svāmin of South India, named Somaśekharaṇanda, who went to Nepal in 1503 A.D. The Svāmin referred to must be either the donee of our grant or his guru's guru Pūrṇānanda *alias* Chandrachūḍa.³ The earliest of the āchāryas of this Maṭha referred to in Epigraphy is Śrī Śaṅkarārya mentioned in the copper-plate grant of Vijayagaṇḍagōpāla. Tradition ascribes the foundation of the Maṭha to Śaṅkarāchārya, the famous teacher of Advaitism, who installed there his disciple's disciple Sarvajña.⁴

The kings mentioned in the grant, Vira-Narasimha and Krishṇadēva-Rāya, were tolerant sovereigns, as they made gifts to the temples of both Viṣṇu and Śiva. The genealogy of the Vijayanagara kings, as we learn from the plates, is as follows:—



¹ [About 6 miles on the map.—H. K. S.]

² P. 40.

³ The Pūrṇānanda of the *Guruparamparā* will then be a surname of the Chandrachūḍa of our grant. The identification is supported by a copper-plate of Virā-Nṛisimha which we are preparing for a later issue of the *Ep. Ind.*

⁴ For the contemporaneity of Sarvajña *alias* Sarvajñātman, author of the *San̄kshēpasārīraka*, and the Chōla king Āditya I see Mr. Venkateswara Ayyar's note in the *Ind. Ant.*, 1914, p. 238.

⁵ The names of Īśvara and Bukkamā are found also on stone inscriptions recently copied by the Epigraphist (Madras). See his Report for 1913-14, p. 100.

⁶ Narasa-Nāyaka usurped power in 1503-4.

⁷ Virā-Nṛisimha is here also styled Nṛisimbēndra. Our plate makes it quite clear that Krishṇadēva-Rāya began to rule only after Nṛisimha was dead. This agrees with the statement of Nuniz.

The signature attached to the grant is *Śrī Virūpākṣha*, the name of the tutelary deity of the Vijayanagara kings. Virūpākṣha is the king of the Nāgas and the guardian of the western quarter. Professor Grünwedel considers it probable that he is the Buddhist form of Śiva (*Buddhist Art in India*, p. 43). But the term simply means 'one with various eyes' (*rivi dhāni ravi-chandr-āgni-rūpāni akṣhāni yasya sah*) and has always been characteristic of Śiva. Cf. *Tryambaka*, 'having three eyes,' a Vedic epithet of Śiva, who is invoked for protection against death. Śiva is connected with the Nāgas in various ways, being called *Nāgābharana*, 'having a serpent as his ornament,' *Nāgēndrakundala*, 'having serpents on his ear-lobes,' *Nāganātha*, 'lord of serpents,' etc. As lord of the Nāgas, he was naturally regarded as the guardian of the western quarter, as snakes abound in the sea, and the sea lay to the west of the Aryans in the Panjab. The Vijayanagara kings were worshippers of Nāgas and of Śiva as *Nāganātha*. Their queens not only set up *nāgakals* in the temples which they attended, but they had their own special female *nāga* deity, such for instance as was discovered by the Archaeological Survey, Madras, near the Kōṇḍarāma temple at Vijayanagara (see Report, 1914-15, p. 38). The temple of Virūpākṣha is now known as the Pampāpati temple and is still regarded as the most ancient and holy temple there. The annual festival of the god attracts forty or fifty thousand people (*ibidem*, p. 37).

The name of the composer is not given in the inscription. Perhaps his name was Urukavi [which may, however, mean simply 'great poet.'—H. K. S.]. But a blank in the next line may well be filled with the word *Sabhāpati*, the famous rhymester of the Rājā's court. In fact the metre requires it. If so, Urukavi was another name for *Sabhāpati* or a title assumed by him. The engraver of the inscription was Virapāchārya,¹ son of Mallāṇa, whose descendants continued hereditary engravers of grants to the third Vijayanagara dynasty as well.

TEXT.²

First Plate.

- 1 श्रीगणाधिपतये नमः [1*] ³नमस्तुंगशिरसुविचंद्रचामरचार-
- 2 वे । त्रैलोक्यनगरारंभमूलस्तंभाय शंभवे ।(॥) [१*] ³हरेर्ज्ञीलावरात-⁴
- 3 स्य दंष्ट्रादंडः स पातु वः । हेमाद्रिकलशा यत्र धात्री च्छत्रश्रियं द-
- 4 धी ।(॥) [२*] ³कल्याणायास्तु तद्वाम प्रत्नूहतिमिरापहं । यद्गजोप्यगजो-
- 5 झूतं हरिणापि च पूज्यते ।(॥) [३*] ³अस्ति क्षीरमयाद्देवैर्मथ्यमानान्म-
- 6 हांबुधेः । नवनीतमिवोद्भूतमपनीततमो महः ।(॥) [४*] ⁵तस्यासीत्तन-
- 7 यस्तपोभिरतुलैरन्वर्थनामा बुधः ।(॥) पुंस्त्वेरस्य⁶ पुरुरवा भुजव-
- 8 लैरायुर्द्विषां निवृतः । तस्यायुर्नहुषोस्य तस्य पक्षो युष्ते यया-
- 9 ति⁸ क्षितौ ।(॥) ख्यातः(ः)स्तस्य तु तुर्वसुर्वसुनिभ⁹ ओदेवयानीपते¹⁰ ।(॥) [५*]
- ³तहं-
- 10 शे देवकोजानिहिदीपे¹¹ तिंमभूपतिः । यशस्वी तुलुवेद्रेषु यदोः

¹ See *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 237.

⁴ Read °वराहस्य.

⁷ Read °रायुर्द्विषां.

¹⁰ Read °पतेः.

² From the plates.

⁵ Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

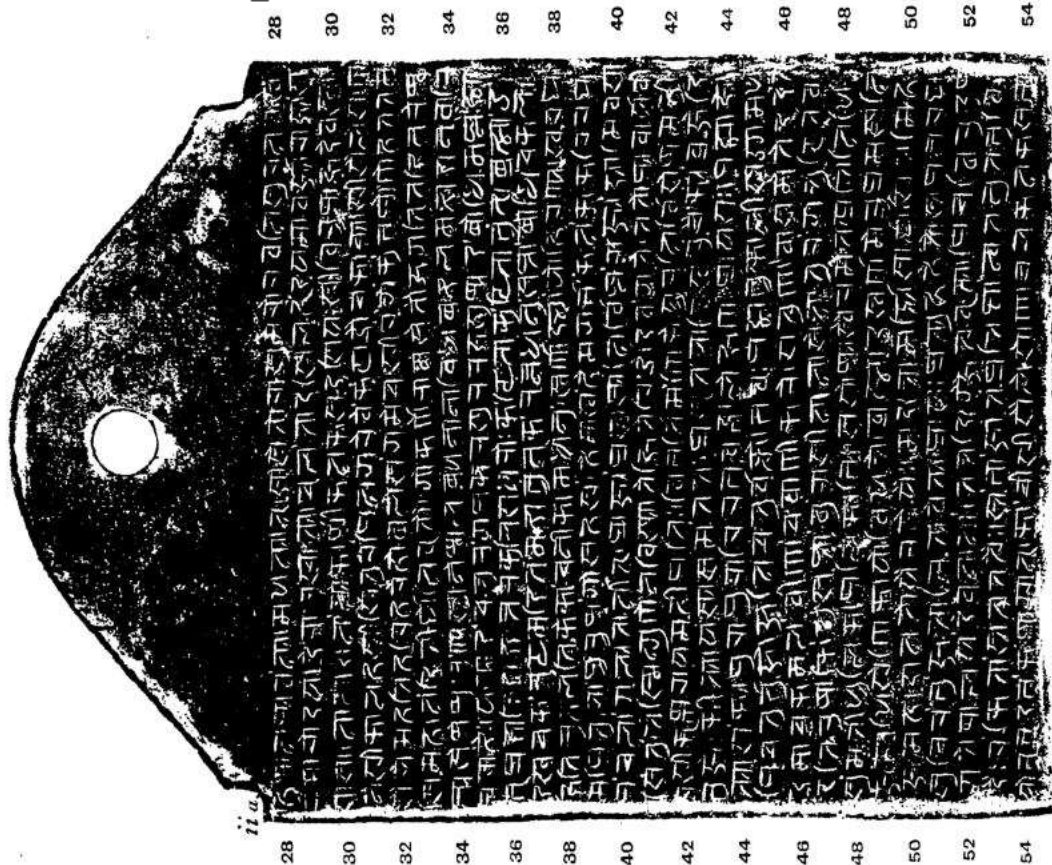
⁶ Read ययातिः.

¹¹ Read °जानिहिदीपे.

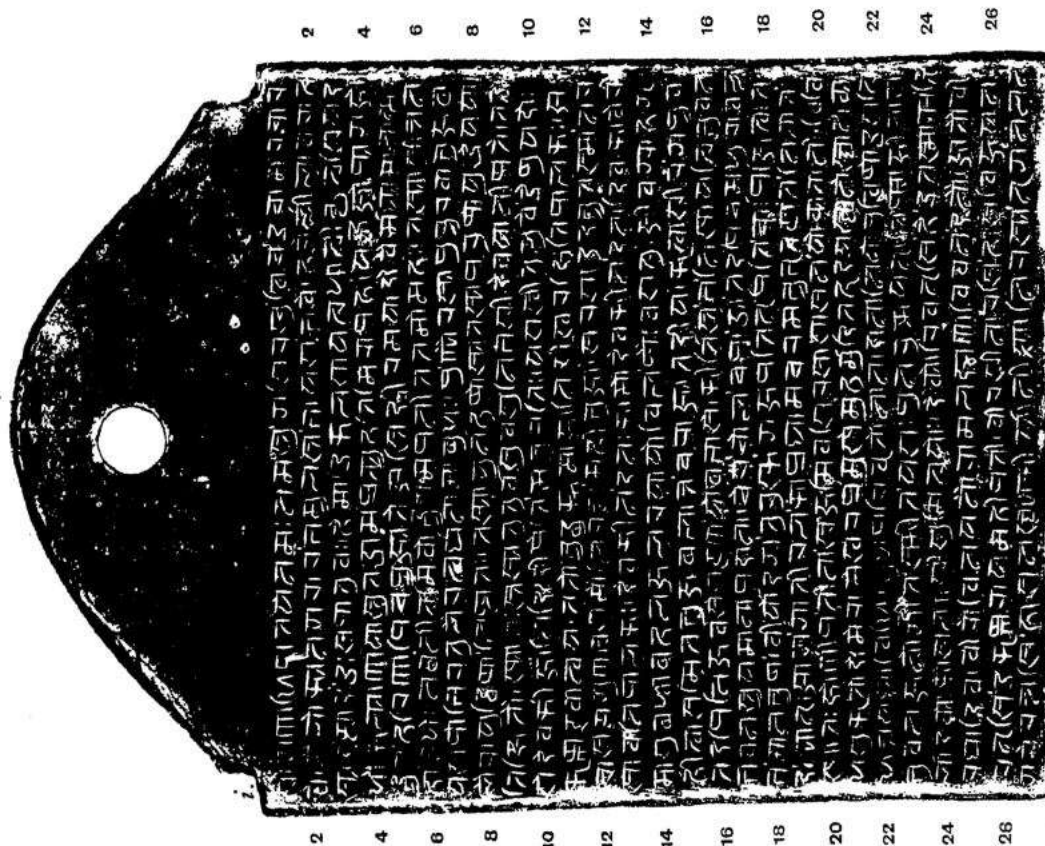
³ Metre: Anuṣṭubh.

⁶ Read पुंस्त्वेरस्य.

⁹ Read °निभः.



28 30 32 34 36 38 40 42 44 46 48 50 52 54



2 4 6 8 10 12 14 16 18 20 22 24 26

iii.

ii b.

- 11 ಕೃಷ್ಣ ಇವಾನ್ವಯೇ 1(II) [೬*] ¹ತತೋಭೂತಕುಮಾರಾನಿರೀಶ್ವರಚ್ಛಿತಿಪಾಲಕಃ । ಅ-
 12 ಲಾಸಮಗುಣಭೃಂಶಂ ಮೌಲಿರತ್ನಂ ಮಹಿಭುಜಾಂ 1(II) [೭*] ¹ಸರಸಾದುದಭೂತಸ್ಥಾನರ-
 13 ಸಾವನಿಪಾಲಕಃ । ದೇವಕೀನಂದನಃ ಕಾಮೋ ದೇವಕೀನಂದನಾದಿವ 1(II) [೮*] ³ಕಾವೀರೋ-
 14 ಮಾಶು ಬಧ್ವಾ⁴ ಬಹಲಜಲರಯಾ⁵ ಯೋ ವಿಲಂಘ್ಯೈವ ಶತ್ರುಂ (I) ಜೀವಗ್ರಾಹಂ ಗು-
 15 ಹಿತ್ವಾ ಸಂಮಿತ⁶ ಭುಜಬಲಾತ್ಸಂಚ ರಾಜ್ಯಂ ತದೀಯಂ । ಕೃತ್ವಾ ಆರಂಗಪೂರ್ವಂ
 16 ತದಪಿ ನಿಜವಸೇ⁷ ಪೃಥುಂ ಯೋ ಬಭಾಸೇ (I) ಕೀರ್ತಿಸ್ತುಂಭಂ ನಿಖಾಯ ತ್ರಿಭುವನ-
 17 ಭವನಸ್ತುಯಮಾನಾಪದಾನಃ [1*] ॥ [೯*] ³ಚೇರಂ ಚೋಲಂ ಚ ಪಾಂಡ್ಯಂ ತದಪಿ⁸
 ಚ ಮಧುರಾವಹ-
 18 ಭಂ ಮಾನಭೂಷಂ (I) ವೀರ್ಯೋದ್ರಂ ತುರುಷ್ಕಂ⁹ ಗಜಪತಿನೃಪತಿಂ चापि जित्वा त-
 19 द[1]न्यान् । आ गंगातीरलंकाप्रथ(1)मचरमभूभृत्तटांतं नितान्तं
 20 ख्यातः क्षोणीपतीनां सजमिव शिरसा शासनं यो व्यतानी¹⁰ 1(II) [१०*]
¹¹विवि-
 21 धसुकृतोद्देशे¹² रामेश्वरप्रमुखे मुहुर्मुदितहृदय¹³ स्थाने स्थाने व्य-
 22 धत्त यथाविधि । बुधपरिवृतो नानादानानि यो भुवि षोडश त्रि-
 23 भुवनजनोद्गीतं स्फುटितं यशಃ ಪುನರುಕ್ತಯನ್ । (II)[११*] ¹⁴ತಿಪ್ಪಾಜಿನಾಗ-
 24 ಲಾದೇವ್ಯೋ¹⁵ ಕೌಸಲ್ಯಾಶ್ರಿತುಮಿತಯೋಃ । ದೇವ್ಯೋರಿವ ನೃಸಿಂಹೇ¹⁶ ತಸ್ಮಾತ್ಪಂಕ್ತಿ-
 25 ರಥಾದಿವ 1(II) [१२*] ¹⁷ವೀರೋ ವಿನಯನೋ¹⁸ ರಾಮಲಕ್ಷ್ಮಣಾವಿವ ನಂದನೋ । ಜಾತೋ
 ವೀ-
 26 ರನೃಸಿಂಹೇ¹⁹ ದ್ರಕ್ಷಣರಾಯಮಹಿಪತೋ 1(II) [१३*] ¹⁰ವೀರಶ್ರೀನಾರಸಿಂಹಃ ಸ ವಿಜಯನ-
 27 ಗರೇ ರತ್ನಸಿಂಹಾಸನस्थ(1): कीर्त्या नीत्या निरस्य²⁰ नृगनलन-

Second Plate; First Side.

- 28 ಹುಷಾನಪ್ಯವನ್ಯಾಮಧನ್ಯಾನ್²¹ । ಆ ಸೇತೋರಾ ಸುಮೇರೋರವನಿಸುರನತಸ್ತೇ-²²
 29 ರಮಾ ಚೌದಯಾದ್ರೇಶಾ ಪ[1]ಶ್ಚಾತ್ಯಾಚಲಂತಾದಿಖಿಲಹೃದಯಮಾವರ್ಜ್ಯ²³ ರಾಜ್ಯಂ ಶ-
 30 ಶಾಸ ॥ [१४*] ¹⁰ನಾನಾಡಾನಾನ್ಯಕಾರ್ಪಿ²⁴ ಕನಕಸದಸಿ ಯಃ ಶ್ರೀವಿರೂಪಾಕ್ಷದೇವಸ್ಥಾ-
 31 ನೇ ಶ್ರೀಕಾಲಹಸ್ತೋತ್ತರಪಿ ನಗರೇ ವೆಂಕಟಾದ್ರೌ ಚ ಕಾಂಚ್ಯಾ । ಶ್ರೀಶೈಲೇ ಶೋಣ-
 32 ಶೈಲೇ ಮಹತಿ ಹರಿಹರೇಹಿಬಲೇ ಸಂಗಮೇ ಚ ಆರಂಗೇ ಕುಂಭಕೋಣಿ ಹತತಮ-

¹ Metre: Anushtubh.

⁴ Read ಬಧ್ವಾ.

⁷ Read ಽವಶೇ.

¹⁰ Read ಽತಾನೀತ್.

¹³ Read ಽಹೃದಯಃ.

¹⁶ Read ಽಸಿಂಹೇಂದ್ರಾತ್.

¹⁹ Metre: Sragdharā.

²² Read ಽನುತಸ್ತೇ.

² Read ಽತಸ್ಮಾತ್.

⁵ Read ಽರಯಾಂ.

⁸ Read ತಮಪಿ.

¹¹ Metre: Harinī.

¹⁴ Metre: Anushtubh.

¹⁷ Metre: Anushtubh.

²⁰ Read ನಿರಸ್ಯನ್.

²³ Read ಽಚಲಾನ್ತಾ.

³ Metre: Sragdharā.

⁶ Read ಸಮಿತಿ.

⁹ Read ತುರುಷ್ಕಂ.

Read ಽತೋದ್ದೇಶೇ.

¹⁵ Read ಽದೇವ್ಯೋಃ.

¹⁸ Read ವಿನಯಿನೋ.

²¹ Read ಽಪ್ಯವನ್ಯಾಮಧನ್ಯಾನ್.

²⁴ Read ಽದಾನಾನ್ಯಕಾರ್ಪಿ.

- 33 सि महानंदितीर्थे निवृत्त्यै¹ ।(॥) [१५*] ²गोकर्णे रामसेतौ जगति
तदितरेष्व-
34 प्यसेषेषु³ पुंस्थस्थानेष्वालम्बनानाविधिवहलमहादानवारि-
35 प्रवाहैः । यस्योदंचतुरंगपकरखुररजशुष्यदंबोधिमन्नः क्ष्मा-
36 भूमच्छाच्छिदाहत्तरकुलिशधरोःकण्टिता⁴ कण्टिताभूत् ।(॥) [१६*] ⁵ब्रह्मांड
37 दिश्वचक्रं⁵ घटमदितमहाभूतकं⁶ रत्नधेनुं सप्तांबोधिं च^{6a} कल्प-
38 क्षितिरुहलतिके काचनीकामधेनुं⁷ । स्वर्ण(र)क्ष्मां यो हिरण्यश्वरथ-
39 मपि तुलापूरुषं⁸ गोसहस्रं हेमाश्वं हेमगर्भं कनककरिरथं
40 पंचलांगल्यतानीत् । (॥) [१७*] ⁹प्राज्यं प्रशास्य निर्विघ्नं राज्यं द्यामिव शा-
41 सितुं । तस्मिन्गुणेन विख्याति क्षितेरिन्द्रे दिवं गते । (॥) [१८*] ¹⁰ततोप्य-
वार्यवी-
42 र¹⁰ श्रीकृष्णरायमहीपतिः । बिभर्ति मणिकैयूरनिर्विशेषं म[ही]
43 भुजे । (॥) [१९*] ¹¹कोत्या¹² यस्य समंततः प्रसृतया विश्वं रुचैक्यं ब्रजेदि-
44 त्याशंक्य¹³ पुरा पुरारिरभवद्भालिक्षणः प्रायशः । पद्माक्षो-
45 पि चतुर्भुजोजनि चतुर्वक्त्रोभवःपद्मभू¹⁴ कालो खड्गमधा-
46 द्रमा च¹⁵ कमलं वीणां च वाणो करे ।(॥) [२०*] ¹⁶शत्रुणां¹⁷ वाममेते
ददत
47 इति रुषा किं नु सप्तांबुराशी¹⁸ नानासेनातुरंगवृष्टितव-
48 सुमतीधूलिकापल्लिकाभिः¹⁹ । सशोथ²⁰ स्वैरमेतद्यतिनिधि-
49 जलधिश्चेणिका यो विधत्ते (॥) ब्रह्मांडस्वर्णमेरुप्रमुखनि-
50 जमहादानतोयैरमेयैः ।(॥) [२१*] ¹⁶महत्तामर्थिसात्थ²¹ श्रियमिह
51 सुचिरं भुंजतामित्यवेत्य प्रायः ²²प्रत्युहहेतोस्तपनरथ-
52 गतेरालयं देवतानां । तत्तद्विरजैवहत्यापि^{22a} च विरुदप-
53 दैः(ः)रंकितांस्तत्र तत्रैः²³ (॥) स्तंभां²⁴ जातप्रतिष्ठान्वतनुत²⁶ भुवि
54 यो भूष्टदभ्रंकषाग्रान् ।(॥) [२२*] ¹⁶कांचीश्रीशैले²⁶ शीणाचलकनकसभा-

1 Read निवृत्त्याम्.

2 Metre: Sragdharā.

3 Read °प्यसेषेषु पुण्य°.

4 Read यस्योदंचतुरङ्गपकरखुररजःशुष्यदंबोधिमन्नक्ष्माभूत्पञ्चिदीयत्तरकुलिशधरोत्कण्टिताकण्टिता°.

5 Read विश्वचक्रं.

6 Read घटमुदित°.

6a Read सप्ताम्बोदीश्व.

7 Read काचनीं का°.

8 Read °पूरुषं.

9 Metre: Anushtubh.

10 Read °वीर्यं.

11 Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

12 Read कौल्यां.

13 Read °शङ्कर.

14 Read °भवत्पद्मभूः.

15 Read च.

16 Metre: Sragdharā.

17 Read शत्रुणां.

18 Read °राश्रीशैले°.

19 Read पल्लिकाभि

20 Read संशोथ.

21 Read °साध्याः.

22 Read प्रत्युह

22a Read °वृत्त्या°.

23 Read तत्र.

24 Read सप्ताम्बान्.

25 Read °ठान्व्यतनुत.

26 Read °शैले°.

Second Plate ; Second Side.

- 55 ವೆಕಟಾದ್ರಿ(ಃ)ಪ್ರಮುಖ್ಯವಾವರ್ತ್ಯಾವರ್ತ್ಯ ಸವಪ್ಪತುನ¹ ವಿಧಿವಜ್ಞಯಸೆ
 56 ಶ್ರೇಯಸೆ ಯಃ । ದೇವಸ್ಥಾನೇಷು ತೀರ್ಥೇಷ್ವಪಿ ಕನಕತುಲಾಪೂರಪಾದಿ-
 57 ನಿ ನಾನಾದಾನಾನ್ಯವೋಪದಾನೇರಪಿ ಸಮಮಖಿಲೇರಾಗಮೋಕ್ತಾ-
 58 ನಿ ತಾನಿ ।(II) [೨೩*] ²ರೋಷಕತಪ್ರತಿಪಾರ್ಥಿವದಂಡ³ (I) ಶಿಷಭುಜ⁴ ಚಿತ್ತಿರ-
 59 ಚಣಶೌಡ⁵ । ಭಾಷಿಗೇತಪ್ಪುರಾಯರಗಂಡ(I)ಸ್ತೋಷಕದರ್ಶಿಷು ಯೋ
 60 ರಣಚಂಡಃ ।(II) [೨೪*] ⁶ರಾಜಾಧಿರಾಜ ಇತ್ಯುಕ್ತೋ ಯೋ ರಾಜಪರಮೇಶ್ವರಃ । ಸ್ತು-
 61 ರಾಯರಗಂಡಶ್ಚ ಪರರಾಯಭಯಂಕರಃ ।(II) [೨೫*] ⁷ಇಂದುರಾಯಸುರತ್ನಾಣಿ^{8a}
 62 ದುಷ್ಪಶಾರ್ದೂಲಮರ್ದನಃ । ವೀರಪ್ರತಾಪ ಇತ್ಯಾದಿಬಿಹದೇಶ್ಚಿತ್ತೇ-
 63 ರ್ಯುತೇಃ⁷ । (II) [೨೬*] ⁹ಅಲೋಕಯ ಮಹಾರಾಯ ಜಯ ಜೀವೇತಿ ವಾದಿಭಿಃ । ಅಂ-
 64 ಗವಗಕಲಿಂಗಾದೈ ರಾಜಭಿಃ ಸೇವ್ಯತೇ ಚ ಯಃ ।(II) [೨೭*] ¹⁰ಸ್ತುತ್ಯೈ-
 65 ದಾರ್ಯಃ[*] ಸುಧಿಭಿಸೌ⁹ ವಿಜಯನಗರೇ ರತ್ನಸಿಂಹಾಸನस्थಃ ।(I) ಕ್ಷಮಾ-
 66 ಪಾಲಾನ್ ಕೃಷ್ಣರಾಯಚಿತ್ತಿಪತಿರಧರೋಕ್ತತ್ಯ ನಿಯತಾ ನೃಗಾದಿ-
 67 ನ್ । ಆ ಪೂರ್ವಾದ್ರೇಶಾಸ್ತಚಿತ್ತಿಧರಕಟಕಾದಾ ಚ ಹಿಮಾಚಲಾಂ-
 68 ತಾದಾಸೇತೋರರ್ಥಿಸಾರ್ಥಶ್ರಿಯಮಿಹ ಬಹುಲೋಕ್ತತ್ಯ ಕೋರ್ತ್ಯಾ ಸಮಿಧೇ ।(II) [೨೮*]
 69 ¹¹ಶಾಲಿವಾಹನನಿರ್ದೋಷಶಾಸ್ತ್ರೇ¹⁰ ಗಣಿತೇ ಕ್ರಮಾತ್ । ಸಹಸ್ರೇಣ ಚತುಃ(ಃ)ಶ್ವತ್ವಾ-
 70 ರಿಂಶತಾ ಚ ಚತುಃಶತೈಃ । (II) [೨೯*] ¹²ಸ್ವಭಾನುವತ್ಸರೇ ಮಾಸಿ ಮಾರ್ಗಶೋರ್ಷಕ-
 ನಾಮನಿ ।
 71 ಕೃಷ್ಣವೇಣಿತಟೇ ಶುಭ¹¹ ಗೋದಾದಶ್ಯಾಂ ಮಹಾತಿಥೌ ।(II) [೩೦*] ¹³ಮಹ[1*]ದೇವಸರ-
 ಸ್ವತ್ಯಾಃ[ಶಿಷ್ಯಾಯ*]
 72 ಶಿವಚೇತಸೇ । ವ್ಯಾಖ್ಯಾತಾಖಿಲಶಾಸ್ತ್ರಾಯ ವಿಖ್ಯಾತಾಯ ಮಹಾತ್ಮನೇ ।(II) [೩೧*]
 73 ¹⁴ಕಾಂಚಿಪುರನಿವಾಸಾಯ ಮಾಯಾಬಾಧಾಂಭುಧೋದವೇ¹³ । ಚಂದ್ರಚೂಡಪರಸ್ವತ್ಯೈ
 74 ಯತಿರಾಜಾಯ ಧೀಮತೇ ।(II) [೩೨*] ¹⁵ಚಂದ್ರಗಿರ್ಯಾಖ್ಯರಾಜ್ಯಸ್ಯಂ ಸ್ಮೃತುಕಾವ್ಯಾಪನು-¹⁴
 75 ಗಂ । ಚೆಂಕಾಡುಕೋಡಕಾಂಶಸ್ಯಂ ನಿಬ್ಬಲನೌಡುಕೇ ಸ್ಥಿತಂ ।(II) [೩೩*] ¹⁶ಚೆಂಗೋಡೆಗ್ರಾಮಕಾ-
 76 ವ್ಯಾಚ್ಯಂ ಕಾಂಚು(ಚ್ಚ)ರೋರಪಿ ದಕ್ಷಿಣಂ [1*] ಗ್ರಾಮಾದಕಾಲಿವೇಲೂರನಾಮಕಾದ-
 77 ಪಿ ಪಶ್ಚಿಮಂ ।(II) [೩೪*] ¹⁷ಸಿದಮಂಗಲಕಾತ್¹⁵ ಗ್ರಾಮಾದುತ್ತರಸ್ಯಾಂ ದಿಶಿ ಸ್ಥಿತಂ ।
- ಕೃಷ್ಣ-
- 78 ರಾಯಪುರಂ ಚೇತಿ ಪ್ರತಿನಾಮ ಸಮಾಶ್ರಿತಂ ।(II) [೩೫*] ¹⁸ಪ್ರಾಕ್ತನಿಪೊಡವುರಾ-

¹ Read ಸರ್ವೇಷು.

⁴ Read ಸುಜಃ.

^{8a} The Hampe inscription has ಇಂದುರಾಯ.

⁹ Read ಸುಧಿಭಿಸ್ತು.

¹² Metre: Anushtubh.

¹³ Read ಕಾಡಾ.

² Metre: Dôihaka.

³ Read ಶೌಖಃ.

⁷ Read ರ್ಯುತಃ.

¹⁰ Read ನಿರ್ದೋಷ.

¹³ Read ಧೋದವೇ.

⁵ Read ದೃಷ್ಟಃ.

⁶ Metre: Anushtubh.

⁸ Metre: Sragdharā.

¹¹ Read ಶುಭ.

¹⁴ Read ಕಾವ್ಯಾಪನು.

- 79 ख्यामाश्रित¹ ग्राममुत्तमं । सर्वमान्यचतुःसीमासंयु-
80 तं च समंततः । (II) [३६*] ²निधिनिक्षेपपाषाणसिद्धसाध्यज-

Third Plate.

- 81 लानिनत³ । अक्षिण्यागामिसंयुक्तमैकभोग्यं⁴ सभूरुहं । (II) [३७*] ⁵पिंस-
82 यप्रशिष्यभोग्यं⁵ क्रमादाचंद्रतारकं । [*] दानस्याधमनस्यापि धिक-
83 यस्यापि चोदितः । [*] [३८*] ⁶परीतः प्रयते⁷ स्निग्धे पुरोहितपुरोगमैः ।

वि-

- 84 विधैर्विबुधैः श्रौतप्रतीकैरधिकैर्गिरा⁷ । (II) [३९*] ⁸कृष्णदेवमहारायो मा-
85 ननीयो मनस्विनां । सच्चिरंखपयाधारापूर्वकं⁹ दत्तवानि[ह ४०॥*]
86 ¹⁰[ए]तद्भामियराज्यादिनाडीकोठसमन्वितं¹⁰ । शिरुवाक्रमहारायामात्रा-
87 च्यां दिशि विराजितं । (II) [४१*] ¹¹परुंडुरभिधायामाप्रतिचिं¹¹ दिशमा-

श्रीतं । कोट्ट-

- 88 वाकाह्वयग्रामाहक्षिण्यां दिशी¹¹ स्थितं । (II) [४२*] ¹²शिरुवा[न]क्रमग्रामा-
89 दुदोचि¹² दिशमाश्रितं । काटपट्टभिधानं च ग्रामरत्नं प्रदत्तवान् ॥ [४३*]
90 ¹³तदिदमवनीवनीपगवितितुधरायुस्स¹⁴ कृष्णरायस्य । शा-
91 ¹⁵सनमुरुकविभवनिवह(निवह)निदानस्य भूरिदानस्य । (II) [४४*]
92 ¹⁶कृष्णदेवमहारायशासनेन [सभापतिः ।*]¹⁵ ¹⁶अभाणीमृदुसंदर्भं तदिदं तां-
93 ब्रशासनं^{16a} । (II) [४५*] ¹⁷कृष्णदेवमहारायशामनास्समन्वितः । [*] त्वस्ता¹⁷
94 श्रीवीरणाचार्यो वालखत्तात्रशासनं¹⁸ । (II) [४६*] ¹⁸दानपालनयोमये
95 दानाच्छ्रेयोनुपालनं । दानात्स्वर्गमवाप्नोति पालनादच्युतं प-
96 दं । (II) [४७*] ¹⁹स्वदत्ताद्रिगुणं¹⁹ पुण्यं परदत्तानुपालनं । परदत्तापहा-

रेण

- 97 स्वदत्तं निष्फलं भवेत् । (II) [४८*] ²⁰स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा यो हरेत वसुंध-
98 रां । षष्टिवर्षसहस्रणि विष्टार्या जायते किमि²⁰ । (II) [४९*] ²¹एकैव²¹

भगि-

¹ Read °ख्यामाश्रितं.

⁴ Read °युक्तमैकभोग्यं सभूरुहम्.

⁷ Read श्रौतपथि°.

¹⁰ Read °वाङ्मात्रातौचौ° दिशमाश्रितं.

¹³ Metre: Āryā.

¹⁴ The Hampe inscription has °वनीवनोपकवितुधरायस्य; see *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 306; cf. also *Ep. Car.*

^{15a} Read °सुरुकवि.

Vol. VII, p. 3.

¹⁶ Cf. the corresponding passage in the Shimoga plates, *Ep. Car.*, Vol. VII, p. 3.

¹⁸ Read °अभाणीमृदु°.

^{16a} Read ताम्.

¹⁷ Read त्वष्टा.

¹⁸ Read व्यलिखताम्°.

¹⁹ Read °द्रिगुणं.

²⁰ Read कृमिः.

²¹ Read एकैव.

- 99 नी लोके सर्वेषामेव भूभुजां । त¹ भोज्या न करग्राह्या विप्रद-
 100 ता वसुंधरा ।(॥) [५०*] ²सामान्यो³ धर्मसेतुर्नृपाणां काले काले
 पाल-
 101 नीयो भवद्भिः । सर्वानेतान्माविनः पार्थिवद्राभूयो⁴ भूयो या-
 102 चते रामचद्रः⁵ ।(॥) [५१*]

श्रीविरूपाक्ष⁶

TRANSLATION.

(ABRIDGED.)

- (Verse 1.) Invokes Śambhu,
 (V. 2.) the Varāha (Boar) incarnation of Vishṇu and
 (V. 3.) Gajānana.
 (Vv. 4 and 5.) Trace the descent of the family from the moon, through Budha, Purūravas, Āyus, Nahusha, Yayāti, and Turvasu.
 (V. 6.) Of the line of Turvasu was king Timma, the husband of Dēvaki, who shone in glory among the Tuluva chieftains as Kṛishṇa did among the Yadu race.
 (V. 7.) To him was born, of his wife Bukkamā, Īśvara, the protector of the earth, a crest-jewel among the lords of the earth, flawless and unrivalled.
 (V. 8.) King Narasa was born to him. He was born of Dēvaki,⁷ as Kāma was from the son of Dēvaki (Kṛishṇa).
 (V. 9.) Narasa built a bridge across the Kāvērī in the teeth of the foe, defeated the (Chōla) king, took him captive and wrested the kingdom from him. He then captured Śriraṅgapaṭṭana and planted a pillar of victory there.
 (V. 10.) He defeated the kings of Chēra, Chōla and Pāṇḍya, Mānabhūsha, the Lord of Mathurā,⁸ the fierce Turushka, the Gajapati king (of Orissa) and others. He made all kings from Laṅkā to the banks of the Ganges, and from the first to the last mountain,⁹ bear his commands on their heads like a garland of flowers.
 (V. 11.) His gifts in Ramēśvaram and other places.
 (Vv. 12 and 13.) To that king were born, of Tippāji and Nāgalādēvi, the sons Virā-Nṛsiṃhēndra and Kṛishṇarāya, who were brave yet well behaved, as Rāma and Lakshmaṇa were born to Paṅktiratha (Daśaratha) of Kausalyā and Sumitrā.
 (V. 14.) The brave śrī Nārasimha, seated on his jewelled throne at Vijayanagara, eclipsed in fame and policy other kings of the world like Nṛiga, Nala, Nahusha. Brāhmaṇas from Sētu to Mēru praised him obeisance. He ruled his kingdom between the eastern and western mountains, drawing to him the hearts of all people.

¹ Read न.

² Metre: Śālinī.

³ Read °न्योयं.

⁴ Read °वन्दान्भूयो.

⁵ Read °चन्द्रः.

⁶ In Kanarese letters.

⁷ [The Hampe inscription and many others read देवकीनन्दनारकानो (not, as here, °नन्दनः कानो), and this must be right, as the reading of this inscription introduces a second Dēvaki as wife of Īśvara, whose wife Bukkamā is well known and has been mentioned in l. 11 — H. K. S.]

⁸ This seems to be a better rendering than that of Messrs. Gopināth Rao and Rāghavayya (in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, p. 340), who consider the Pāṇḍya king to be the same as Mānabhūsha. The passage lends support to the view that there were more than one Pāṇḍya prince ruling simultaneously in the Pāṇḍya country, or that Madura was under a separate ruler who was as strong as the Pāṇḍya king himself. The titular kings of the Pāṇḍyas were doubtless eclipsed by the growing power of the Nāyakas and Pālayagars in the 16th century

⁹ This probably means 'from the eastern to the western ghats' (see verse 14 below).

(Vv. 15 and 16.) He made various gifts at Kanaka-Sadaś¹ (Chidambaram), Virūpāksha, Kālahasti, Veṅkaṭādri (Tirupati), Kāñchi, Śrīśaila, Śoṇaśaila (Arunagiri), the great Harihara, Ahobala, Saigama, Srīraṅga, Kumbhaghāṇa, Mahānanditīrtha, Nivṛitti, Gōkarṇa, Rāma-sētu² and other holy places.

(V. 17.) Praises of the king.

(V. 18.) When that king, famous for his virtues, went to heaven, as it were, to rule there after having ruled his large kingdom without any difficulties,

(V. 19.) Kṛishṇarāya of irresistible might bore the rule of the earth on his arm as if it were a jewelled bracelet.

(Vv. 20-22.) Praises of Kṛishṇarāya.

(V. 23.) His gifts at Kāñchi, Śrīśaila, Śoṇāchala, Kanakasabha (Chidambaram), Veṅkaṭādri (Tirupati) and other places.

(Vv. 24-26.) His *virudās*.

(V. 27.) The kings of Aṅga, Vaṅga, Kalinga, etc. paid him homage.

(V. 28.) His praises.

(Vv. 29-32.) In the Śaka year 1444, according to the Śālivāhana reckoning, in the year Svabhānu, in the month of Mārgaśīrsha, on the Gōdvādaśī day (is made the gift) on the banks of the Kṛishṇavēṇī river, to Chandrachūḍa Sarasvatī, the talented and high-souled saint, the disciple of Mahādēva Sarasvatī, a devotee of Śiva, the famous commentator on all the *śāstras*, an expert in Māyāvāda (the doctrine of Māyā), who is resident in Conjeeveram.

(Vv. 33-36.) The place granted is Old Poḍavūr,³ otherwise known as Kṛishṇarāya-puram, in the Mūtukāvu-puttu in Nivvalūr-nāḍu in Cheṅgāṭṭu-kittakam, (which is a division of) Chandragiri country. It is bounded by Cheṅgōḍu village on the west, Kāñchūr on the north, Akkālivēlūr on the east, Sēdamangulam on the south.

(Vv. 36-40.) Nature and description of the grant. All rights to the land are given by Kṛishṇadēva-Rāya in perpetuity, on the advice of the learned men of his court.

(Vv. 41-43.) He also gives the village Kāṭapattū, bounded by Śīruvāka village on the west, Paruṇḍūr on the east, Kōṭṭavāka on the north, Śīruvallūr on the south.

(Vv. 44 and 45.) The composer of the grant was Urukavi (*alias* Sabhāpati).

(V. 46.) The engraver of the grant was Virapāchārya, son of Mallana.

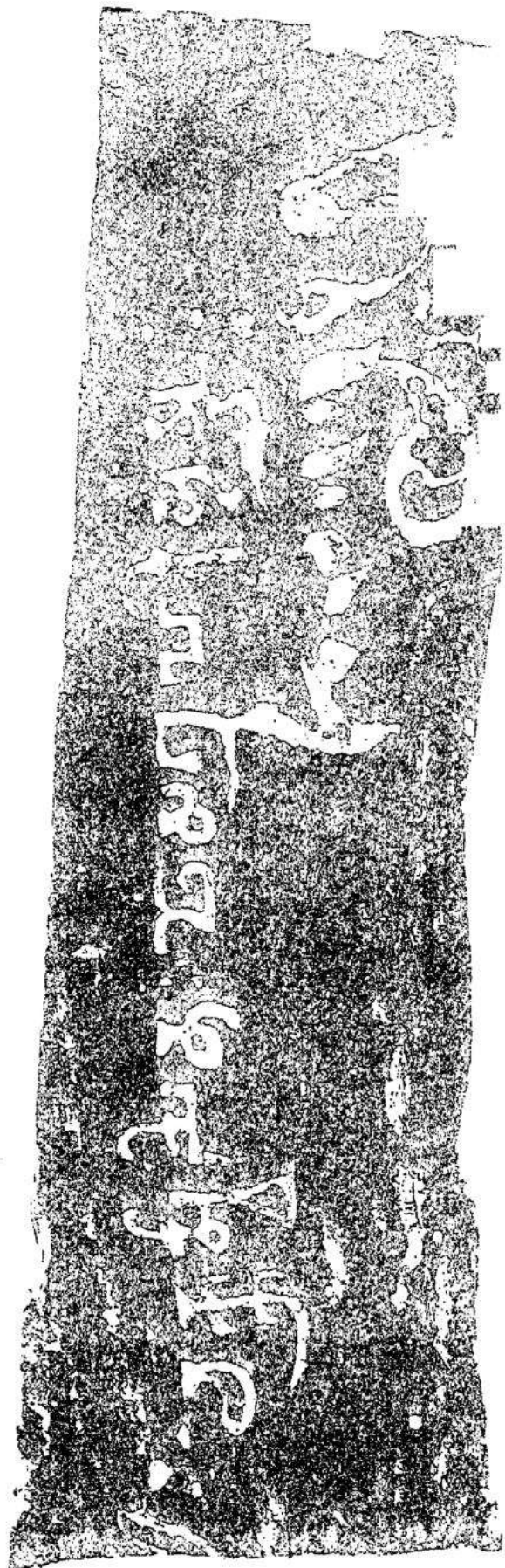
(Vv. 47-51.) The usual imprecatory verses.

The signature Śrī Virūpāksha in the Kannaḍa alphabet.

¹ Kanaka-Sabhāpati is one of the names of Natarāja at Chidambaram.

² Probably the modern Dhanushkōṭi, which is still known as *Sētu*. Or it may mean Rāmēśvaram, the famous place of pilgrimage in the Rāmnāḍ District. It could hardly be either Darbhāṣayanam or Navapāshanam a few miles from Rāmnāḍ, though these places are known as *Ādisētu*. Could the composer have meant Rāmāsētu in contradistinction to Ālisētu?

³ *Prāktani-Poḍavūr* means probably 'Poḍavūr the old'. Such distinctions are common enough. Cf. Cuddalore 'new town' and 'old town'. We are however unable to identify "New" Poḍavūr.



S. KONOW

SCALE ONE-FIFTH

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while that of the letter *ku* does not pass to the left of the vertical line representing *k*.¹ The *puḷḷi* or *virāma* is in most cases marked by a slightly curved top-stroke and, curiously enough, it is also marked on some vowels and combined consonants.² *Va* has an indenture at the bottom³ and the *akshara ya* has always a closed loop at the beginning. The central loops alone of *na* and *ṇa* are fully developed and they are engraved on a lower level than the tops of the letters.⁴ *da* is represented by a mere curve, concave at the right side, as in the Kūram grant and the Kāsākūḍi plates. The *i* sign of *vi* and *ḷi* in *viḷi* (line 3 of the 1st pillar, south face) are very peculiar, inasmuch as they are written apart from the letters to which they belong and almost on the top of the following syllables. The symbol for *u* in *lu*, *ṇu* and *tu* is a mere horizontal line slightly indentured. Being written in Tamil poetry, the record is free from Sanskrit letters and words, except when it mentions the titles of the king. The only other instance where Grantha letters are used is found in the word *paramēśvara* occurring in line 4 of A on the first pillar.

Of etymological interest is the word *Paḍāri*, which occurs in the first inscription (A) on the first pillar, (line 7). *Paḍāri* is the feminine form of *Paḍārar*, which is the Tamil adaptation of the Sanskrit word *Bhaṭāra*. In several inscriptions we meet with the form *Piḍāri* with its honorific *Piḍāriyār* which seems to be a variant of *Paḍāri*. The word, of which *Paḍāri* or *Piḍāri* is the Tamil equivalent, is *Bhaṭṭāraki*, *Bhaṭāraki* or *Bhaṭāri*. At present, the term *Piḍāri* invariably indicates a village goddess, of probably Dravidian origin. It is worth while to ascertain if it had the same significance in ancient times. In the modern temple of Śelliyammaṇ at Ālambākkam, we have some early inscriptions of the 11th century. One of them states that the temple of *Piḍāri* was constructed by a certain Irāyūr Alankārapriyaṇ alias Tiru-Oṟṟiyūraṇ (No. 704 of 1909); while two others on the same temple register gifts made to the temple of Saptamāṭṭrikas (Nos. 705 and 706). It is not unlikely that they all refer to the same temple, i.e. that on which the inscriptions are found. Similarly also the Śelliyammaṇ temple at Vēlachchēri near Madras is referred to in one of its inscriptions, which belongs to the 11th century A.D., by the name *Kālā-Bhaṭāri* (No. 317 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1911); while in another, it is called the temple of the Saptamāṭṭrikas (No. 316 of the same collection). From these references it looks as if the Saptamāṭṭrikas were known by the term *Piḍāri* or *Kālā-Bhaṭāri*. The Tanjore inscriptions of Rājārāja mention the three *Piḍāri* temples *Kālā-Bhaṭāriyār*, *Tiruvāluḍaiyāl* and *Kuduraivaṭṭamudaiyāl*. Though the first of these might refer to the Saptamāṭṭrikas, the latter two at least appear to denote village deities. Thus it is plain that in the 11th century A.D. *Piḍāri* was indifferently used to denote Aryan gods and village deities. In course of time it seems to have lost the former application. And it is worthy of note that the term *Paḍāraṇ*, *Paḍārar* or *Piḍāraṇ* has now degraded in its meaning. The original significance of this word, i.e. 'the lord or god,' is now entirely lost, as it means 'a snake charmer or snake catcher.' The change in this case can be easily accounted for by the original application of the word *Paḍāraṇ* to Śiva, who is the great snake charmer.

There is nothing in these records to show the time when the kings mentioned in them flourished or the duration of their reigns. As we have not got many Tamil inscriptions belonging to periods earlier than the 8th century A.D. to enable us to compare the characters employed in the subjoined records, palæography seems an unsafe guide to fix with any amount

¹ The *u* sign of *ku* passes to the left of the vertical stroke in the Kūram grant.

² The vowel *e* in *eṇṇeṇṇu* (line 3 of A on the second pillar), the letter *k* in *koṇḍa* (line 4 of F on the third pillar) and *t* in *tōḷ* (line 3 of H on the same pillar) bear on them the *puḷḷi* mark.

It may be noted that *va* has no curve at the bottom in the Kūram grant.

⁴ The shape of *ṇa* differs very widely from that in either of the two grants.

of certainty the date of these records. All that can still be said of them from a study of the characters is that they may be tentatively referred to the first half of the 8th century A.D.

Before noticing the achievements of Perumbidugu Muttaraiyan, which are recorded in the following inscriptions, it is necessary to add a few words regarding the family to which he belonged. The members of this family appear to have played an important part in the history of Southern India. The exact nature of their origin and the extent and development of their dominions from time to time cannot be clearly made out from the few records that speak of them. Though much of their history still remains in the dark, the little that can be gathered from the available materials is put down here.

There is but a single reference to this family in ancient Tamil literature and it occurs in the *Nāḷḍiyār*. Two stanzas here mention a certain Peru-Muttaraiyan. This name seems to be a contraction of Perumbidugu Muttaraiyan, which, as will be pointed out below, was borne by some kings of this line. The date of the poem not being known, it is not possible to say which king is here alluded to. Some commentators on the work take the word Muttaraiyan to mean 'a king whose territory included parts of the three ancient dominions of the Dekhan, viz. the Chera, Chōḷa and the Pāṇḍya.' The traditional account relating to the origin of the *Nāḷḍiyār* inclines one to the belief that the Muttaraiyans were of Pāṇḍya descent. The title *Māraṇ*, which we find connected with some of the known kings of the line, seems to lend support to this view. Even if they did not belong to the original Pāṇḍya stock, there is not much doubt as to their being a branch of them.

Paṇḍippidugu is mentioned as one of the *śiṣyas* of the early Pallava king Mahēndra-varman in two of his inscriptions,¹ and it may be observed that there is a strong affinity between this title and those borne by the Muttaraiyan family. The Tamil work *Nandikkulaṇḍayam* which describes the valorous deeds of another Pallava sovereign, viz. Nandivarman 'who gained a victory at Tellāru, Kaṇḍādu and other places,' designates him as *Vidūḷḍiḍugu*, which is actually found to be the surname of one or two Muttaraiyan kings. There are not sufficient grounds at present to decide whether the Pallavas borrowed these titles from the Muttaraiyans or lent the same to the latter. Nor do we know the circumstances which led either of the two to adopt the titles of the other. Stone inscriptions discovered so far reveal two other similar titles, viz. *Perumbidugu* and *Mārppidugu*.

The first of the inscriptions edited below may be considered as an introduction to the Tamil verses that follow inasmuch as it states that on these pillars are recorded the titles of king Perumbidugu Muttaraiyan, the places where he gained victories and the names of the poets who composed the stanzas. Three generations of kings are here given, viz. (1) Perumbidugu Muttaraiyan *alias* Kuvāṇ Māraṇ, (2) his son Ṭaṅgōvadiyaraiyan *alias* Māraṇ Paramēś-varaṇ and (3) his son Perumbidugu Muttaraiyan *alias* Śuvaraṇ Māraṇ. The subsequent verses register the military exploits of the last member. His surnames are stated to be *Śrī-Māraṇ*, *Abhināṇḍāraṇ*, *Śatrukēśari*, *Atiśāhan*, *Tamarāḷayan* and *Kaḷṇarakaḷvan*. In the body of the stanzas, *Śera-Māraṇ*, *Vēl-Māraṇ*, *Vāṇ-Māraṇ*, and *Śāṭṭaṇ-Māraṇ* are also applied to him. One of the verses on the 2nd pillar (marked B, below) states that Māraṇ was the king of Tañjai (i.e. Tanjore), and two other stanzas on the same pillar (A and C) make him the lord of Vallam, which is identical with the village of that name, 7 miles south-west of Tanjore. Thus, Tanjore and Vallam appear to have been places of importance in the dominion of Perumbidugu Muttaraiyan, and it is interesting to note that the former place, which Vijayālaya had to capture in the middle of the 9th century A.D., was included in the dominions of Perumbidugu Muttaraiyan in the 8th century A.D. The banner of the king contained the *vēl* and another weapon whose name is lost in the inscription.

¹ These records come from the cave at Trichinopoly and Pallavaram.

The following places, where the king gained victories, are also mentioned : Koḍumbālūr (also called Koḍumbai), Maṇalūr, Tiṅgaḷūr, Kāndaḷūr, Alundiūr, Kārai, Meraṅgūr, Annaḷvāyil, Śemponmāri, Veṅkōḍal in Taṇjai-Sembula-nāḍu, Puḡaḷi and Kaṇṇaṇūr.

At Kaṇṇaṇūr the arms of the king were directed against the people of Kō-nāḍu and at Tiṅgaḷūr he defeated the Tennavar, i.e. the Pāṇḍya, causing their queens to mount the funeral pile. Tiṅgaḷūr is situated 8½ miles north-east of Tanjore¹ and is celebrated as the native village of Appādi-Nāyaṇār, one of the sixty-three Śaiva devotees, who flourished in the 7th century A.D. Koḍumbālūr was a place of considerable antiquity, being the principal town in Kō-nāḍu and the capital of Iḍaṅgaḷi-Nāyaṇār and a local family of chiefs.² The part played by the chief of Koḍumbālūr in this battle is not stated. But as the people of Kō-nāḍu are represented as having been defeated at Kaṇṇaṇūr in the hill near which they are said to have taken refuge, the chief of Koḍumbālūr might be supposed to have been one of the opponents of Perumbiḍugu Muttaraiyaṇ in this battle. Kaṇṇaṇūr was the capital of the Hoysala king Vira-Someśvara in the 13th century A.D. and it has been identified with Samayaveram in the Trichinopoly taluk. It is interesting to note that the Pāṇḍya king Arikaśari Tēr-Māraṇ, the father of Neṇḷḷaḍaiyaṇ (A.D. 769-70), defeated the Pallavas at Koḍumbālūr.³ Maṇalūr mentioned in one record may be identified with a village of that name in the Tanjore District, 10 miles from Kumbakōṇam. Annaḷvāyil is a village in the Pudukkōṭṭai State. The poet's description of Kāndaḷūr shows that it adjoined the sea. It is not unlikely that the Chēras were here overcome. Śemponmāri, where Perumbiḍugu Muttaraiyaṇ is said to have gained a victory (2nd pillar, G), is referred to in the *Mahāvamsa* as having been taken by the Singhalese general Laṅkāpura-Daḍḍanātha in the war of the Pāṇḍya succession, which happened in the latter half of the 12th century A.D. It is probably situated in the Pudukkōṭṭai State. Kārai may be identified with the modern Kāraiūr, a village in the Tiruppattūr taluk of the Rāmnāḍ district. It is mentioned, in an inscription,⁴ as being situated in Kōraḷaśiṅga-vaḷanāḍu, the same division in which Tiruppattūr was.⁵ I am not able to identify the other two places. As the records of this king are not distributed over a large extent of country, which would have been the case if he had acted independently and conquered in battle the Chēra, the Pāṇḍya and the Koḍumbālūr kings, it may perhaps be presumed that he was a feudatory prince under one of the southern powers.

The verses engraved on these pillars were composed by Vēḷṇambaṇ of Pāchchil, Āchāryar Aniruddar, Iḷamberumāṇār of Kōṭṭaru and Anaruṇṇilai of Pavadāyamāṅgalam in Kilār-kūṛram.

Pāchchil⁶ was the head-quarters of a subdivision in Maḷa-nāḍu *alias* Rājāśraya-vaḷanāḍu,⁷ and it has been identified with Tiruvāṣi in the Trichinopoly district. Kilār-kūṛram was a subdivision of Nittavinōḍa-vaḷanāḍu.⁸

It may not be out of place to notice here a few kings who appear to have belonged to the same family, and to show the probable relation that existed between them. At Tirumaiyam in the Pudukkōṭṭai State there is a record of a certain Viḍēlviḍugu Viḷuppēraḍi Araisaṇ whose

¹ Sewell's *Lists of Ant.*, Vol. I, p. 279.

² *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1903, p. 87. Eight generations of these chiefs, whose last member can be assigned to the 10th century A.D., are here given as found in a record copied from Koḍumbālūr.

³ *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1903, p. 63.

⁴ No. 92 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1903.

⁵ No. 93 of the same collection.

⁶ This place is identical with Tiruvāṣi in the Trichinopoly district. Tiruvāchchirāmam and Tiruvamaliśvaram were the temples in it. *South-Ind. Inscr.*, Vol. II, Part III, pp. 284 f.

⁷ *South-Ind. Inscr.*, Vol. II, Part I, p. 60.

⁸ *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1906, paragraph 2.

other name was Śāttaṇ Māraṇ.¹ As his mother is stated to be Perumbiḍugu Perundēvi, we may take him for a probable son of No. 3 Perumbiḍugu Muttaraiyaṇ. Pūdikālari *alias* Amarūṇri Muttaraiyaṇ, referred to in a record of Pūvālaikkūḍi, is perhaps an early king of this dynasty.² A contemporary of Dantivarman of the Pallavatilaka family was a certain Mārppidugu.³ What his other name was, we do not know. Śāttaṇ Pāliyili, who excavated the cave at Nārttāmalai⁴ was also a member of this branch. He was the son of a certain Viḍēlviḍugu, who must have been different from the one already noticed, because he appears to have been the contemporary of the Gaṅga-Pallava Nripatūṅga. Later in point of time was a certain Śatrubbayaṇkara Muttaraiyaṇ, whose queen figures as donor in a record of the Pāṇḍya king Śaḍaiyamāraṇ, discovered at Śevilipēri in the Tinnevely district.⁵ Perhaps this Śaḍaiyamāraṇ is identical with Rājasiṃha-Pāṇḍya, the opponent of the Chōla king Parāntaka I. Varaguṇanāṭṭi, the daughter of a certain Viḍēlviḍugu Muttaraiyaṇ, was the queen of Śembiyaṇ Irukkuvaḷ,⁶ whose identity with the Koḍumbāḷūr chief Vikramakēśari is established in the *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1908, p. 88. As Vikramakēśari is said to have fought with Vira-Pāṇḍya, the opponent of Āditya II Karikāla, this Viḍēlviḍugu may be considered to be different from the two others mentioned above. From what has been said now, the following synchronism may be established :—

- (1) Perumbiḍugu Muttaraiyaṇ *alias* Kuvāvaṇ Māraṇ.
- (2) Ilaṅgōvadiyaṇ *alias* Māraṇ Puraṇēśvaraṇ, son of (1).
- (3) Perumbiḍugu Muttaraiyaṇ *alias* Śuvaraṇ Māraṇ, son of (2).
- (4) Viḍēlviḍuguviluppēraḍi Araisaṇ *alias* Śāttaṇ Māraṇ, contemporary of Nandivarman, a probable son of (3).
- (5) Mārppidugu, contemporary of Pallavatilaka Danti.
- (6) Viḍēlviḍugu, contemporary of Gaṅga-Pallava Nripatūṅga.
- (7) Śāttaṇ Pāliyili, son of (6).
- (8) Śatrubbayaṇkara Muttaraiyaṇ, contemporary of Śaḍaiyamāraṇ.
- (9) Viḍēlviḍugu Muttaraiyaṇ, contemporary of Vikramakēśari.

Several traces of the rule of this family exist in the Tanjore and Trichinopoly districts as well as in the Pudukkōṭṭai State. Some of the inscriptions of the Chōla king Rājarāja I (A.D. 985-1013) mention a place called Mārppidugudēvi-chaturvēdimāṅgalam in Rājēndrasimha-vaḷanāḍu,⁷ evidently called after one of the queens of Mārppidugu. The big well at Tiruveḷḷarai called Mārppidugu-Peruṅgiṇaru was constructed between the 4th and 5th years of Dantivarman.⁸ Records of Parāntaka I found at Ālambākkam show that there was, in ancient times, a tank called Mārppidugu-Śri in that village.⁹ Ālambākkam itself was called Dantivarmamaṅgalam.¹⁰ An inscription of Danti discovered at Tiruveḷḷarai makes mention of Mārppidugu-Ilaṅgōvēḷ,¹¹ who should have been an officer under Mārppidugu. At Uyyakkōṇḍāṇ-Tirumalai

¹ No. 402 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1906.

² No. 142 of the same collection for 1907.

³ The reasons for considering Mārppidugu as a feudatory of Danti are set forth in my paper on the Tiruveḷḷarai well inscription, *above*, Vol. XI, pp. 154 ff.

⁴ No. 365 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1906.

⁵ No. 421 of the same collection for 1906.

⁶ She makes a grant to the temple at Kuḍumiyāmalai in the 8th year of the reign of Parakēsarivarman (No. 337 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1904).

⁷ *South-Ind. Inscr.*, Vol. II, Part III, p. 325.

⁸ *Above*, Vol. XI, pp. 155 ff.

⁹ No. 714 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1909. It is also referred to in the records of Rājakēśari-varman and Parakēsarivarman, some of which may be earlier than the time of Parāntaka I.

¹⁰ *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1910, paragraph 14.

¹¹ No. 88 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1910.

and a few other places in the Trichinopoly district there was in use in ancient times a weight called *Vidēlvidugu-kal*.¹ The naming of places, wells, tanks and weights, such as here noticed, cannot but point to the sway of the members of the Muttaraiyan family in this part of the country. Their inscriptions have, as already pointed out, been found in the Tanjore and Trichinopoly districts and in the Pudukkōttai State. Though these are few, the unmistakable marks left by them in the country are not so. On the growth of the Chōla power in Tanjore the Muttaraiyans seem to have sunk into insignificance. A certain Vijayālaya Muttaraiyan figures as a signatory in a record of the Chōla king Kulōttunga I, discovered at Tirunelveli in the Trichinopoly district.² Probably he was an officer under the Chōla sovereign. It may also be noted that the village of Muttaraśanallūr³ in the same district may date from early times and may probably have to be traced to some member of these kings. There is a class of people who call themselves Muttaraśans,⁴ and this is perhaps the only living remnant of this ancient dynasty.

Inscriptions on the first pillar.

A.—Top section ; north face.

TEXT.

- 1 dutta [Pe]rumbidugu Muttarai-
- 2 yaṇ=āyina Kuvāvaṇ Māraṇ=ava-
- 3 ṇ magan Ilaṅgōvadiyaraiya-
- 4 ṇ=āyina Māraṇ Paramēśvaraṇ=a-
- 5 vaṇ magan Perumbidugu Muttarai-
- 6 raiaṇ=āyina Śuvaraṇ Māraṇ=ava-
- 7 ṇ=eduppitta paḍāri-kōyil=ava-
- 8 ṇ=erindav=ūrgaḷum=avaṇ pērga-
- 9 lum=avaṇai=ppāḍiṇār pērgaḷum=i-
- 10 ttūṅgaṇ-mēl=eḷadina ivai

TRANSLATION.

⁵ Perumbidugu Muttaraiyan *alias* Kuvāvaṇ Māraṇ. His son (*was*) Ilaṅgōvadiyaraiyan *alias* Māraṇ Paramēśvaraṇ. His son (*was*) Perumbidugu Muttaraiyan *alias* Śuvaraṇ Māraṇ. The Piḍāri temple (*was*) built by him. The places which he conquered, the names (*borne by*) him and the names (*of the poets*) who sung of him are engraved on these pillars. These⁶

B.—Same section ; west face.

TEXT.⁷

- 1 [Sri-Māraṇ]
- 2 Śri-Śatṛī⁸kēsari
- 3 Śri-Kaḷvarkaḷvan
- 4 Śri-Atisāhasan.

¹ No. 466 of the *Madras Epigraphical collection* for 1908.

² No. 670 of the same collection for 1909.

³ This village is at a distance of 5 miles from Trichinopoly.

⁴ This class of people is mostly to be found in the Tanjore and Trichinopoly districts.

⁵ A portion of the inscription is mutilated at the beginning.

⁶ There is not much significance in this word here.

⁷ These are the titles of the king and as such are not translated. They may be rendered as the glorious Cupid, the glorious lion to the enemy, the chief *kaḷva* of the *kaḷvar* and he who is thoroughly truthful or brave. *Kaḷvar* are perhaps a class of people and may be a variant of *kaḷḷaṇ*, a tribe inhabiting the Madura District and Pudukkōttai State.

⁸ Read *Śatru*.

C.—Same section; east face.

TEXT.

- 1 Vēṅgaṭ-[pō]ru[ma]¹ . .
- 2 śīr vāl-koḍiyāṇ
- 3 Vāṇ-Māraṇ [i*] śēṅgaṭ-ka-
- 4 rum-pagaḍa śēṇṇ-ulakka va-
- 5 ū-kulan-tār [i*] tēr=alandi mā-
- 6 v=alandā=chcheṇ-kurnli-maṇ-
- 7 paraṇḍav[i*]-āi=Aḷundiyūr-ey[ṇu]m-ū[r]² [i*]

TRANSLATION.

Aḷundiyūr is the place where the red-eyed black elephants of Māraṇ of (*powerful*) sword,—whose banner (*contained*) the vāl and the warlike . . . with fearful eyes,—roamed with rage, causing the destruction of the cars (*of his enemy*) adorned with garlands of luxuriant and choice³ (*flowers*) (*together with*) the animals (*which dragged the cars*) and spread dust (*mixed*) with red blood.

D.—Same section; (2) south face.

TEXT.

- 1
- 2
- 3
- 4
- 5
- 6
- 7
- 8
- 9

TRANSLATION.

The sword of the glorious Māraṇ, the lord of the earth, conquered in battle Maṇalūr, so that the vultures⁴ devoured the fat bowels and the devils with (*acid*) opened eyes, thrusting their hands into the wounds (*of the enemy*), ate their (*flesh*).

These were composed by Vēṇṇamban of Pāchchil.

¹ The syllables *poruma* have been restored from the existing traces. A short letter and a consonant are lost at the end of this line. *Ma* looks like *la* in the original.

² Metre: Veṇḍā. When scanned it would stand thus:—

— — — — —
— — — — —
— — — — —
— — — — —

³ *am* is from the abstract noun *ammai*.

⁴ *Kulam* means 'high class'. Taken with flowers, it has been rendered as 'choice'. [The syllables *raṇ-kulan-tār* may also be divided *v=āṅg=ulandār* and rendered 'of those (enemy kings) who died there'.—H. K. S.]

⁵ The syllables lost at the beginning should form with *ppa* the first three *śīr* of the first line.

⁶ The letter *pu* having been wrongly incised instead of *pa*, the engraver seems to have erased the *u* sign.

⁷ Metre: Veṇḍā. When scanned the stanza would stand thus:—

— — — — —
— — — — —
— — — — —
— — — — —

⁸ What is lost here must be a description of the vultures.

E.—Bottom section; south face.

- 1 Niṅkaṅṅa tap-paṇai tōl
- 2 paṇ=Taṇṇai-tiṇam-pā-
- 3 ḍi niṅṅāṇ [i*] viṅkiṇṇa viṇṇa-
- 4 l-ṇiṅṅiṇṇa-v-i-[ppina]-kku-
- 5 ṇṇ-akaṇ-[Nṇ]ḍiṇṇa-ṇ[a*]-
- 6 ṇai n[ṇa].
- 7-8 damaged.²

TRANSLATION.

They remain singing the state of Taṇṇai appearing in the midst of fields ever filled with water. Ever shining³ (with their weapons) move over the hillocks of corpses huge elephants

F.—Same section; north face.

TEXT.

- 1 Pūḷi kondaḍi kōvviṇṇ-
- 2 vīḷaiyā-moḷi=pparu-
- 3 vaitte mūṇṇam [i*] vēl-ko-
- 4
- 5 kkalav=aiḷi-ma-
- 6

TRANSLATION.

Who grasped the (weapon called) vēl even at (such young) age when unripe⁵ words emanated from his beautiful mouth not (completely free from) milk

G.—Same section; west face.

TEXT.

- 1 Maṇa-ppaṇai-Miṇṇavaṇ va-
- 2 li-araṇ Paḷḷavaṇ-sō-
- 3 maḷḷi-araṇ paṇappaḍa-mā-
- 4 pa paṇa-kaliṇṇa
- 5-8 damaged.⁶

TRANSLATION.

On that day when the strong forces of the Pāṇḍya (mīṇavaṇ), who was powerful of his arms, started to fight against the army of the Paḷḷava, (he) with warlike elephants

H.—Same section; east face.

- 1 En-kaiy-aḷavirṇ-
- 2 yḷāṇav-iḷai-vikku-
- 3 m-aḷṇai-checheruvēl m-
- 4 āvala
- 5-7 damaged.⁷

¹ The letter ṇ may be restored here.

² Pūḷi means to shine. I am not quite sure of the meaning intended as the passage is mutilated.

³ Metre: Kaṭṭalaikalitturai.

⁴ Metre: Kaṭṭalaikalitturai.

⁵ Metre: Kaṭṭalaikalitturai.

⁶ Vīḷaiyāmoḷi is equivalent to kuḍalai or malalai.

⁷ Metre: Veṇbā.



TRANSLATION.

Oh Panegyrist is (*only*) equal to the measure of our hands . . .
 . . . who holds in his hand the *vēl* with which he destroyed his enemies

Inscriptions on the second pillar.

A.—Top section ; north face.

TEXT.

- 1 rkkēy=allaiy-āya=k-
- 2 kālandāṇ [i*] mullaikkēy
- 3 muṇṇadumō eṇṇ-eṇṇu Val-
- 4 lakkōṇ [i*] Kāraivāy=ppōr-
- 5 veṇṇa Vēṇ-Māraṇ kai pō[lu]n-[i*]
- 6 kālavāy=kkōlēṇēy kaṇḍu [i*]¹
- 1 Kōṭṭārr-I-
- 2 ḷam perumā-
- 3 ṇār pāḍiyadu.

TRANSLATION.

. When (well) considered, (*it*) cannot stand before (*i.e. equal*)
 the Mullai. Like unto the hand of Māraṇ of (*powerful*) *vēl*, who is the lord of Vallam and
 who gained victory in the battle at Kārai Composed by ḷamperumāṇar
 of Kōṭṭāru.

B.—Same section ; west face.

TEXT.

- 1 ²vāḷ-amaruḷ vāgai=ppū=[i*]
- 2 kkuṇṇi=kkamaḷ kaṇṇi-
- 3 kko-Māraṇ-Raṇjai=k-
- 4 kōṇ [i*] kōḷ-āḷi moymbir-
- 5 Koḍumbālūr kāynd-erittā-
- 6 ṇ [i*]-ṇōḷ-ūlag-aḷikkun-tōḷ³ [||*]

TRANSLATION.

With the strength of the powerful *yāḷi*, king Māraṇ, the lord of Raṇjai, whose locks are
 fragrant with the flower of *vāgai*, who wears a garland and whose arms protect the earth,
 marched with rage against Koḍumbālūr and burnt it.

¹ The first *śir*, rhyming with *Mullai* and *Valla*, and a part of the second are lost at the beginning of this
 verse. Metre: Veṇḇā.

— — — — —
 — — — — —
 — — — — —
 — — — — —

² Two *śir* are lost at the commencement of this stanza. The first of them should have rhymed with *kuṇṇi*
 and *Taṇjai*. To judge from the alliteration, the first *śir* may be restored as *vāṇṇi*.

³ Metre: Veṇḇā.

— — — — —
 — — — — —
 — — — — —
 — — — — —

C.—Same section ; east face.

TEXT.

- 1 ¹lā=ttōy[t]taṇavāl²-eñ-
- 2 gum [*] varu puṇal sū] Valla=kk[ō]-
- 3 Māraṇ śeruvil [*] Maṇāṅgūrva[y]-
- 4 ppaṭṭār-uḍal kuḍaindu māndi [*]-p-
- 5 puṇāṅkūrvāy=kkonḍ-e-
- 6 lunda pu³ || Pāchchil Vēl-
- 7 ⁴nambaṇ pāḍiṇa

TRANSLATION.

As it was steeped in the moon's light, the birds with their mouths (*bills*) sharp at the outside picked at the dead bodies and drank (*the blood*) of those who fell in the battle of Maṇāṅgūr fought by Māraṇ, the lord of Vallam which is surrounded on all sides by water ; and went away. Composed by Vēlnambaṇ of Pāchchil.

D.—Same section ; south face.

TEXT.⁵

- 1 [Śri-Māraṇ]
- 2 Śri-Śatṛi(tru)kēsari
- 3 Śri-Kaḷvarakaḷvan
- 4 Śri-Atisāhasan

E.—Bottom section ; north face.

TEXT.

- 1 Pēr=ilai=ppaṅgaya-
- 2 ṇ=kūmba=ppiraiyiṇ
- 3 kuṇu-muḷai=ppōndir=i-
- 4 lai=kkolūm padam=i[di]-
- 5 [ri]niy=araṇu[m=ū]tṭa kūri[lai]-
- 6 kaḷaṇ-ma
- 7 vva . . .

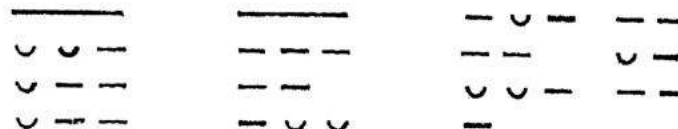
TRANSLATION.

You appeared there just like the young shoot of the crescent, which causes to shrink the big potalled lotus-flowers the pointed (and) leaf-shaped having fed on the forests of protection

¹ The first *śīr* and a part of the second are lost at the beginning of this verse.

² The letter in brackets is corrected from some other *akṣara*.

³ Metre : Venbā.



⁴ There is some vacant space at the beginning of this line.

⁵ No translation is given, as the text only contains titles. See note 7, p. 139 above.

TEXT.

- 1 ōer=paga Tōṇḍai-ka-
- 2 pi-paga tū-maḍipōṇ muga-
- 3 tūḍi per-paga verpu=p-
- 4 pagadi kaṇḍāy Pugaḷi=ppa-
- 5 maḍār kar=paga vir=paga ka-
- 6 vaṇ [Kaḷvāra]kaḷvaṇ-Raṇ-
- 7 [i]ai naḷr-pugaḷiḷaṇ-p-
- 8

TRANSLATION.

He of good fame of Tañjai (*i.e.* Tanjore), the Kaḷvarakaḷvaṇ by the darting of his arrows caused to wither the beauty of her whose face resembles the pure white moon (and whose mouth) the praiseworthy (*i.e.* celebrated) *tonḍai* fruit, and who pierced with arrows those who fought at Pugaḷi, so that they entered stones (*i.e.* became *etrakals*).

G.—Same section; east face.

TEXT.

- 1 Ūtt-iṇar pūn=daṇ-pelir-
- 2 Chemboṇmāri=ekkaḍi-araṇa-
- 3 m-mūṭṭiṇa śīraṇi muṇ ṣeṇra-
- 4 du piṇbu pagatt=iṇattār ke-
- 5 Māraṇ ka[ḍi]-ṇaga
- 6 ḷirra
- 7

TRANSLATION.

The (*fire of his*) anger, which was kindled by the cool forests of protection (*abounding in*) handsome clusters of flowers reared (*in front of*) Sembonmāri, went in advance and later the troops of male elephants Māraṇ fortified towns

H.—Same section; south face.

TEXT.

- 1 paṇaiyai=ppagaḍu kūḍā-
- 2 yaṇṇa Pallavaṇ vel-
- 3 la=Tteṇṇaṇ muṇaiyai=k-
- 4 ke[ḍa]=chcheṇṇa-Māraṇ mugili-
- 5 vaḷar pili unda=chcheṇṇaiya=
- 6 chcheṇṇai maṇi=ppārai a[p]-
- 7 pārai ṣollen viḷai[n]-
- 8 [da] viṇaiyai pāpāraḷu vi[rik]ki-

TRANSLATION.

To cause destruction to the Pāṇḍya and to secure success to the Pallava (*king*), *Māraṇ* advanced that day to the front of the battle.¹

Inscriptions on the third pillar.

A.—Top section ; south face.

TEXT.

- 1 Śrī-Tamarālayaṇ
- 2 Śrī-Abhimānadhīraṇ
- 3 Śrī-Kaḷvarakalvaṇ
- 4 Śrī-Śātri(tru)kāsari

B.—Same section ; north face.

TEXT.

- 1 Engiṇ-iruṇ-kilai-
- 2 yuṇ-ēṇṇark-ariyavēy [*] va-
- 3 ṇgai-chcheru-Māraṇ vā-
- 4 ḷ-kāytti viṇ paḍar [*]
- 5 vāṇṇēy² nāḍu tām-ūṇḍa
- 6 mā-nāḍa=Kkaṇṇaṇūr [*]=Kkō-
- 7 nāḍar pukk-olitta kuṇṇa³ [||*]

TRANSLATION.

When considered (*well*), (*it would appear*) that, being driven by the fiery sword of the war-like *Māraṇ*, whose hand is renowned for gifts, the people of *Kō-nāḍu* sheltered themselves on the hills whose high summits, reaching up the sky, formed the land of the gods and were hard to climb up.⁴ The hills adjoin *Kaṇṇaṇūr* situated in this great *nāḍu*.

C.—Same section ; east face.

TEXT.

- 1 Ēri viṣumbum-iru-ni-
- 2 lam-āytt-eṇbavā-
- 3 ṇ [*] Māraṇ śeru-vēṇ-
- 4 maṇṇ-kāṇṇru śīra-[*] k-
- 5 koḍi-māḍa=ttan Koḍu-
- 6 mbai=kkūḍāda maṇṇa-

¹ The rest of this verse is not quite intelligible.

² The syllable *sey* seems to have been wrongly engraved and it is in excess of the requirements of the metre. Without it *vāṇṇēy* will regularly rhyme with *Kōṇṇāḍu*. As it is, we have to take *ś-ṇṇā* together for purposes of metre, deleting *y*.

³ Metre : Venbā.

— — — — —
— — — — —
— — — — —
— — — — —

[Lines 1 and 2 may also be taken to mean "hard to be ascended by even big crowds of bears."—H. K. S.]

- Page 599

- 3 nda-nāt-kāṇalān-kāṅga
- 4 ulandavartam [i*] epb-arun[du]
- 5 sārāvēy-arund=uraṅga=vi=ku-
- 6 ḍargaḷ . . randu śindam pu[ra]m¹ [i*]

TRANSLATION.

On the day when Māraṇ, who wore a garland of expanded flowers and was armed with a sword, fought at Anṇalvāyil, the vultures, which were gathered together to eat the bones, made noise and the demons . . . the bowels . . . issuing out of the dead bodies that fell in the place.

F.—Same section ; west face.

TEXT.

- 1 Tāḷum puṣar-Riṅgaḷūr=[t]-
- 2 tevvar māṇan-taḷara-T-
- 3 [ton]ṇaṇ vāḷaṇ-kaḷa=p-
- 4 paṭṭadu koṇḍa vōṇḍaṇ
- 5 maṇ pū-malar[ā] vāḷu[n]-
- 6 taḍa vaḷai=ttō-Neḍu-Māra-
- 7 ṇ var-chūḷum
- 8 tandōṇ²

TRANSLATION.

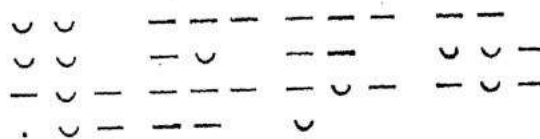
The honour of the enemies was lost at Tiṅgaḷūr where descending clouds (*rest*). The elephants of the Pāṇḍya king (*tenṇaṇ*), which appeared on this battle-field, were seized by the king of kings, i.e. Neḍu-Māraṇ of broad and rounded shoulders with whom the goddess of wealth (*ever*) resides

G.—Same section ; north face.

TEXT.

- 1 Nāgaṇ-kaṇḍ-aṇjav-eṇ-
- 2 ṇeṇjaṇ-kall-eṇṇa-
- 3 v-ollen kaḍa-ṇir m[ā]-
- 4 [ga]ṇ-[ko]ṇḍ-eṇiva[r Tāt]-
- 5 taṇ³ Māraṇ-o[ṇ]- . . ṇ-
- 6 ṇḍar=kkaṇ mēgaṇ-ko-
- 7 ṇḍān va
- 8 ppaga
- 9 maru .
- 10⁴

¹ Metre: Venḇā.



² Metre: Kuṭṭalaikkalittuṇai.

³ Read *Sāttan*.

⁴ Metre: Kuṭṭalaikkalittuṇai.

TRANSLATION.

As the cloud ascends the sky partaking of the water of the noisy sea, the snake gets frightened at its appearance. Even so my heart throbbed my king Māraṇ

H.—Same section; east face.

- 1 Niṇṇadu Villavaṇ val-
- 2 l=araṇ Pallavaṇ še-
- 3 tōl vāṇ šeṇṇa[du]

TRANSLATION.

The strong fortifications of the Villavaṇ (i.e. the Chēra) withstood, and the Pallava'
 reached heaven

Inscriptions on the fourth pillar.

A.—Top section; north face.

TEXT.

- 1
- 2 Śrī-Abhimānadhīraṇ
- 3 Śrī-Kaḷvarakaḷvaṇ
- 4 Śrī-Śātri(tru)kēsari

B.—Same section; east face.

TEXT.

- 1
- 2 r² pāṇmagapēy paṇ-
- 3 ḍ-elām[*] yām-aṇḍum-eṇḡa-
- 4 yarkkēy śollu nīy
- 5 māmaraṅgai[*]=ttenṇāḍar
- 6 kāḍaliyar tīy-nāḍa vāy-śiva-
- 7 [n]da[*] minṇāḍu vēṇ-Māraṇ mey³[*]

TRANSLATION.

O (*skilled*) musician! speak of the (*greatness*) of the past times in order that we may know about Māraṇ, who holds a red-edged *vēl* of great length, which has made the wives of the tenṇāḍar (i.e. the Pāṇḍya) of powerful deeds to enter into the fire

C.—Same section; south face.

TEXT.

- 1
- 2 pōl-araiśu pīravā pīra neḍu
- 3 Mōru neṇṇi=pṇṇ-pōl pa-
- 4 śuṇ-gadir-āyiram viśum porṇē-
- 5 r=pṇarudikk-eṇ pōḍ-araviḍu-

¹ The rest of this verse is too fragmentary to be translated.

² This stanza should have begun with the syllables *pāma*. The two *śīr* lost at the commencement would have formed an adjectival phrase qualifying *pāṇmagapēy*.

³ Metre: Veṇbā.



- 6 *Imō ipai=chehōdi viū vi-*
- 7 *šumbēy |- Āchāryar*
- 8 *Aniruddar pāḍiyadu²*

TRANSLATION.

. When shall the sky with its two luminaries (i.e. the Sun and the Moon) emit such a light as the gold cars with horses tied to them. (These latter) shed thousands of shining rays like those proceeding from the forehead of mount Mōru. Āchāryar Aniruddar composed (these verses).

D.—Same section; west face.

TEXT.

- 1
- 2 *yan-tidu kaṇḍāy-āñjai-*
- 3 *cheṇembala-āṭṭa Vep-*
- 4 *kōḍal viḍapada ko-*
- 5 *ṇḍ-āyar Mālaiyā-ppadu-*
- 6 *maṇṇṇiḍu šaṇ-ṭi-ṭi-*
- 7 *āu kaṇḍāl-appa kōva-*
- 8 *ṇḍal-āṇḍiṇṇa ṭṭi paṇḍy³*

TRANSLATION.

When destroyed and took Vepkōḍal in Tōṭṭai-Šaṇḍala-nāḍu, the sparks of red fire that were strewn on the white sands of the Mālaiya which belonged to the Āyar resembled the *kōram*-insects moving on the low-lying tracts.

E.—Bottom section; south face.

TEXT.

- 1 *Ḍaṇṇuḍal-āyamum pūvai-*
- 2 *yan-ṭaṇ kaikkilāya-muṇ-*
- 3 *biṭṭaṇa mudal-aṇḍam-eṇ-*
- 4 *p-ūga-cheṇeydāl-iyakka[t]-*
- 5 *ṭai viṇḍār Vāṇṇuḍal-ša-*
- 6 *kkaru=kai-ppagaḍ-uyt-*
- 7 *ta Māraṇ-ṇevvar-kāṇa muda-*
- 8 *. . . ṇḍatt-ēṇṇāṇ piṇ*
- 9 *. . . ri . . . gāy⁴*

TRANSLATION.

I placed at first riches, *āyam*, *pūvai* and *kaikkilāi*. What she did with her original love He overcame the in the battle against the enemy in which Māraṇ, who led the elephants after him who fled

¹ *Mē* only is seen. The rest of this line and the following two lines are now built in.

² Metre: Kattālaikkalittuṭṭai.

³ The original impression of this verse is lost. Metre: Kattālaikkalittuṭṭai.

⁴ The meaning of this stanza is doubtful. As the original has since been lost, I have not been able to verify the reading. Metre: Kattālaikkalittuṭṭai.



No. 3.] SRIRANGAM PLATES OF MUMMADI NAYAKA : SAKA SAMVAT 1280. 83

at the Tāre (*Beleric Myrobalan*) tree on the south bank of the stream and north of Kūḍanaha[^{*}]i; one stone set up to the east of the rock west of Kūḍanaha[^{*}]i; an inscription engraved on that rock; to the west of it, one stone set up to the east of the tamarind tree; west of it, one stone set up to the west of the tamarind tree on the road to Tirumale; west of it, one stone set up to the west of a tamarind tree; west of it, one stone set up at the tamarind tree on the boundary of Daṇḍēha[^{*}]i; to the south of it, one stone set up to the west of the wild Mangosteen tree; to the west of it, one stone set up to the east of the waved-leaved fig tree; to the north of it, an inscription caused to be cut on a rock on the road to Tirumale; to the west of it, one stone set up to the south of a tamarind tree; to the west of it, one stone set up at the ant-hill of the banyan tree; to the west of it, an inscription caused to be engraved on the boulder set up to the south of Daṇḍēha[^{*}]i; to the south of it, one stone set up at the ant-hill of the Tugila tree; to the south of it, one stone set up at the ant-hill of the boulder set up a little beyond to the east of the banyan tree; to the west of it, the boundary is the boundary limit of the fields of Kaṅḡāniyaha[^{*}]i.

(L. 193.) Śrī-Triyambaka.

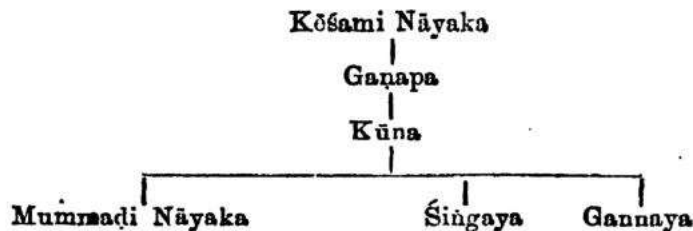
No. 3.—SRIRANGAM PLATES OF MUMMADI NAYAKA : SAKA SAMVAT 1280.

By T. A. GOPINATHA RAO, M.A., TRIPLICANE.

The subjoined inscription is engraved on five copper plates, bound together by a ring, which was already out when I got them for examination. The ring bore no seal. The plates measure 9" by 2", and the writing is engraved lengthwise on both sides of the plates. There are exactly ten lines on each side, and the plates are numbered with Telugu-Kanarese numerals, marked on the proper right of the ring-hole on the second side of each plate. The rims are neither raised nor shaped thicker, and yet the writing is in an excellent state of preservation.

This set of copper plates belongs to the Raṅganātha-svāmin temple at Srīraṅgam and was kindly lent to me for examination by the trustees of the temple, Messrs. T. Deśikāchārya, B.A., B.L., of the Trichinopoly bar, and K. S. Kuppasāmi Ayyaṅḡar. My thanks are due to these gentlemen for having so obligingly placed this, as also all the other copper plate documents, at my disposal for some time and thus enabling me to take mechanical copies of them.

The alphabet in which the record is written is old Telugu, and the language Sanskrit. The whole is written in 64 verses of various metres. The inscription records that Mummadi Nāyaka, the king of the Teliṅga country, granted to Bhaṭṭa Parāśara, the seventh, the village of Koṭṭāllaparṇu, which the donee's mother regranted to Śrīraṅganātha-svāmin, the presiding deity of the great Viṣṇu temple at Śrīraṅgam. The genealogy of the donor is given as follows :—



Mummadi is said to have married the niece (sister's daughter) of a Kāpaya Nāyaka. His family was known by the name of Mañchikoṇḍa, and the ancestors of this family were originally brought down from the Gangetic valley by Mukkaṇṭi. Teliṅga-dēśa, ruled over

by Mummaḍi Nāyaka, was bounded on the north by Kanyākubja, on the south by the Pāṇḍya country, on the east by Kalinga and on the west by Mahārāṣṭra. Prince Mummaḍi is described as having conquered the Pānāra, the Kōna, the Kuravāṭaka, the Cheṅgara and other countries lying on either side of the Gōḍāvarī, and as having made Kōrukoṇḍa his capital. He had two brothers, Śingaya and Gannaya, whom he allowed to rule over the small principalities of Kōṭi and Tāḍipāṭka. Sovereignty had no attraction for Mummaḍi; but he was obliged to accept the crown for the sake of his father. Mummaḍi is also called Śrīraṅga-varddhana (v. 52), a surname which he perhaps assumed after he became the disciple of Parāśara Bhaṭṭa VII. He became a follower of the latter, when the latter had gone to the Teliṅga-dēśa, and as a *guru-dakṣhiṇā* this grant of a village was made.

At present nothing more than what is given in this document is known of Mummaḍi Nāyaka. From the fact that the southern boundary of his kingdom was the Pāṇḍya country we can very well understand that at the time of this record the occupation of the Nellore district by Jaṭā-varman Sundara Pāṇḍya was an accomplished fact. This latter subverted the dynasty of the Chōlas, overran and captured their country as far north as Nellore, where he had his *vīrābhishēka* celebrated.¹ Nothing is known definitely of the chiefs of Pānāra,² Cheṅgara, Kuravāṭaka, etc.

The village granted to Parāśara Bhaṭṭa VII was evidently enjoyed by him for some time before he died. His mother, who survived him (v. 48), seems to have thought of allowing the relatives of the deceased to inherit the village; but in the meanwhile she changed her mind and gave it away to the god Raṅganātha, taking Him, as she says, as the greatest of all relatives. Most likely the relatives began to trouble her and perhaps also to question her rights to the property, which must have goaded her on to take the course which she chose.

An inscription found lately at Kōrukoṇḍa itself gives a very interesting account of the death of the seventh Parāśara Bhaṭṭa and his reappearance as a divine being. Incidentally also some facts about his patron and disciple, Mummaḍi Nāyaka, are given in it. Mr. Krishna Sastri summarises the contents of the record thus:—

“Mummaḍi Nāyaka is stated to have been the ruler of Kōrukoṇḍa, which was surrounded by a fort. He was a great conqueror and had subdued the kingdoms of Pānāra, Kōna, Kuravāṭaka and Bēgara A Vaiṣṇava teacher Bhaṭṭari, of whom Mummaḍi was the devoted disciple, told the chief one day that he had reached the last of his human births and, as soon as the existing mortal frame was given up, he would appear in the form of the god Lakṣmī-Nārasimha on the hill at Kōrukoṇḍa. Soon after this revelation the teacher died, and all about his rebirth as the god Nārasimha was apparently forgotten. A dancing-girl of the village, called Lakṣmī-dāsī, saw the teacher in a dream and was told by him of his manifestation on the Pārāśara-śaila. The king, being informed of this, was at once reminded of what the teacher had told him and permitted the dancing-girl to build the temple. She wandered about in rags, begging for money, pledged her daughter, earned the amount required, built a temple and consecrated therein Parāśara-Nṛisimha, presenting at the time of the consecration two villages for the maintenance of the worship and offerings.”³ Mr. Sastri adds that the verses in the inscription under notice are repeated verbatim in the Kōrukoṇḍa record also. The latter inscription is dated Ś. 1275; this is the date of the consecration of the image of the god Nṛisimha; and therefore the death of the seventh Parāśara Bhaṭṭa would have occurred some time before this date, and this mother would consequently have survived him for at least seven or eight years.

¹ No. 904, p. 145 of the Appendix to Vol. VII of *Ep. Ind.*

² Vājaya, a prince of Pānāra, is mentioned in one of the Eastern Chālukya grants published in *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. I, p. 44.

³ Madras Epigraphist's *Annual Report* for 1912, para. 68.

Parāśara Bhaṭṭa VII belongs to a very illustrious family of scholars of southern India. Śrīvatsasihna-guru, or Śrīvatsasihna Miśra, as he is generally called, was the first or the founder of the family of Bhaṭṭas of Śrīrangam. He was the first and foremost disciple of Śrī Rāmānuja, the famous founder of the Viśiṣṭādvaita school of philosophy. In all the Śrīvaiṣṇava chronicles and among the Śrīvaiṣṇavas he is better known by the name of Kūrattālvāṇ. He belonged to the Hārita gōtra and Āpastambha Sūtra and was of the Yajus śākhā. He was born in the year Saumya, on a Thursday which was Pañcami in the month of Pushya. He was a Vādama by sect and belonged to the village of Kūram near Chingleput. His wife was named Āṇḍāl. The early education of Kūrattālvāṇ was undertaken by his own father; but he finished his studies during his stay with Rāmānuja and under him. He was the chief assistant and the amanuensis of Rāmānuja in the compilation of the Śrībhāṣya. He was of the same gōtra as Rāmānuja.

The Śrīvaiṣṇava Chronicles narrate the persecution of Rāmānuja by the Chōla sovereign, and assert that this king was a bigoted Śaiva and consequently began to persecute the Vaiṣṇavas. It was pointed out to this king that converting the common people by force was not in itself capable of augmenting the numbers to the Śaiva faith, and, if such a great leader as Rāmānuja were to be made to subscribe to the Śaiva faith, his followers would join that sect in a body. Rāmānuja was summoned before the king; Kūrattālvāṇ, apprehending danger to his master, assumed the garb of a *sannyāsin*, proceeded to the royal court, and represented himself as the famous Vaiṣṇava Āchārya. The king then compelled him to sign a declaration that no god was superior to Śiva. Kūrattālvāṇ boldly contradicted him by telling him that "larger than Śiva was Drōṇa," (words which also mean two different measures, of which the latter was the bigger),¹ thus playing upon the double meaning of the words Śiva and Drōṇa. The king, enraged at the behaviour of Kūrattālvāṇ, ordered both his eyes to be put out immediately, and the order was forthwith carried out. So throughout the remaining part of his life he lived a blind man.²

Another important service which he rendered to his master was the conversion of Tiruvarāṅgattamudapūr, the hereditary trustee of the Raṅganātha temple at Śrīrangam, to the Śrīvaiṣṇava faith. This neophyte made over the right of management of the temple to Kūrattālvāṇ, who in his turn handed it over to Rāmānuja. Highly pleased with the devotion of his dear disciple, Rāmānuja gave the *paurōhitya* of the temple and the right of reading the *Purāṇas* therein to the family of Kūrattālvāṇ.

Kūrattālvāṇ was the author of the *Varadarāja-stava*, *Sundarabāhu-stava*, *Atimānushya-stava*, *Śrīvaiṣṇava-stava*, *Śrī-stava*, *Yamakarātnākara* and *Gadyatraya-vyākhyāna*.

Śrīvatsasihna Miśra had two sons, Parāśara Bhaṭṭa and Rāma Miśra.³ Of these the elder was the most distinguished scholar of the day; he was nominated to the pontifical seat by Rāmānuja, and, when he succeeded the latter, he was comparatively a young man. In a short time, however, he was able to convert to his faith a great Vēdāntin named Mādhava and made him his own disciple and successor under the name of Nañjiyar. He is believed by the Śrīvaiṣṇavas to have died at the early age of 28 and without issue; but there are weighty

¹ शिवात्परतरं नास्ति. द्रोणमस्ति ततः परम्.

² श्रीवत्सचिन्मित्रेभ्यो नमस्तत्तमचौमहि ।

यदुक्तयस्त्रयीकष्टे यान्ति मङ्गलसूचताम् ॥

श्रीमत्कूरकुलाचीशं श्रीवत्साराधुपास्यते । .

अथ यतीन्द्रशिष्याणामाद्यं वेदान्तवेदिनाम् ॥

³ Some Śrīvaiṣṇava chronicles assert that these were twins.

reasons for assuming that he lived for no less than 60 or 70 years.¹ The education of Parāśara and his brother was entrusted by Rāmānuja to Embār, his own cousin. Bhaṭṭar wrote the *Śrīraṅgarāja-stava*, *Śrīgūṇaratnakōśa*, *Sahasranāma-bhāṣya*, *Kriyādīpa*, *Aṣṭaślōki*, *Okatus-ślōki*, *Dvayaślōki* and *Tanīślōki*.²

Parāśara Bhaṭṭa, the elder son of Śrīvatsasihna Miśra, says the inscription, had a large number of disciples, of whom Vēdānta-vēdya was the most important. Vēdānta-vēdya is better known to the Śrīvaiṣṇavas as the 'Vēdāntin of the West country' (*mēl-nāṭṭu Vēdānti*). He was defeated in a religious wrangle by Parāśara Bhaṭṭa, whose devout disciple he soon after became, and he assumed holy orders, after which he was known as Nañjiyar, meaning literally 'our jiya,' for he was so addressed by his *guru*. The name of this *sannyāsin* in his *pūr-vāśrama* (that is, before he assumed holy orders) was Mādhava.

As soon as Parāśara Bhaṭṭa and Rāma Miśra were born, the god Raṅganātha commanded their father through the *archaka* (the performer of *pūjā*) to bring the children to His temple and bring them up there. They are therefore believed to be the adopted sons of the god Raṅga-nātha and his goddess Śrī.³ It is this faith of the Śrīvaiṣṇavas that is recorded in verse 35.

Vāgvijaya Bhaṭṭa was the son of Rāma Miśra,⁴ the brother of Parāśara. He is known to the Śrīvaiṣṇavas as Naḍuvil Tiruvīdi Pillai Bhaṭṭar ("the Bhaṭṭa of the middle street"). He was the author of *Kṣhamāśhōḍaṣi*, and is hence called also *Kṣhamāśhōḍaṣi Bhaṭṭa*.⁵

¹ It is a well-known fact that Parāśara Bhaṭṭa was born some time before the Chōla persecution and the subsequent flight of Rāmānuja to the Hoysala country. I have shown in my History of the Śrīvaiṣṇavas (*Madras Review* for 1905) that Rāmānuja must have lived in the Hoysala kingdom for no less than 20 years, during which period Kūratālvān, who was blinded by the Chōla king, was living in Śrīraṅgam with his sons. On the return of Rāmānuja to Śrīraṅgam after the demise of the persecuting Chōla prince in A.D. 1118 the remaining third part of the *Śrībhāṣya* was finished. After this Rāmānuja lived for ten years; Parāśara succeeded him on the pontifical seat, vanquished the Vēdāntin of the West Country, taught him the Drāviḍa Vēdas, and, after the latter had made sufficient progress in them, ordered him to write the *Onpadiṇāyirappadi vyākhyānam* on the *Tiruvāymoli*. The *Guruparamparā-prabhānam* of Piṇḍarājīya-Jīyar (p. 210) states that Parāśara Bhaṭṭar lived as late as in the reign of Tribhuvanavīra-Dēva, that is, Kulottuṅga-Chōla III, who ruled from A.D. 1178 to 1216; and the author of the *Guruparamparā* referred to above was almost a contemporary of the illustrious Bhaṭṭar and is therefore likely to know about what he states in his work. Therefore we may rely on his assertion that the Bhaṭṭar lived at least down to some few years later than A.D. 1178, and therefore was more than 75 years when he died. The majority of the Śrīvaiṣṇava chronicles affirm that Parāśara Bhaṭṭar had no children, which appears to be the fact.

² पुत्रीकृती रङ्गधरन्वरेण पराशरः कुरकुलप्रदीपः ।
गीविन्दप्रियस्वस्तु त्वं यामुनाथमनोरथं पूरितवान् द्वितीयम् ॥
श्रीपराशरभट्टार्थश्रीरङ्गेशपुरोहितः ।
श्रीवत्साङ्कसुश्रीमान् श्रयसे भक्तु भूयसे ॥

³ रङ्गेश्वरजीतनयत्वलालितो यतीन्द्रकारुण्यरसप्रवहो ।
महार्थरामादयद्विशिकीर्तनो भजामि कुराधिपतेस्तनूजी ॥

⁴ पीचं श्रीरामप्रियस्व श्रीवत्साङ्कस्य नन्दनम् ।
रामसूरिं [भजे] भट्टपराशरवरानुजम् ॥
कुरेश्वरनन्दनं वन्दे व्यासार्थं रङ्गवासिनम् ।
अनुराधे तु वैशाखे जातं श्रीरामसूरिं भजे ।

⁵ श्रीमहार्थकृपाज्योत्स्नज्ञाननिधिं प्रभुम् ।
श्रीरामसूरितनयं सेवे वाग्विजयं युक्तम् ॥
कुरनाथगुरोः पीचं श्रीरामार्थप्रियं सुतम् ।
वाग्विजयिणुक्तं वन्दे वेदान्तदयसंपदम् ॥

His son was Vēdavyāsa *alias* Sudarśana Bhaṭṭa. He studied the *Śrībhāṣya* at Kāñchi under Varadavishṇuvārya, the grandson of Naḍādūr Ālvāṇ (a nephew of Rāmānuja).¹ Varadavishṇu was better known as Naḍādūr-ammāl. He was a great exponent of the *Śrībhāṣya*, and his learning drew many earnest students to Kāñchi. One such was Vēdavyāsa Bhaṭṭa. This youth's unostentatious manners, his typical silence and apparent unsociability made him mistaken for a dullard. His colleagues could not perceive that all his thoughts were concentrated on his study and that he found little or no time for idle talk with them. But his teacher knew him very well. One day, when the students were assembled for the usual lecture, Naḍādūr Ammāl, who had also come early, would not proceed with his disquisition. He began it only after Vēdavyāsa Bhaṭṭa took his seat in the assembly. With a desire to show the real man to the audience, Ammāl feigned forgetfulness in the matter of an explanation which he had given some time back and asked each one of his students about it, but did not succeed in eliciting a reply; when Vēdavyāsa's turn came, he requested his *āchārya* to command him to give the interpretation as given by him (the *āchārya*) on any one particular occasion; for he had heard Ammāl twenty-one times. When questioned if he remembered the very language employed by Ammāl on those twenty-one occasions, he replied that he did. At the command of Ammāl he began to pour forth in the very language in which Ammāl had explained that particular point on so many previous occasions. The fellow disciples of Vēdavyāsa were dismayed at this extraordinary performance of the apparent dullard, and began to feel ashamed of themselves. As a matter of fact, this youth committed to memory every word of Ammāl, as it fell from his lips, and reduced it to writing the very same evening after the lecture was over. The work that grew in this manner was called the *Śrūta-prakāśikā*, and Sudarśana came to be known thenceforth by the name of Śrūtaprakāśikāchārya.² He was an elder contemporary of Venkaṭanāthārya, *alias* Vēdānta-dēśika. When he was very old, the vandalistic march of Malik Kafur swept over Śrīraṅgam, and in the onslaught that took place he perished.³

Sudarśana Bhaṭṭa had two sons, Vēdāchārya Bhaṭṭa and Parāśara Bhaṭṭa.⁴ Before his death Sudarśana Bhaṭṭa entrusted these sons and his valuable work the *Śrūta-prakāśikā* to the care of Vēdānta-dēśika with the request that they might be saved from the Musalman havoc. The latter carried out his promise so faithfully that to-day we owe the existence of this valuable

¹ "Nos. 471a and 505b contain the *Vasanta-tilaka-bhāṣam*, a drama by Varadāchārya. This author can be safely identified with the Vaishṇava teacher of the same name, who was the son of Dēvarāja of Kāñchi, and to whom the *Guruparamparā-prabhāvam* attributes the two surnames Ammālāchārya and Ghaṭikaśatam-ammāl. The first of these two names appears in the form Ambālāchārya in No. 505b, and a corruption of the second name is preserved in the colophon of Dr. R. Mitra's No. 116." . . . "Another drama by Varadāchārya is the *Chōḷa-bhāṣa*." *Rep. on Sans. MSS. in S. India* by Dr. E. Hultzsch, No. I, p. vii of the Introduction.

² श्रीवत्साहस्य नभारं पीत्रं रामविपयितः ।

व्यासं वाग्जयिनः पुत्रमन्माकं तातमाश्रये ॥

यतीन्द्रकृतभाष्यार्थं यद्वाख्यानं दर्शिताः ।

वरं सुदर्शनार्थं तं वन्दे कूरकुलाधिपम् ॥

श्रुतप्रकाशभट्टाय श्रीरामायंस्त्री पीत्रकम् ।

वाग्जयिगुरोः पुत्रं वन्दे सहस्रसागरम् ॥

³ भाष्यप्रकाशिकां तां सङ्कटकाले सुदर्शनशूरिः ।

प्रादायस्त्री कतिने सेवे तं वेदभूषिकाश्रिः ॥

Vēdāntadēśika-vaibhava-prakāśikā, v. 131.

⁴ श्रीपराशरभट्टाय श्रीवत्साहस्यपीत्रकम् ।

वेदाचार्यानुजं वन्दे वेदाचार्यस्य नन्दनम् ॥

gloss on the *Śrībhāṣya* to *Vēdānta-Dēśika*. *Vēdāchārya* Bhaṭṭa was the author of the *Aṣṭāṅkharadīpikā*, *Rahasyatraya* and *Tanidvayam*. *Vēdāchārya*'s son was Śrīraṅgarāja Bhaṭṭar.¹

The *Periya Tiru-muḍiy-aḍai* assigns the following pedigree to the first great Parāśara Bhaṭṭar:—his son was Uddanda Bhaṭṭar; his son Parāśara Bhaṭṭar; his son Śrīraṅganātha Bhaṭṭar; his son Bhaṭṭa Parāśara; his son Śrīraṅga Bhaṭṭar; his son Sudarsana Bhaṭṭar; his son Śrīraṅgarāja Bhaṭṭar; his son Sādhu Bhaṭṭar; his son Tiruvōṅkaṭa Bhaṭṭar.²

The grant was made on a Thursday, corresponding to the fifth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of the month of Chaitra, in the Śaka year 1280, computed by the moon (1), the eyes (2), the *nāgas* (8), and *nabhaḥ* (0).

Verses 28 to 33 describe the town of Śrīraṅgam, which is situated in the island formed by the two branches, the Kāvērī and the Kolliḍam, of the river Kāvērī. The image of the god Raṅganātha which is set up in the temple situated in this town is believed to have been originally worshipped by Brahmā and afterwards presented to the ancestors of Ikshvāku and worshipped by his descendants. On the day of the coronation of the lord Śrī Rāmachandra he made a present of the image of his family god Raṅganātha to his faithful ally and dependant, Vibhishana, the brother of Rāvaṇa. While taking this valuable gift, Vibhishana inadvertently placed it on the ground in the island of Śrīraṅgam, where it stuck fast and could not be removed. It is over this image that the extensive temple of Śrīraṅgam is believed to have been built, and the composer of the *sāsana* alludes in our document to this faith regarding the advent of Raṅganātha to Śrīraṅgam.

"*Pāpishṭha-Kshatrabandhuḥ cha*," one of the texts quoted in verse 43, occurs in the 17th chapter of the *Vishṇudharma*. Kshatrabandhu was a very wicked king and had committed several sins; but just before his death he unwittingly uttered the three syllabled name, Gōvinda, of Vishṇu, which virtuous act saved him from eternal perdition. In his *Tirumālai* the Vaishṇava saint Tondaradippodiy-ālvār also makes a reference to the story of Kshatrabandhu.³

The following are the names of places, etc., that are mentioned in the inscription under discussion:—Himāchala, Bhūrata-varsha, the Mahārāṣṭra, Kalinga, Pāṇḍya, Kanyākubja and Teliṅga countries; Mañchikōṇḍa; Āndhra-dēśa; the Pānāra, Kōna, Kuravāṭa and Ch(or B)en-gara provinces; the river Godāvari; Kōrukoṇḍa; Kōṭi; Tāḍipāka; the river Kāvērī; Śrīraṅga-purī; Kōṭṭāḷlaparṇu in the Pānāra country; Dēva; Villāru; Naṅgipūṇḍi; Penuṅgoṇḍa; Charakuvāṭaka; Tāmaravāṭaka; Monambārṇu; Peṇḍlikūnturu-cheruvu; Groppuṅgāli and

¹ श्रीवाराहरमहायतनं विनयोज्ज्वलम् ।

रत्ननाथगुहं वन्दे नरनाथतनं सदा ॥

रत्ननाथायतनं श्रीमद्वाराहरम् ।

समस्तं वाराहस्य सर्वविद्यानिधिं भजे ।

² In all probability the Bhaṭṭa Parāśara of our document was identical with the Bhaṭṭa Parāśara, the son of Śrīraṅganātha Bhaṭṭa and the grandson of Vēdāchārya Bhaṭṭa; he is also called, in the extract given in footnote 4, the seventh from Kūranātha, that is, Kūrattālvān.

³ *Moytta val-viṇaiyuḥ-niṅṇu mūṇr-eḷutt-uḍaiya pērāl* | *Kattirabandum-aṇṇē parāṇḍadi kaṇḍa koṇḍāṇ* | ("Has not Kattirabandu too attained the highest existence, being relieved from the powerful sins that were clustering thickly round him, by the three lettered name?"), *Tirumālai*, verse 4.

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Uppungāli and the Pālēru-agrahāra. The following table gives the identification and situation of a majority of the places enumerated above :—

| Name. | Mod. Name. | District. | Taluk. |
|--|--|------------------------|---------------|
| Kōrukoṇḍa | Kōrukoṇḍa | Gōḷāvari | Rajahmandry. |
| Kōṭi | Kōṭi | Do. | Do. |
| Tāḍipāka | Tāllapākam (?) . . . . . | ..... | ..... |
| Śrīraṅga-puri | Śrīraṅgam | Trichinopoly | Trichinopoly. |
| Koṭṭāḷlaparru | Kothalaparru | Kistna | Tanuku. |
| Dēva | Duvva | Do. | Do. |
| Villūru | Vilturu or Vēḷatūr | Do. | Vinikoṇḍa. |
| Naṅgipūṇḍi | Neggipūḍi | Do. | Tanuku. |
| Penunḡoṇḍa | Penukoṇḍa | Do. | Do. |
| Charakuvāṭaka | Cherukuvāḍa | Do. | Do. |
| Tāmaravāṭaka | Tāmarāḍa | Do. | Do. |
| Monambarru | Munamarru | Do. | Do. |
| Kāvērī river . . . . . | ..... | ..... | ..... |
| The river Vāsishṭha Gōḍāvari | The river Gōḍāvari or a tributary of it. | | |
| Himāchala | The Himalaya mountains. | | |
| Bhārata-varsha | The ancient name of India. | | |

TEXT.¹

[Metre of verses 1-2, *Vasantatilaka*; of 3-10, *Upajāti*; of 11, *Indravajrā*; of 12, *Upajāti*; of 13, *Upēndravajrā*; of 14-15, *Upajāti*; of 16, *Upēndravajrā*; of 17, *Vasantatilaka*; of 18-22, *Upajāti*; of 23, *Vamśastha*; of 24, *Upajāti*; of 25, *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*; of 26, *Upajāti*; of 27, *Rathoddhata*; of 28-29, *Anuṣṭubh*; of 30, *Vasantatilaka*; of 31-32, *Upajāti*; of 33, *Rathoddhata*; of 34, *Sragdharā*; of 35, *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*; of 36-37, *Anuṣṭubh*; of 38, *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*; of 39-49, *Anuṣṭubh*; of 50, *Indravajrā*; of 51, *Anuṣṭubh*; of 52, *Giti*; of 53-58, *Anuṣṭubh*; of 59, *Mālinī*; of 60, *Anuṣṭubh*; of 61, *Śālinī*; and of 62-63, *Anuṣṭubh*.]

First Plate : First Side.

- 1 श्रीरंगराजाय नमः ॥ यां स्यूतकेसिविजितात् दयितात् गृहीतामिंदोः कला-
मितर-
- 2 दंतपदे निवेश्य । प्रेम्णा प्रसादयति पुत्रमुमेकदंतं सा चा-

From impressions prepared under my supervision.

¹ Read जिताद् दायिताचीहता°.

0

- 3 यतां गजमुखः स च तौ शिवौ च ॥१*॥ श्वेतः शुभं दिशतु शत्रुदसौ
वराहः पातालसङ्गानि तमोगङ्गे रक्षो यः ॥१*॥
- 4 [चौ]क्षुब्धनङ्गधृतिरुद्धहृत्तवात् प्राक्¹ दंतेन किञ्चिददुनोदधरं धरायाः ॥२*॥
तदाख्यैव प्रथिते च कक्षि
- 5 मन्वन्तरे सप्तम आगतेऽभिन् । बहुष्वतीतेषु चतुर्युगेषु कलिं विदुः संप्रति
वर्तमानं ॥३*॥ हिमा-
- 6 चलादाक्षवणोदमेतत् खंडं भुवो भारतवर्षमाहुः । तत्रापि चैतत्² भरतस्य
खंडं चर³ -
- 7 ति यत्राश्रमवर्णधर्माः । ॥ ४*॥ पञ्चाभ्युदस्तादपि यस्य देशो ख्यतौ महा-
राष्ट्रकलिंगसंज्ञौ । (1)
- 8 अवागुदक् पाञ्चककन्यकुक्षौ देशस्य तत्रास्ति तिलिंगनामा । ॥ ५*॥ तद्दे-
श्वरः केशमिनायकोभूदभूतपूर्वा-
- 9 हु⁴तवाहुसारः । वृत्तानि यद्वर्तनदर्पणेष्वे रात्रामलक्ष्यन्त पुरातनानां । ॥ ६*॥
मुकुटिनामा नृप-
- 10 सार्वभौमो गंगातटांतालिक्त यस्य पूर्वो । पुरा तिलिंगान् प्रति मन्दि-
कोडावानाययन्

First Plate : Second Side.

- 11 नायकवंशमुख्यौ । ॥ ७*॥ ताभ्यां विनिर्मापितमात्मनाम्ना पुरं महच्च प्रथि-
तैर्धदेशे । (1) तदुत्तमं विभजति मन्⁵
- 12 चिकोडगोचं सगर्वा भुवि यस्य वक्ष्याः⁶ । ॥ ८*॥ तस्मिन्मतीते⁷ तनयस्तादीयो
गुणैः प्रतीतो गणपाभि-
- 13 धानः । (1) भुजंगमाधीश्वरविश्रमाय भारं पृथिव्या विभराम्भूव ॥९*॥ देवो
नृपेक्षिन्सति युक्तावर्षी क्षेपा-
- 14 स्मभूवन् फलवत्तराणि । न श्वापदेभ्योप्यटवीषु शंका मस्मिन्नुचेभ्यः विमु-
ताध्वगा-
- 15 नां । ॥ १०*॥ तस्मात्समुद्रादिव शीतरश्मिः कूनाभिधानः कुलकेतुरासीत् ।
आरोप्य सिंहा-
- 16 सनमात्मजं स्वमैत्रं स सिंहासनमाकरोह । ॥ ११*॥ धीरो वदान्यो विनयोप-

¹ Read प्राग्दंतेन.

² The *anuvāra* begins the next line.

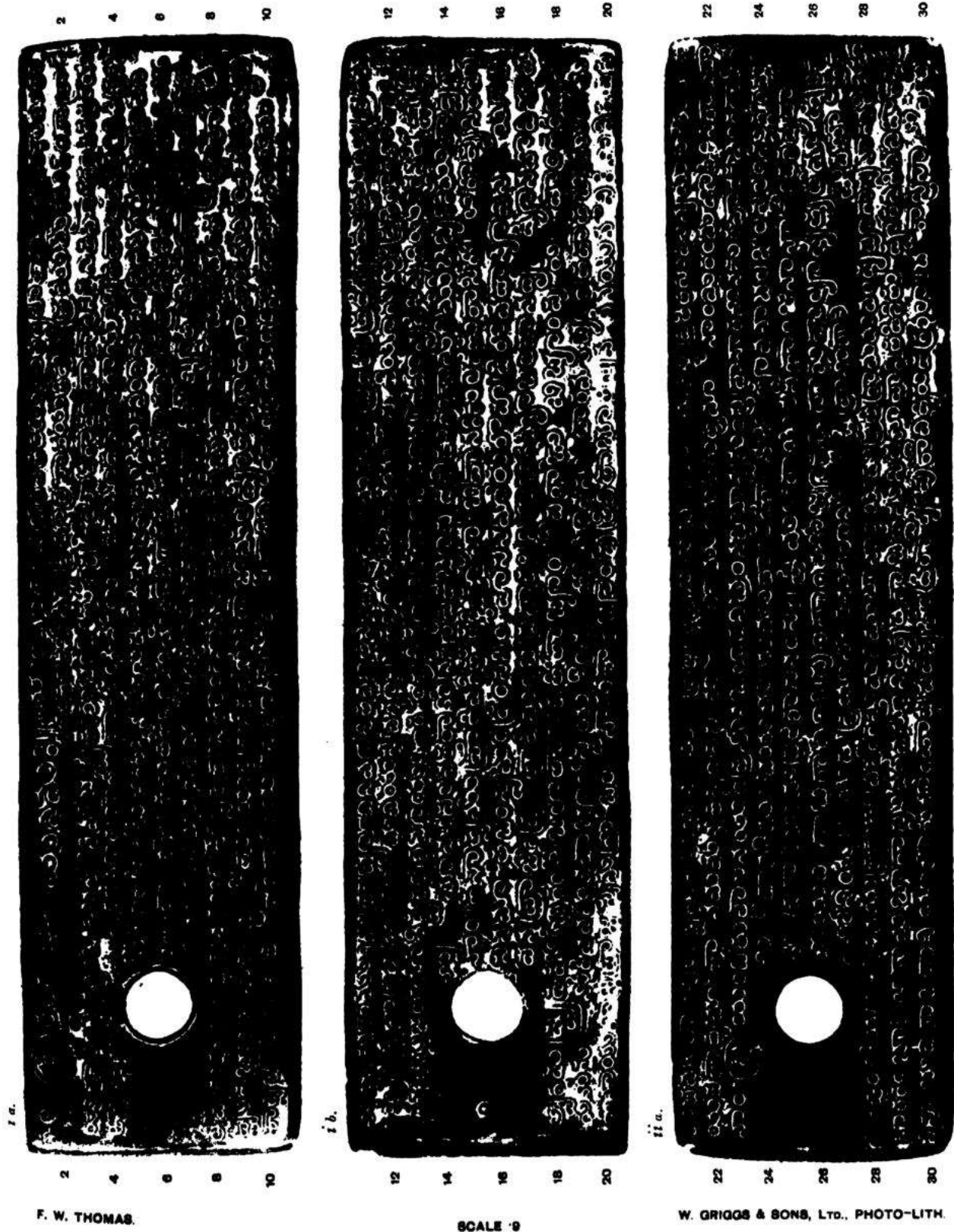
³ The *anuvāra* of *mamohi* begins the next line.

⁴ Read तस्मिन्⁵.

⁵ Read तद्वरस्य.

⁶ Read हु.

⁷ Read वक्ष्याः





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- 17 यत्तः[*] प्राज्ञः प्रतापी सुलभप्रसा[द]ः । स्थिरोभिगम्यो बलवानष्टथो
नवोपि सोभू-
- 18 त्वरधू^१अधर्षः ।[। १२*] चिरं बलात्कारक[द]र्शिताभ्यां परासुखीभ्यां पुन-
र्जातरिभ्यः ।(।)
- 19 गुणी गुणैरेव वशंवदाभ्यां स्वयं उतो यो वहुधारमाभ्यां ।[। १३*]
तदात्मजो मुंम-
- 20 जिनायको[स्ति] प्राज्ञश्चमग्नो बलपौरुषाभ्यां । पुत्री पिताभूत् स्ववशेन येन
वीरेण वीरप्रस-

Second Plate : First Side.

- 21 वा च माता ।[। १४*] कन्या स्वसुः कापयनायकेंद्र[*] स्त्रीरत्नभूतासुपदाय^२
तस्मै । प्रतीतरूपान्वयपौरुषा-
- 22 य परार्थमात्मानममन्यत स्वं ।[। १५*] स संमतो मुंमडिकृतमानामिरं-
मदो वैरिनरा[धि]पा-
- 23 नां । श्रियं पितृश्लासनयंचणेन बलादनिहंनपि^३ चान्वमंस्त ।[। १६*]
पानारकोनकुुरवाटकचेंगरादोन्
- 24 गोदावरोमुभयतीयमुपांतदेशान् । जित्वा वनाचलजलस्थलंदुर्गरम्या^४-
- 25 नेकः प्रशास्ति चिरमप्रतिशासनं सः ।[। १७*] चेमंकरा ये वसतां
जनानां पश्यव्यापा-
- 26 शीयवसामिरामाः । पुंसां वणिज्यालपिपाशुपात्मान्यत्यर्थमाश्वक-
- 27 रणानि यच्च ।[। १८*] येवप्रयासोप्य^५म[हा*]फलानि क्षेत्रणि शालीशुव-
क्षोचिता-
- 28 नि । कडंकारीया अपि नैव यच्च कृतः प्रसंगस्तु मलिन्नुचानां ।[। १९*]
येषु प्रतिग्राममबंधपूमास्सनागवल्लीसह-
- 29 काररंभाः । आरामभागास्तुवते वसूनि पक्वैष्टकावध्वसुसिध्वकूपाः^६ ।[। २०*]
तदीमितुर्वास्वतीव विष्णोरस्ति प्र-
- 30 मस्ता भुवि राजधानी । या कीरुकीडा व्यपदिशतेभैरार्यैः पुराविंशिरुदय-
शैला ।[। २१*] चकास्ति सालः प-

Second Plate : Second Side.

- 31 रितः पुरो यां पृथ्वीं विशालामिव चक्रवालः । हस्त्यश्वयोषापुष्पादि-
कायास्तद्वत्सुष्टेरिव गु-

^१ Read दु.

^२ Read °दमिच्छति.

^३ Read स्त.

^४ Read °मुपदाय.

^५ Read °स्थलदुर्ग°.

^६ Read °नवसुसिध्व°.

- 32 सिकोशः ।[। २२*] मृदंगधीरेर्मदहस्तिवृद्धितैस्तुरंगहेवैः करणोपश्रीभिभिः
सुरक्तगोतैरपि वं-
33 दिमंगकैर्नृपत्रियो नर्तनशाक्तिकेव या ।[। २३*] पुरे च कोट्यां पुरि ताडि-
पाकेप्यात्मानुजौ शिंगयगजयास्थौ । शा-
34 खानगयोर्द्विभयोर्निधाय वीरस्य तां रक्षति राजधानीं ॥[। २४*] संगत्या
निजमंगसुसम-
35 मलंकृत्य श्रुतेन श्रुती सत्येनाननमार्जवेन हृदयं त्यागेन हस्तावुभौ । वीरः कू-
36 नयमुंमडिचितिपतिर्दत्तांगभूषण्य तामाकल्यं समवेक्षते नवमसावं-
37 तय्यशोदर्पणं ।[। २५*] बहिः पतंगोपलश्रीतलस्य गूढप्रतापस्य मनोग-
तिज्ञाः । त-
38 स्थोभ्वणं^१ ब्यालमिव क्षितीया विलंघितुं शासनमुद्दिजंते ॥[२६*] अर्थ[सि]-
धिमधिगम्य नोतिमात्काम-
39 मप्यनुसरन् यथोचितं । स चिवर्गसमवृत्तिरास्तिको धर्ममार्जयति धर्मतत्त्ववित्
॥[२७*] श्रीमतो सुष-
40 मा भाति रंगनामनि धामनि । कावेरीसुभयीं पुष्पामंतरानंतशायिनी
॥[२८*] पुरा तत्परमं ब्रह्म [ब्रह्म*]-

Third Plate : First Side.

- 41 [णो] गृहदेवतं । तदनंतरमिच्छाकोस्तपसश्च फलायितं ।[। २९*] अथ विष्णु-
निदानमायताच्चं प्रथमा-
42 नं श्रुतिमस्तकैरशीषैः । [द्र]मिडामितवा^२नधेयमासीत्कमलालालितपादपङ्क्तवं
तत् ।[। ३०*] पाका-
43 वदातैः फणिवज्रिपचैस्स(स)वर्ण्यचूर्णैः^३ क्रसुकैस्ससारैः । नवैरुषस्वी^४वसपुष्प-
मास्थैस्सायं
44 च सायंतनमालिकाभिः ।[। ३१*] लवंगतल्लोलकजातिकेशकस्तूरिकौलागदसार-
45 सुख्यैः । सुवस्तुभिस्सांकववुं^५कुमादीर्या भोगिनामैहिकभोगभूमिः ।[। ३२*]
46 या चतुर्गुणकलाभिरेदवीं मंडलीं जयति निर्भरा सती । सूरिवर्गमपव-
47 र्गतत्परं स्रयतेपि च पुराणपूज्यात् ।[। ३३*] तस्यां श्रीरंगपुर्यामधिधरणि-
जनत्रा-

^१ The *anuvāra* of चङ्गि begins the next line.

^२ Read °सिद्धि°.

^३ Read रयी.

^४ Read °स्त्रीरूपं.

^५ Read °मा.

^६ Read °वसुमीरादव°.

- 48 तरचैकहेतोराविर्भूतस्य विष्णोरनवधियशसोनन्यसामान्यकृत्यं पौरोहित्यं भजन्
यो ह-
49 रितकुलमणिवर्धेदेवेदांतविज्ञो नात्मा श्रीवत्सचिह्नो गुरुरभवदध्वंसिधि'व्यावता-
50 रः ।[। ३४*] तत्पुत्रो भुवि दत्तपुत्रविभवं श्रीश्रीशयोः प्राप्तवान् श्री-
भट्टपराशरो गुरुर-

Third Plate : Second Side.

- 51 भूयत्पादसंसेवनात् । स्वेष्टां श्रीचरणांबुजं श्रितवतां शिष्यप्रशिक्षादयो
• विष्णोस्त-
52 त्परममं पदं विध(द)धते वेदांतवेद्यादिकाः ।[। ३५*] तदादि सप्तपुरुषं कुलं
श्रीशंशसंभवं
53 । इति ख्यातं हि तत्पुत्रो विद्वान् भट्टपराशरः ।[। ३६*] स वेदाचार्यभट्टा-
र्यप्रमुखैर्बाधवैरभा-
54 त् । परस्परैकहृदयैर्वेदो वेदैरिवापरैः ।[। ३७*] तदंशांबुधिसंभवः कुवलय-
55 मोदो कलानां निधिर्भूदेवाभ्युदयकोभ्युदयवान् स्वान्तस्थकृष्णा-
56 कृतिः । नित्यं विष्णुपदाश्रितोऽखिलतमस्तापापहंताप्यहो श्रीमद्-
57 प्पराशरो गुरुरभूत्स्वेव दोषाकरः ।[। ३८*] कावेरीलहरीवातनीतश्रीतलश्रीक-
58 रैः । सित्तः[*] श्रीरंगभोगेषु सक्तस्त्रीखासिकां भजन् ।[। ३९*] दय-
मानमना[*] श्रीशो देशानंधान् स र-
59 चितुं । तं पराशरभट्टार्यमनैषोदात्मशक्तिकं ।[। ४०*] नितर्गतस्त्रिवर्ग(:*)
स्यादनित्याद्यगुणान्वितः । सत्त्वाद्यु-
60 पायास्त्रापाया इतिनिश्चयसप्रदं ।[। ४१*] तत्राश्रयंतं तं धन्या यत्पदस्पर्शवै-

Fourth Plate : First Side.

- 61 भवात् । स्वयमाचार्यकं प्राप्य दिग्गं कीर्तिमतामिषुः ।[। ४२*] पापिष्ठः चच-
बंधुचेत्यादिवाक्य-
62 तश्चूतः^१ । तस्य पादाश्रिता भूत्वा भूपाः प्रादुरनेकशः ।[। ४३*] ग्रामा-
रामी-
63 वरारत्नाभरणाद्यात्मना सह । स मुंमडिमहीशोपि तमिमं गुरुमाश्रयन् ।
[। ४४*] की-

^१ Read दि.

^२ Read चूतेः

^३ The anusvāra of 'न' begins the next line.

- 64 द्वापदपञ्चिनामानं ग्राममाचार्यदक्षिणां । श्रीपराशरभट्टाय प्रादात् स्व-
 65 गुरवे सुधीः ।[४५*] स पराशरभट्टार्यो जननीदेवतो भवन् । रंगि-
 शाय कुलिशाय प्रा-
 66 दादासीमार्हापदाः)।[४६*] तस्य माता जगन्माता नाम्ना सर्वगुणे-
 रपि । न केवलं शरीर-
 67 स जनन्यप्यात्मनो हि सा ।[४६*] समाप्य सप्तमे तस्मिन्नवतारप्रयो-
 जनं । श्रीपरा-
 68 शरभट्टार्ये श्रीशभो गोपयोगिनि ।[४८*] स्वजनान्संप्रदानानि स्वविभूतेर्विधि-
 क्षया । आदौ सर्ववि-
 69 धी बंधू रंगशायोति निश्चयात् ।[४८*] ऐश्वर्यभोगैर्युतमष्टसंख्यैस्सर्वसंहाराम-
 70 गृहोर्वराभिः । श्रीरंगराजाय तु सा व्यातारीत् कोडाक्षपञ्चिंमयहारं ॥
 [५०*] [शक]वर्षे न-

Fourth Plate : Second Side.

- 71 भोनागनेचेदुगणिते शुभे । चैत्रमासि शुची पक्षे पंचम्यां शुक्रवांसरे ।[५१*]
 सप्तमभष्टप-
 72 राशरजननी श्रीरंगवर्धनाख्यातं । मुंमडिनायकनाकोयं ग्रामं रंगशायि-
 73 ने प्रादात् ।[५२*] एष्यत्भूप्रत्ययार्धं तस्य लक्षणमुच्यते । अविदूरेण
 वासिष्ठ-
 74 गोदावर्यास्तु पश्चिमः ।[५३*] कोडाक्षपञ्चिनामार्य ग्रामः पानारभूमि-
 [ग]ः ।
 75 तस्याष्टदिग्गतग्रामसंनिवेशो निरूप्यते ।[५४*] देवाख्यः पूर्वदिग्भा-
 76 ने कोणे दूरादसंटकः । विष्णुवर्द्धिणः कोणे मारदेर्न-
 77 निपुंडि च ।[५५*] पश्चिमे पेनुकोडाख्यः कोणे चळीकुवाडकः
 उत्तरे मीन-
 78 बळी स्यात्कोणे तामरवाडकः ।[५६*] स्यात्पिंकुंतुचेळु मङ्गिराम्नेयसी-
 मतः । [घो]-
 79 पुंगाल्यपुंगालिच बहिर्दक्षिणकोणतः ।[५७*] सृष्टिदायव्यसीमानं पेन्गो-
 डचेन-
 80 कोणकः ।(।) शेतासेदविशेषा हि सोमानः[*] अष्टदर्शनाः ।[५८*]
 सर्वचेत्रप्रमाणं चेत्तु-

* Read °ग्रामप्रदः.

* Read ५.

* Read °पञ्चिंमय°.

* Read चेदुगृहं तदा°.

* Read °भूप्रत्ययार्धं°.

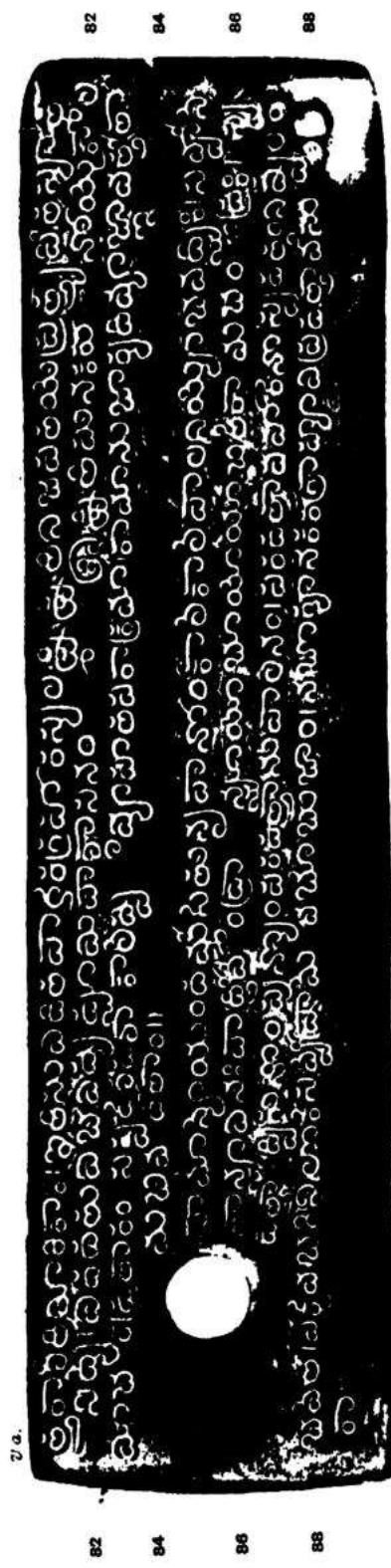
Srirangam Plates of Mummadi Nayaka : Saka 1280.



F. W. THOMAS.



SCALE 9



W. GRIGGS & SONS, LTD., PHOTO-LITH.

Fifth Plate : First Side.

- 81 तत्राग्नीतिष्कारिकाः । [। ५८*] इति सुविदितपाकेरघहारस्य लक्ष्मीक्षिति-
निजपतये प्रक्षयितस्याम्-
82 सिधौ ।¹ विदधतु विभविष्यद्भूमिपाशासनं श्रीक्षितिघनकरुणायै काल-
83 माचंद्रतारं ॥[५९ ॥*] सर्वदेशदशाकालेष्वव्याहतपराक्रमा । रामानुजार्य-
दिव्यज्ञा वर्त्तता-
84 मभिवर्धतां ॥[६०॥*]
85 सामान्योयं धर्मसितुनृपाणां काले काले पालनिष्यो भवद्भिः² सर्वानि-
86 तान्माविनः पार्श्वेद्वान्भूयो भूयो याचिते³ रामचंद्रः ।[६१॥*] स्व-
87 दत्तादिगुणं⁴ पुण्यं परदत्तानुपालनं । परदत्तापहारेण स्वदत्तं निष्पलं⁵
88 भवेत् ।[६२॥*] एकैव भगिनो लोके सर्वेषामेव भूभुजां । न भोग्या
न करग्राह्या विप्रदत्ता वसुं[ध]-
89 रा ॥[६३॥*]

ABSTRACT OF CONTENTS.

- Verse 1. Invocation to Śiva, Pārvatī, Gaṇeśa and the Moon.
V. 2. Invocation to Śveta-Varāha, the third incarnation of Viṣṇu.
V. 3. States that the present age is known as the Kali Yuga.
V. 4. States that the portion of the earth stretching from the Himālayas to the southern ocean is called the Bhārata-varsha.
V. 5. Gives the boundaries of the Teliṅga-dēśa situated in the Bhārata-varsha, as follows:—On its north is the kingdom of Kanyakubja, on the south the Pāṇḍya country and on the west the Mahārāṣṭra.
V. 6. The Teliṅga country was once ruled over by a king named Kēśami Nāyaka.
V. 7. His two ancestors, who belonged to a family known as the Mañchikonḍa family, were originally brought down to the Teliṅga country from the Gangetic valley by a king named Mukkaṇṭi.
V. 8. These two founded the city of Mañchikonḍa after their names, and their descendants were also known as of the Mañchikonḍa gōtra.
Vv. 9-10. On the death of Kēśami Nāyaka his son Gaṇapa ascended the throne.
Vv. 11-13. Gaṇapa was succeeded by Kūna.
V. 14. Mummaḍi Nāyaka was the son of Kūna.
V. 15. He married the daughter of the sister of Kāpaya Nāyaka.

¹ Read °सिद्धौ.

² Read पार्श्वेद्वान्.

³ Read निष्पलं.

⁴ Read इ.

⁵ Read याचते.

⁶ Read पालनीयौ भवद्भिः.

⁷ Read °दिगुणं.

V. 16. Though personally unwilling to assume the burden of his kingdom, he did so in deference to the wishes of his father.

Vv. 17-20. He conquered the countries of Pānāra, Kōna, Kuravāṭa, Cheṅgara and others lying on either bank of the river Gōḍavari. He ruled over his vast kingdom for a long time, and under him the people were in a very prosperous condition.

V. 21. His capital was Kōrukoṇḍa.

Vv. 22-23. Description of the capital town.

V. 24. King Mummaḍi allowed his younger brothers Śiṅgaya and Gannaya to govern the principalities of Kōṭṭipura and Taḍipaka respectively.

Vv. 25-27. Praises of king Mummaḍi. He seems to have had many vassals under him.

Vv. 28-33. Here the narrative turns from Mummaḍi to the island of Śrīraṅgam and the deity presiding over its temple, namely the god Raṅganātha.

V. 34. Begins with the genealogy of the donee, Parāśara Bhaṭṭa. His ancestor Śrīvatsachihna Miśra was born in the Hārīta gōtra and was a very learned man and held the *paurōhitya* in the temple of Raṅganātha.

V. 35. His son was Bhaṭṭa Parāśara, and he had many disciples, of whom the most illustrious was Vēdānta-vēdya.

V. 36. His son was also called Bhaṭṭa Parāśara.

V. 37. One of the illustrious relatives of Bhaṭṭa Parāśara was Vēdāchārya Bhaṭṭa (that is, the brother of the first Parāśara Bhaṭṭa).

V. 38. In the family of Parāśara Bhaṭṭa was born a learned and pious *guru*, also named Bhaṭṭa Parāśara.

Vv. 39-42. This person went on a tour to the Āndhra country, where many learned Brāhmaṇas became his disciples.

Vv. 43-45. Here several kings gave him rich presents such as gardens, wet lands, jewels and precious stones. King Mummaḍi Nayaka also presented him with the village of Kōṭṭālaparru.

Vv. 46-50. This *āchārya*, having finished the mission of his human existence, went to enjoy the company of Viṣṇu (*i.e.* died). His mother Jaganmātā wanted to give away the property to her relatives; but, thinking that Śrīraṅga-nātha was her truest and nearest relative, made a gift of the village of Kōṭṭālaparru to that god, with all her other belongings, such as gardens, houses, etc.

V. 51. This gift was made on a Thursday, the fifth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of the month Chaitra in the Śaka year 1280, expressed by *nabhaḥ* (zero), *nāga* (the mountains), *nētra* (the eyes) and *indu* (the moon).

Vv. 52-58. The boundaries and other descriptions of the village of Kōṭṭālaparru are given as follows:—

The village is situated in the Pānāra country to the west of the Vāsishṭha Gōḍavari. It is bounded on the north by Monambarru village, on the east by the village of Dēva, on the south by Viltūru, on the south-west by Naṅgipūṇḍi and on the north-west by the village of Charukuvāḍaka.

Vv. 59-63. The usual admonitory verses.

No. 11.—TWO PALLAVA COPPER-PLATE GRANTS.

By H. KRISHNA SASTRI, MADRAS.

The subjoined Pallava grants of Skandavarman II and Simhavarman II were discovered in 1915 in the *Narasaraopet taluka* of the Guntur district.¹ The owner of them, M. R. Ry. Janabula Venkateswarulu, the village Munsiff of Santarāvūru, in the Bāpaṭla *taluka* of the same district, is stated to have been in possession of these grants from a very long time, so that the exact history of their discovery is shrouded in darkness. Both the plates have been kindly presented by the owner to the Madras Museum on the recommendation of the Collector of Guntur and will be deposited in that institution as soon as the subjoined article is issued in the *Epigraphia Indica*. The former of the plates, which belongs to the time of Skandavarman II and is the earlier of the two, supplies a missing link in the study of Pallava history, of which two periods have been generally recognized, viz., an earlier and a later. Dr. Hultzsch and the late Rai Bahadur V. Venkayya have done much for the elucidation of both these periods, and we have largely to rely upon their publications for the Pallava history known so far, though before them the Rev. Mr. Foulkes had edited some copper-plate records of the same dynasty, but only tentatively.

The origin of the Pallavas has been obscure. A suggestion has been thrown out by Mr. Venkayya that they may have to be connected with the Palhavas mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* and the Purāṇas and there classified as foreigners outside the pale of Aryan society.² It is true that here the Pallavas are so classed with the Śakas, Yavanas and other foreign tribes; nevertheless the possibility of their being a class that originated from an intermingling of the Brāhmaṇas with the indigenous Dravidian tribes is not altogether precluded. This presumption is confirmed partly by a curious statement made in the Rāyakōṭa copper-plates³ that Aśvatthāman, the Brahman founder of the race, married a Nāga woman and had by her a son called Skandaśishya. Other copper-plates,⁴ which relate a similar story, mention in the place of Skandaśishya the eponymous king Pallava, after whom the family came to be called Pallava. Hence it appears almost probable that the Pallavas, like the Kadambas of Banavāsi,⁵ the Nolambas of Mysore,⁶ the Matsyas of Oḍḍavādi⁷ (Oḍḍādi in the Vizagapatam district) and other similar dynasties, were the products of Brāhmaṇa inter-connections with the Dravidian races, as the stories related of their origin indicate. The Pallavas are, however, referred to in an early Kadamba record of the 6th century A.D. as Kshatriyas, and their earliest sovereigns are stated to have performed Vedic sacrifices like the Aryan kings of old.

Three, and sometimes even four, distinct periods of Pallava history are recognized, the earliest covering roughly two centuries, viz., the 3rd and the 4th, and the next roughly the 5th and part of the 6th century A.D. The third, or rather the third and the fourth periods together, extended from the latter part of the 6th down to almost the end of the 9th century A.D., when the kingdom proper of the Pallavas, viz., the Tonḍa-maṇḍalam, was conquered by the Chōḷas of Tanjore. The continuity of the line during these several periods has not been clearly established. The rulers of the last dynasty of Pallavas down from the time of Simhavishṇu were distinguished as the first builders of lithic monuments in Southern India,⁸ the bitter opponents of the progress of the Western Chalukyas of Bādāmi in the south, and the

¹ *Annual Report on Epigraphy for 1916*, p. 113, paragraphs 3 and 4.

² *Arch. Surv. Rep. for 1906-7*, pp. 217 f.

³ *See e.g. S. I. I.*, p. 355, vv. 16 and 17.

⁴ Mr. Rice's *Mysore and Coorg from Inscriptions*, p. 55.

⁵ Above, Vol. V, pp. 107 f.

⁶ Above, Vol. V, p. 52.

⁷ Dr. Fleet's *Dyn. Kan. Distrs.*, p. 286 and foot-note 2.

⁸ *South-Indian Images*, ch. I, p. 2.

establishers of Pallava power in the heart of the Chōḷa country. These facts have been practically settled and have been derived from their own copper-plates, the copper-plate records of the contemporaneous Western Chalukyas and the Pallava stone inscriptions found pretty largely in Southern India. It is not with this period of Pallava history that we are now concerned. A century or so prior to these there ruled a regular line of Pallava kings in and about the Nellore district, whose copper-plates have been published in the volumes of the *Epigraphia Indica* and the *Indian Antiquary*. It is with the earliest of these kings that the first of the copper-plates in question is connected. Before commenting on them I should like to say a word of the still earlier Pallava kings, whose charters are all in the Prākṛit language and are hence assigned to a period not much later than those of the Andhras of the 2nd and 3rd centuries of the Christian era. What position these early Pallavas occupied under the Andhras and under what particular circumstances they rose into supreme power are questions which could not be answered at present, but must await future research. The earliest document of these early Pallavas is that of Śiva-Skandavarman, issued while the latter was yet a crown-prince (*yuvamahārāja*).¹ It is dated from his capital Conjeeveram and is addressed to his Viceroy at Dhañṇakaḍa (Dhānyakaṭaka-Dharanikōṭa, near Amarāvati) in Andhrāpatha, the Āndhra country. The next is a copper-plate record of the same king after his accession to the throne and the assumption of the title *dharma-mahārājādhirāja*, 'the righteous supreme king of great kings'.² This was also issued from Conjeeveram. It refers to the grant of a village in Sātāhani-Raṭṭha, a territorial division which is evidently to be located in the Bellary district. The mention of Sātāhani-Raṭṭha in this record of about the 3rd century A.D., and of Sātavaghani-hāra in an Āndhra record of the 2nd century A.D., recently discovered by the Madras Epigraphist's office at Myākadoni in the Adoni *tāluka* of the Bellary district,³ plainly indicates not only the possible identification of the two territorial divisions, but further suggests by inference the political succession of the Andhras by the Pallavas of Kāñchi (Conjeeveram). Still another record of this same early Pallava period is that of queen Chāru-dēvi, the wife of the *yuvamahārāja* Vijaya-Buddhavarman and mother of Buddhyaṅkura.⁴ It comes from the Guntur district and is dated in the reign of Vijaya-Skandavarman, who was evidently the grandfather of prince Buddhyaṅkura and the ruling sovereign at the time of the grant. It is doubtful what relationship this Vijaya-Skandavarman bore to Śiva-Skandavarman of the two records mentioned above. Anyhow, it is gathered from the three early Prākṛit records quoted above that the Pallavas of the Bhāradvāja *gōtra* were the political successors of the Andhras; that they had their capital at Kāñchi (Conjeeveram), and that their kingdom roughly included at that period the Toṇḍa-maṇḍalam and the Āndhra country right up to the river Kṛishṇā, including the Bellary district in the west. Another name might still be added to these early Pallavas, viz., that of Vishṇugōpa of Kāñchi, mentioned in the famous Allahābād posthumous pillar inscription of Samudragupta. This powerful Gupta king of about the middle of the 4th century A.D. is stated to have captured and then liberated among others the king Vishṇugōpa of Kāñchi. It is not made clear in the Allahābād pillar inscription whether this subdued Vishṇugōpa was a king of the Pallava dynasty or not. But, as the name is quite popular with the later Pallava kings, and as we do not know of other kings of that name who ruled at Kāñchi at this early period, it may be presumed that the Vishṇugōpa mentioned as a contemporary of Samudragupta was a Pallava. If so, the question arises how this Vishṇugōpa was connected with the kings Śiva-Skandavarman and Vijaya-Skandavarman, already mentioned. Now inscriptions dated prior to the 4th century A.D., such as those of the Andhras, are always in Prākṛit; and it is consequently not unreasonable to suppose that the

¹ Above, Vol. VI, pp. 84 f.

² *Annual Report on Epigraphy for 1916*, p. 112.

³ Ditto, Vol. I, pp. 2 f.

⁴ Above, Vol. VIII, pp. 143 f.

Prākṛit charters of Śiva-Skandavarman and Vijaya-Skandavarman do actually belong at least to the beginning of the 4th century A.D., if not earlier. Viṣṇugōpa, the contemporary of Samudragupta, was perhaps, therefore, of a somewhat later period, when already Prākṛit was beginning to be replaced by Sanskrit in the language of the documents. In a stone inscription at Vāyalūr, not far from Sadras, is given a long list of early Pallava names with, however, no apparently definite plan of supplying a regular genealogical succession. I have noted in detail the contents of this record at page 77 of the *Madras Epigraphical Report* for 1909, paragraph 17.¹ The name Viṣṇugōpa is there mentioned thrice; and it is not unlikely that one of these three, perhaps the earliest of them, is identical with Viṣṇugōpa, the contemporary of Samudragupta, who was still ruling with his capital at Kāñchi. From what follows it will be apparent that now, i.e., about 350 A.D., the Pallavas—perhaps on account of the disturbances caused by the victorious campaign of Samudragupta from the north or owing to the rise of the Kadambas mentioned in the Tālgund inscription²—were dispossessed of their territory round Kāñchi and pushed back farther into the interior.³

This brings us to the period of the Sanskrit charters, which must have commenced somewhere about the 5th century A.D., and continued down to almost the beginning of the 7th.⁴ Four Pallava grants of this age have been edited with texts and translations. Three of these refer to the royal camps from which the grants were issued, viz., Palakkaḍa, Daśanapura and Mēnmātura. The fourth, which is supposed to be the latest in chronological order, mentions Kāñchi again as the capital of the Pallava kings. All the records give four generations of kings, including that of the donor. The first, viz., the Uruvupalli plates,⁵ mention (1) Skandavarman, (2) his son Viravarman, (3) his son Skandavarman, and (4) his son, the donor, *yuva-mahārāja* Viṣṇugōpavarman. Curiously, however, these plates are dated in the 11th year of the king *Mahārāja* Simhavarman. The Māṅgaḍūr copper-plates,⁶ which come next in order, speak of (1) Viravarman, (2) his son Skandavarman, (3) his son *yuvarāja* Viṣṇugōpavarman, and (4) his son, the donor, *Dharma-mahārāja* Simhavarman. The third record published is the Pikira grant,⁷ which supplies the names of (1) Viravarman, (2) his son Skandavarman, (3) his son, *yuva-mahārāja* Viṣṇugōpa, and (4) his son, the donor, Simhavarman. The last document of the series known so far is the Chendalūr plates,⁸ which supplies the names of (1) Skandavarman, (2) his son Kumāravishṇu I, (3) his son Buddhavarman, and (4) his son, the donor, Kumāravishṇu II. The first three plates agree in giving in regular order of succession the names Skandavarman I, his son Viravarman and his son Skandavarman II. The latter's son, *yuva-mahārāja* or *yuvarāja* (i.e., the crown-prince) Viṣṇugōpavarman, dates his Uruvupalli grant in the reign of a certain Simhavarman, whom Dr. Fleet supposes to be an unspecified elder brother of the crown-prince, then reigning on the throne. The second and third grants belong to the time of the *dharma-mahārāja* Simhavarman, who was a son of the *yuva-mahārāja* Viṣṇugōpa. In discussing the date of the third copper-

¹ Professor G. J. Dubreuil in his latest book "*The Pallavas*" (pp. 18 ff.) expresses, however, the opinion that the Vāyalūr inscription gives "a complete list" of the Pallava kings "in the order of their succession."

² Above, Vol. VIII, pp. 28 f. Still another stronger cause is to be found in the rise of the Chōlas under Karikāla, who is stated in the unpublished Tiruvālaṅgaḍu plates of Rājendra-Chōla I, to have made Kāñchi new with gold. The date of Karikāla has been roughly fixed to be the 6th century A.D. But, since after Viṣṇugōpa of Kāñchi of the middle of the 4th century we do not know, so far, of any Pallava rulers of that town until the time of Kumāravishṇu I, a son of Skandasiṅha (Skandavarman II), who, according to the Vēlūrpālaiyam plates (S. I. I., Vol. II, p. 502), re-captured Kāñchi in about the 6th century, the possibility of Karikāla or his immediate ancestors having taken possession of Kāñchi in the period between the middle of the 4th century and the 6th becomes apparent.

³ Pallava inscriptions from the 7th century and after are a mixture of Tamil and Sanskrit.

⁴ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. V, pp. 51 f.

⁵ Above, Vol. VIII, pp. 159 f.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 155 f.

⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 223 f.

plate grant Dr. Hultzsch suggested that all the three must belong to the time of Simhavarman, the son of Vishnugōpa, and rejected the supposition of Dr. Fleet that the first grant of Vishnugōpa was dated possibly in the reign of his supposed elder brother Simhavarman. Accepting the statements of the records as they are, the three plates together supply five generations of kings from Skandavarman I, while the fourth gives three further generations of kings from Skandavarman, whom Dr. Hultzsch is inclined to identify with the second Skandavarman, the grandson of Skandavarman the first. The Vēlūrupālaiyam plates of the later Pallava king Nandivarman III (published in Part V of Vol. II of the *South-Indian Inscriptions*) give a long list of names of the early Pallavas and refer, in the order of succession of father and son, to the kings, Kālabhartṛi, Chūtapallava, Virakūcha, Skandaśishya, Kumāravishṇu who conquered Kāñchi and Buddhavarman, 'who was a submarine fire to the ocean-like army of the Chōlas.' Here the last two names, Kumāravishṇu and Buddhavarman, correspond to the second two names of the Chendalūr plates mentioned above and suggest that Skandaśishya therein referred to as the father of Kumāravishṇu must be the same as Skandavarman II. Virakūcha or (Virakōrchavarman) is apparently identical with Viravarman, as might be gathered also from a fragmentary copper-plate record from Darsi in the Podili division of the Nellore district (published by Dr. Hultzsch in *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. I, p. 397). Thus we get from the several copper-plates published so far six generations of the Pallavas with names of nine Pallava kings, who called themselves Pallava-Mahārājas or Pallava-Dharma-mahārājas of the Bhāradvāja gōtra and ruled from the capital towns Palakkāḍa, Daśanapura and Mēnmātura, until one of them, Kumāravishṇu I, re-conquered Kāñchi-pura, evidently from the Chōlas, who had taken possession of it some time subsequent to that of Vishnugōpa, the contemporary of Samudragupta, and had established themselves in the Toṇḍa country.¹

As to the order of succession of the first three kings in the genealogy, viz., Skandavarman I, Viravarman and Skandavarman II, there cannot be any doubt, inasmuch as all the records noted above mention them in the same order. None of these records, however, are contemporaneous with the kings in question. The importance, therefore, of the subjoined plates (A), which distinctly belong to the time of Skandavarman II, as I shall prove presently, is greatly enhanced.

A.—ŌMGŌḌU GRANT OF VIJAYA-SKANDAVARMAN II : THE 33RD YEAR.

This set consists of four thin copper-plates, held together by a ring, which is 3' in diameter and 1' in thickness. The edges of the plates are not raised into rims, as we generally find done in most copper-plates, in order to protect the writing from being rubbed away by contact with the adjoining copper-sheets. The seal which is attached to the ring is almost circular and 1½' in diameter. It is totally worn away and does not show traces of any symbols, though it may be presumed to have had on it originally the recumbent bull, as in the case of other Pallava grants. The plates measure 8' and 2½' each in length and breadth respectively, and they weigh with ring and seal 51 tolas.

The first and last sheets of the set bear writing only on their inner faces, while the two middle sheets are written on both their sides. Each sheet contains 3 lines of writing, the size of the letters ranging roughly from ⅓ to ½ of an inch. The characters are of a type almost

¹ In the time of the Chōla king Karikāla, of about the 6th century A.D., there was, according to Tamil literature, a Pallava king ruling at Kāñchi (see *Arch. Surv. Rep.* for 1905-6, p. 175, note 3). But the Tiruvālaṅgādu plates of Rājendra-Chōla I suggest that Kāñchi was included in the dominions of Karikāla (*ibid.*, p. 174, note 11). From the Tamil poem *Kālingattuparaṇi* we learn that Kōḱkiḷi, another early Chōla king, married a Nāga princess and by her had an illegitimate son, to whom he assigned the Toṇḍai-nāḍu. Evidently Kāñchi, which was acquired by Karikāla, was lost in the time of Kōḱkiḷi; see Mr. K. V. Subrahmanya Aiyar's *Historical Sketches*, pp. 188 ff.

similar to those of the Uruvupalli, Māṅgaḍūr and the Pikira plates of Siṃhavarman. The numerals 1, 2, 3 and 4 are marked on the right margin on the second sides of the first three plates by a crescent-like bar, with its concave side facing downwards, repeated once, twice and thrice respectively one above the other, and by an indistinct mark,¹ roughly corresponding to the modern Grantha *pha*, engraved on the first side of the fourth plate. The three first numerals appear also on the Uruvupalli plates; but there they show an indenture in the curve of the crescent, which may be taken to indicate a slightly later development. The Māṅgaḍūr and the Pikira grants, however, have the very same symbols. The language of the grant is Sanskrit.

The royal camp from which the donation was made is stated to be the victorious Tāmbrāpa-sthāna, thus adding another unknown place to the also unidentified Palakkāḍa, Mēnmātura and Daśanapura. Mr. Venkayya suggested that the three latter places must be looked for somewhere in the north of the Nellore district. It is not unlikely that the new Tāmbrāpa has similarly also to be found in that same part of the country. The record mentions first the Mahārāja Kumāravishṇu, a Pallava of the Bhāradvāja gōtra, and 'performer of the Aśvamēdha sacrifice,'—the special attribute of a king who has subdued all kings. This title 'performer of the Aśvamēdha sacrifice' was assumed by Śiva-Skandavarman of the Prākṛit plates already referred to. It is true that even in the later records the Pallavas, in general, are accredited with the performance of the Aśvamēdha sacrifice; but considered individually, no one besides the early Śiva-Skandavarman actually held that title. Next after Kumāravishṇu came Mahārāja Skandavarman, who is stated to have acquired the kingdom by his own prowess. Then came Viravarman, who was victorious in many battles and had subdued the circle of kings. His son was Mahārāja Vijaya-Skandavarman, who was true to his word, who day by day increased the store of religious merit by gifts of cows, gold and land, who always desired to serve gods and Brāhmaṇas and ably understood the purport of all the Śāstras. "By his word (of command) the officers (*adhikṛita*) and the *āyuktakas* of Karmma-rāshṭra (*i.e.*, Kamma-nāḍu of later inscriptions, identical with the northern portion of the Nellore district and a part of the present Guntur district)² and the residents³ of Ōṅgōḍu are to be informed that this village Ōṅgōḍu is given as a *sāttika*-gift⁴ with the eighteen kinds of exemptions,⁵ to the learned Gōlaśarman of the Kāśyapa gōtra, a student of two Vēdas and well-versed in the six *Āṅgas* (which constitute the study of the Vēda), and has been converted into a *brahmāḍya* village, excluding the fields ploughed (already) as *dēvabhōga*.⁶ Hence they should invest it (*i.e.*, the village) with all customary immunities. He that transgresses the king's order will be duly punished." The date of the engraving of this grant was the victorious year 33, the third fortnight of winter and the 13th day. Then follow the two usual verses of imprecations.

Thus ends the subject matter of the charter itself. The most interesting point for our present purpose, *viz.*, the Pallava chronology, is the mention of kings Kumāravishṇu, Skandavarman, Viravarman and Vijaya-Skandavarman in the order of their succession. The name Viravarman will at once admit of identification with the second of the kings mentioned in the

¹ See Bühler's *Indian Palaeography*, p. 78.

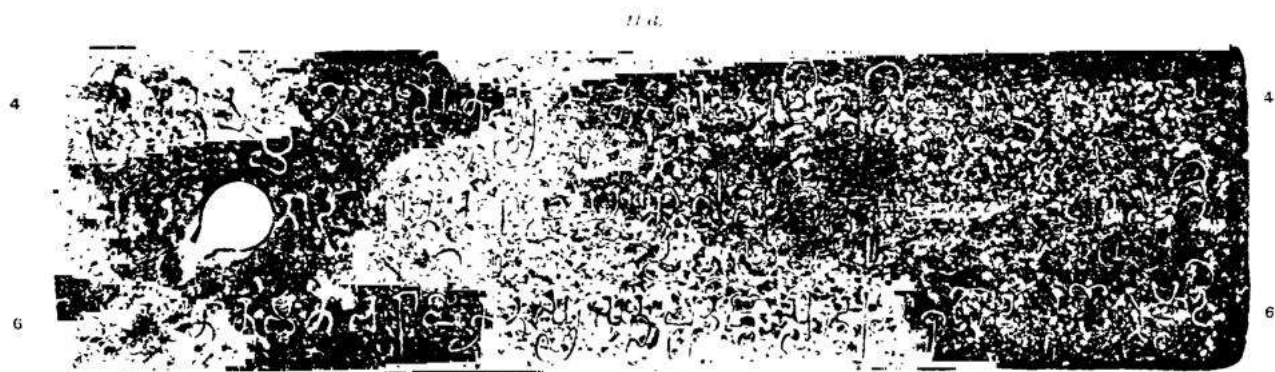
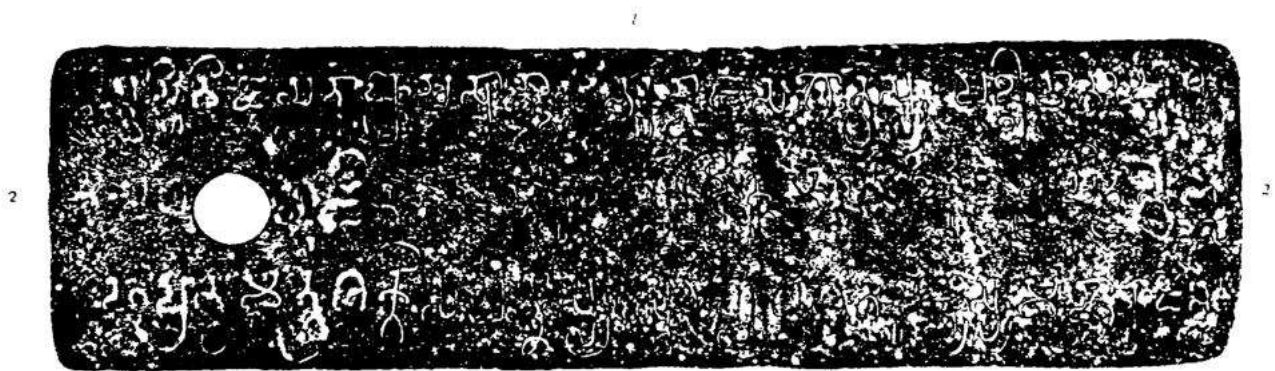
² Above, Vol. IX, p. 60.

³ The word actually used is *grāma*. It may be compared with the Tamil *ūr*, which occurs in inscriptions for the assembled body of villagers under a constitution; see *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1913, p. 93, paragraph 23.

⁴ Monier Williams gives for *sāttika* the meaning 'an offering or oblation (without pouring water).' This may be the kind of gift that was meant here; for the inscription omits the usual reference to the pouring of gold and water—a necessary accompaniment of a *dāna*.

⁵ The eighteen *parihāras* (*aṭṭhārasa-jāti-parihāra*) are mentioned in the Hiraḥaḍgalli plates of Śivaskandavarman; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 6.

⁶ On the term *dēva-bhōga-kāla* see above, Vol. VII, p. 66 and Vol. VIII, p. 163.

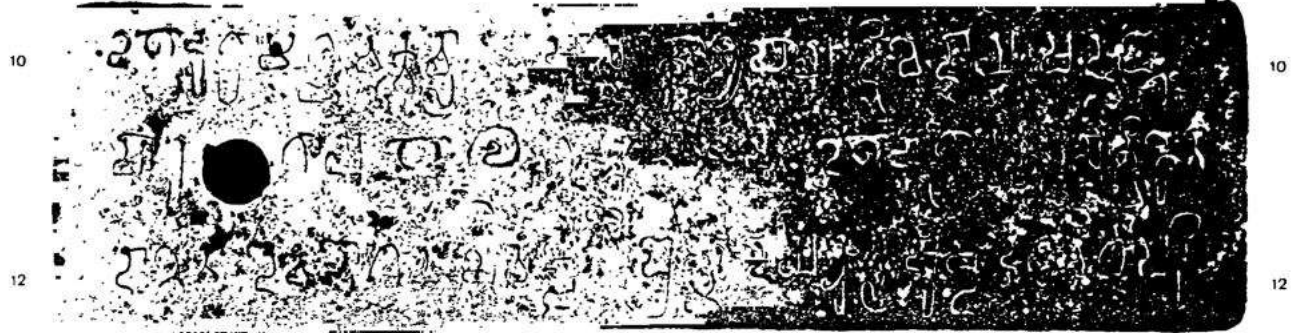


F. W. THOMAS

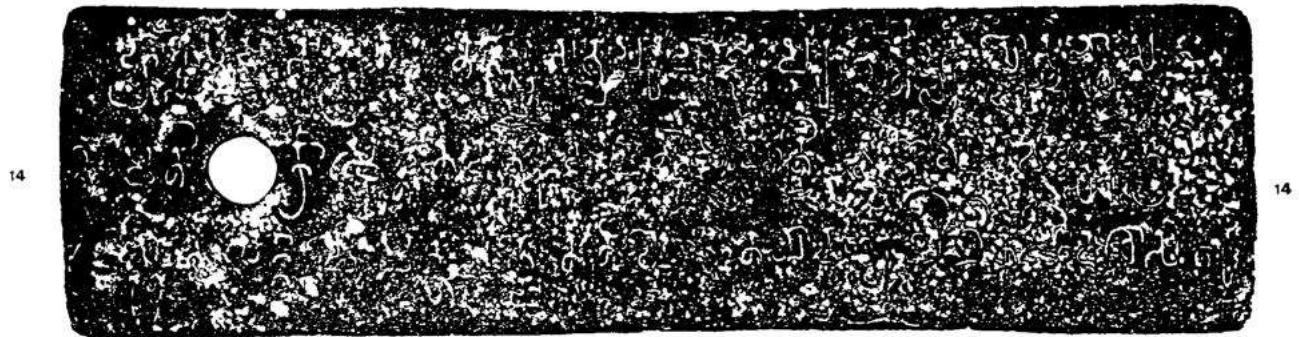
SCALE FOUR FIFTHS

WHITTINGHAM & GRIGGS PHOTO LITH

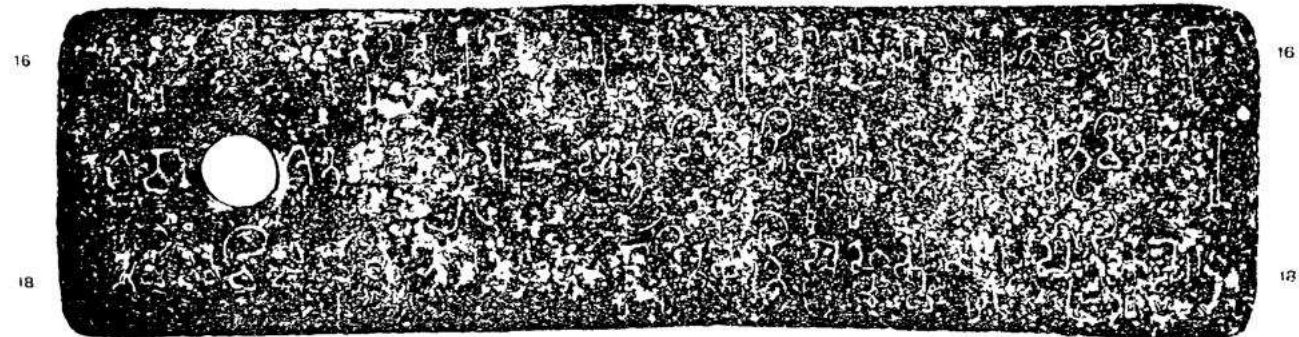
III A.



III B.



III C.



published copper-plate records and with Virakūrchavarman of the mutilated Darśi plate, since in the Pallava genealogy the name Viravarman occurs only once even in the Vāyalūr pillar inscription,¹ which mentions Viṣṇugōpa (thrice), Kumāravishṇu (twice), Buddhavarman (twice), Skandavarman (five times) and Simhavarman (four times). If Viravarman's identity is thus established, it must be easy to see that his father Skandavarman would be the first king of that name mentioned in the published copper-plate grants and that Vijaya-Skandavarman, his son, would be identical with Skandavarman II. Kumāravishṇu, the first king mentioned and the father of Skandavarman I, is probably to be identified with Kālabhartṛi of the Vēlūrpālaiyam plates (*South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. II, p. 503), though there may be very little that is common to the two names. In any case the identity of the donor of our grant with Skandavarman II is practically established. If further evidence is wanted, it is supplied by the style of the language employed in the record, the numerical symbols used and the citation of the date in the third fortnight of the winter season after the manner of the earlier Prākṛit grants.²

A.

TEXT.³

First Plate ; First Side.

- 1 Svasti vijaya-Tāmrāpa-sthānāt⁴ Bhāradvāja-sagōtrasya⁵ Pallavānām=Aśva-
- 2 mēdha-yājinaḥ mahārājasya śrī-Kumāravishṇoḥ prapautrasya=ōtsā-
- 3 ha-prubhu-mantra-śakti-sampannasya sva-vīry-ādhiyata-rājasya mahārājasya

Second Plate ; First Side.

- 4 śrī-Skandavarmanṇaḥ putrasya anēka-samara-labdha-vijaya-yaśaḥ-pratāpa-
- 5 sya pratāp-ōpanata-rāja-maṇḍalasya śrī-Viravarmanṇaḥ putrasya śrī-
- 6 lavatō=umat-āchār-ālamkṛitasya satya-pratijñasya anēka-gō-hiranya-bhūmy-ādi-

Second Plate ; Second Side.

- 7 dānair=ahar=ahar=abhivarddhamāna-dharmma-samchayasya dēva-dviya-śuśrūṣa-ābhirata-
- 8 sya sarva-śāstr-ārttha-nirṇaya-tatva-jñasya⁶ mahārājasya śrī-Vijaya-
- 9 Skandavarmanṇaḥ vachanēna Karma-rāshtrē adhikṛitāḥ āyuktakāḥ

Third Plate ; First Side.

- 10 Ōṃgōḍu-grāmaś=cha vaktavyāḥ Asmai Kāśyapāya dvivēdāya śhaḍ-aṅga-
- 11 pāragāya Gōlaśarmmanē śshaḥ Ōṃgōḍu-grāmaḥ sātṛikēna⁷
- 12 dānēna dēva-bhōga-hala-varjjāḥ brahmaḍeyikṛitya asbtādaśa-vidha-pari-

Third Plate ; Second Side.

- 13 hārais=saha samprattāḥ tasmāt⁸ sarva-parihāraiḥ parihartavyaḥ yō=smach-
chhāsana-

¹ *Annual Report on Epigraphy for 1909, Part II, paragraphs 16 and 17.*

² See remarks by Dr. Hultzsch on the date of the Mayidavōlu plates of Śivaskandavarman; above, Vol. VI, p. 85. The proximity in date to the Āndhra period is also suggested by the spaces marked between words; see note 5 below.

³ From the original plates and a set of impressions taken by the office of the Assistant Archaeological Superintendent for Epigraphy, Southern Circle.

⁴ The *cirāma* of the letter *t* is expressed by its comparatively shorter size. It is entered below the level of the line.

⁵ Almost throughout the record complete words are separated by spaces, as in some of the Āndhra inscriptions.

⁶ Read *-tatva-jñasya*.

⁷ Read *sātṛikēna*.

⁸ The final *ta* is written below the line, as in line 1.

- 14 m-atikrāmēt=tad-anurōpaṁ daṇḍam-arhati [||*] Vijaya-samvatsarē traya-
15 strimśē 30 3 hēanta-pakshē tṛtiyē 3 trayōdaśyām likhitam=idam
śāsanam ||¹

Fourth Plate.

- 16 Atra cha dvau ślōkāṁ=ndāharanti [||*] Sva-dattām para-dattām vā yō harēta
vasundharām [||*]
17 gavāṁ śata-sahasraya hantuḥ pibati dushkṛita[m]² [||*] Brahma-svam tu
visham ghōraṁ
18 na visham visham=uchyatē [||*] visham=tv=ēkākinam hanti brahma-svam putra-
pautrika[m]² || 6.

B.—ŌMGŌḌU GRANT OF SIMHAVARMAN II : THE 4TH YEAR.

These are five thin copper-plates without rims, strung on a plain ring with noseal attached to it. They measure roughly 6½" by 2". The first and last plates are blank on their outer faces. The plates are not numbered, as in the case of A. With the ring they weigh 44 *tolas*.

The characters are much more developed than those of A and belong to a period at least a hundred years later. The curvilinear form of *la* takes the place of the earlier square form (except in *bala* in line 2), and *ma* is not the broad-based letter with its two prominent prongs, but a *va* with a short arm attached to the top of the vertical on its left side. The letters *ka* and *ra* show similar wide differences from their earlier types, being written *ḥ* and *ḷ* in the Uruvupalli, Māṅgaḍūr and the Pīkīra grants and in A, but as *ḥ* and *ḷ* in the subjoined grant and in the Chendalūr plates of Sarvalōkāśraya of A.D. 673 (above, Vol. VIII, Plate facing page 238). The occurrence of final *m* in ll. 24, 28, 29 and 31, of the *upadhāntya* in *hantuḥ pibati* in l. 29 may also be noted. The writing would compare favourably with the characters of the plates of a certain Vijaya-Vishnugōpavarman noticed at page 82 of the *Madras Epigraphical Report* for 1914 and roughly assigned there to the beginning of the 7th century A.D. Consequently it appears as if the record under review must have been a copy of a grant of the 5th-6th century A.D., put into writing in the 7th century, though no direct evidence, external or internal, is to be found on this point from the wording of the grant itself. The numerous mistakes made by the engraver may possibly point to this conclusion.

The record is one of the *dharma-mahārāja* Simhavarman II of the Bhāradvāja *gōtra* and the Pallava lineage, son of the *yuva-mahārāja* Vishnugōpa, grandson of the *mahārāja* Skandavarman and great-grandson of the *mahārāja* Viravārman. These names, given in the order of succession, are quite the same as those of the Uruvupalli and the Pīkīra grants. The laudatory epithets too which precede the names of the several kings are practically identical with those of the latter. We have thus a third grant (though a copy) of the time of Simhavarman II, the first being his Pīkīra grant of the 5th year and the second the Uruvupalli grant of his 8th year. The Māṅgaḍūr grant of his father, *yuva-mahārāja* Vishnugōpavarman, which is also supposed to be dated in the reign of this same Simhavarman II, belongs to the 11th year of his reign. Consequently the subjoined Ōmgōḍu grant, dated in his fourth year, contains the earliest inscription of Simhavarman II known so far. The plates do not commence with the name of the royal camp, as in inscription A, and the Pīkīra, Uruvupalli and the Māṅgaḍūr grants, but merely

¹ The punctuation after the word *śāsanam* is marked by an indistinct symbol, which may correspond to *M* of the later Pallava stone inscriptions, but appears to be joined at the bottom.

² A final *m* may have been written here in place of the usual *śāsanāra*; but it is very indistinct both in the original and in the impression.

refer to it by the general term, the victorious royal camp (*vijaya-skandhāvāra*). From his victorious camp the illustrious *dharma-mahārāja* Simhavarman "gave to *Dēvaśarman*, well-versed in all the *Śāstras*, a resident of *Kuṇḍūr*, of the *Kāśyapa Gōtra* and the *Chhandōga Sūtra*, the village *Ōṃgōḍu* in *Karmmā-rāshṭra*, (situated) within its four boundaries, (*viz.*) the village *Koḍikim* on the east, the village *Narāchaḍu* on the south, the village *Kaḍakuduru* on the west, and the village *Penukaparru* on the north, excluding previous holdings, on the occasion of an eclipse (?), for the increase of our vitality, strength and victory." The phrase introducing the usual address of the king to the inhabitants of the district in which the granted village was situated is omitted in line 8; but this is, however, presumed in lines 23 to 25, where they are asked "to exempt and cause to be exempted the said village with all immunities (*parihāra*). The sinner who transgresses this Our edict shall be liable to corporal punishment." Here follow three comminatory and imprecatory verses of the old *Ṛishis* (lines 26 to 31). The grant was made on the fifth tithi (*pañchamī*) of the bright fortnight of *Vaiśākha* in the fourth year of the increasing and victorious years of the reign (line 31 f.); and the plates were engraved at the oral command of the king (*bhaṭṭāraka*) himself (line 32 f.).

A very interesting synchronism recorded in the recently discovered Western Gaṅga copper-plates from *Penugonḍa* in the *Anantapur* district adds much to our knowledge of the time and helps us to fix the approximate date of some of the Pallava kings of this period. This synchronism, already noticed in the *Madras Epigraphical Report* for 1914, page 83, paragraph 4, has been fully discussed by the late Dr. Fleet in his article "A new Gaṅga Record and the date of Śaka 380," contributed to the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* for 1915 (pp. 471 to 485). The *Pallava-mahārāja* Simhavarman and the *Pallava-mahārāja* Skandavarman are here stated to have respectively anointed on the Gaṅga throne the Western Gaṅga kings *Ayyavarman* and *Mādhava II*, who were related to each other as father and son. The Gaṅga chronology constructed by Mr. Rice on the very unreliable material supplied by the chronicle *Koṅgu-dēśa-rājakkal* and some spurious Gaṅga records is not likely to throw light on the date of the Pallava kings Simhavarman and Skandavarman, assigning as it does the Gaṅga king Mādhava II to the 3rd century A.D. or thereabouts. The characters of the *Penugonḍa* plates clearly point to the 5th century as their probable period, judged palaeographically; and it is not therefore possible to accept the Western Gaṅga chronology put forth by Mr. Rice. Dr. Fleet, accordingly, resorts to a literary quotation from a Digambara Jaina work, entitled *Lōkavibhāga*, which refers to the 22nd year of Simhavarman, the lord of *Kāñchī*, as corresponding to Śaka 380. This, if it is to be relied upon, yields for Simhavarman II the initial date A.D. 436 and tallies satisfactorily with the palaeographical indications, which place his inscriptions in about the 5th century of the Christian era. The statement in the *Lōkavibhāga* that Simhavarman was the lord of *Kāñchī* is also an indirect confirmation of the fact that Kumāravishṇu, the uncle of Simhavarman II, recaptured, as stated in the *Vēlūrpālaiyam* plates, the capital town of *Conjeeveram*, which the immediate predecessors of Kumāravishṇu had evidently lost,—their grants being dated from *Tāmbṛāpa*, *Mēnmātura*, *Palakkaḍa* and *Daśanapura*, while their still earlier predecessors referred to *Kāñchī-pura* (*Conjeeveram*) as their capital.

The eclipse day, which in line 22 is stated to have been the occasion for the grant, is apparently contradicted by the details of date, *viz.*, the 5th day of the bright fortnight of *Vaiśākha* in the 22nd year of the reign, quoted in lines 31-32, and may perhaps be reconciled by supposing that the grant, which was actually made on the new-moon day of *Chaitra*, a possible day for the nearest solar eclipse, was engraved on the copper-plates five days after, *i.e.*, on the 5th day of the bright half of *Vaiśākha*. It therefore follows, if the initial date derived from the *Lōkavibhāga* for Simhavarman II is to be accepted, that there must have been in A.D. 440, the fourth year of the king, a solar eclipse in the month of *Chaitra*. This, however, does not happen to be the fact.

Ōṃgōḍu, mentioned in both A and B as the village granted, has to be looked for in the northern part of the Nellore district, which with portions of the modern Guntur district formed the old territorial division of Karmma-rāṣṭra, i.e., Kamma-nāḍu, so frequently mentioned in later Telugu inscriptions. Perhaps it has to be identified with the town of Ongole itself, the headquarters of the Ongole *tīluka* of the Guntur district and a station on the East Coast Railway. Of the boundaries of Ōṃgōḍu mentioned in the inscription, Koḍikim corresponds to the modern Kopiki, near Ongole. Kaḍākuduru and Naṛāchaḍu cannot be identified. Peṇuka-parṇu is not found on the maps. It, however, occurs in the form Piṇukkipparu as the family name of certain Brāhmaṇas who were the donees of the village Taṇḍantōṭṭam near Kumbakōṇam (*South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. II, pp. 519 and 532).

B.

TEXT.

First Plate.

- 1 Jita[m*]¹ Bhagavatā [[*] Svasti śrī-vijaya-skandh[ā*]vārā[t=pa]rāmābrahmaṇya-²
- 2 sya sva-bāhu-bal-[ā*]vijit-orjj[i*]ta-[kshā]tṛi³-ta[pō]-nidhōr=vvilhi-vi-
- 3 hita-sarvva-maryyādasya sthiti-sthitas= [ā]mit-ātmanō māha-⁴
- 4 rājasya prithivī-tal-[ai]ka-vīrasya śrī-Viravarmmaṇaḥ prapautrō=py=a-

Second Plate; First Side.

- 5 [rjji]ta⁵-śakti-siddhi-sampannasya prat[ā]p-ōpana[ta]-[rā]ja-maṇḍalasya [Bha]gava-
- 6 't-bhakti-sambhāva-sambhāvita-sarvva-kalyāṇasy=[ā*]nēka-gō-
- 7 hiraṇya-bhūmy-ādi-pradānaiḥ pravṛ[ḍ]dha⁷-dharmma-saṇcha-
- 8 yasya prajā-pālana-dakshasya lōka-pālānā[m*] pañcha[ma*]sya lō-

Second Plate; Second Side.

- 9 ka-pālasya mahātmanō mahārāja-śrī-Skandavarmmaṇaḥ pau-
- 10 trō dōva-dviya-guru-vṛiddh-ōpas⁹vinō⁹ vivṛiddha-vi[rā]⁹yasy=[ā*]-
- 11 nēka-saṃgrāma-s[ā*]has-āvanādd¹⁰-ōpalabdha-vijaya-yaśa[h*]-prā(p¹¹ra)-
- 12 kāsasya saty-ātmanō yuvamahārāja-śrī-Vishṇugōpasyā(sya) putrah

Third Plate; First Side.

- 13 Kali-yuga-dōsh-āvasanna⁹-dharmma-dāraṇaḥ-nitya-śa[nna]ddh¹¹ rāja-gu-
- 14 ṇa-śa(sa)rvva-sandōha-vijigīpu(shu)[r*]-dharmma-vijigī[shu][r*]=Bhagavat - pād - ānuv-
- 15 Bappa-bhaṭṭāraka-pāda-bhaktā[h*] parama-bhāgavatō Bhāradvāja-sa-
- 16 gōtra(trō)¹³ vikrā(kra)m-ākṛānt-anya-nṛpatiśrī¹⁴-nilayānām yathāvad-āhṛit-ānēka-
- 17 kratunā¹⁵

¹ The syllable *ta* is written below the line.

² Read =para.na-brahmaṇya-.

³ Read *kshātra*.

Read *mahā*.

⁴ Read *prapautasy-ābhyauchchhṛita* as in the Pikira grant; above, Vol. VIII, p. 161, text line 4.

⁵ Read 'd-bhakti-sadbhāva' as in *ibid.*, text line 4 f.

⁷ The syllable *da* of *ddha* seems to be a correction from *sha*.

⁹ The Uruvupalli grant has =ōpachāyīnō.

⁹ The letter *na* is not written regularly. Its vertical stem proceeds from the middle of the inverted cup (which is its base) and not from the left side, as usual.

¹⁰ Read -āvanāda-.

¹¹ Read -dharm-ōddharaṇa-nitya-saṃnāddhō.

¹² Read -ānuḍhyātō.

¹³ The two syllables *gōtra* are inserted above the line.

¹⁴ Read -ākṛānt-anya-nṛpati-śrī-.

¹⁵ Read -kratūnām Śātakṛatu-kalpānām śrī-, as in the Māṅgaḍūr plates; the Pikira grant has -āsvamēdhā-nām instead of -kratūnām.

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Third Plate; Second Side.

- 17 Satakratunām kalpanām Vallabhānām Pallavānām dharmma-mahārāja-śrī-Siṃ-
18 h[a]varmm[ā] Karmma-rāṣṭrē¹ Ōgōmḍu-grā[ma][h]² K[o]ḍikim-grāmō³ pūrv-
vataḥ Naṛāchaḍu-
19 grām[ō] dakṣiṇataḥ Kaḍskuduru-grāmō³ pa[s]chimā(ma)taḥ Peṇukapaṇṇu-
20 grāma uttarataḥ ēvaṁ catur-ava[dhi]-madhyē pūrvva-bhōga-vivarjitaḥ(tam)

Fourth Plate; First Side.

- 21 Kuṇḍūr-vv[ā*]stavyāyā(ya) Kāsyapa-gotrāya Chhandō-viditā⁴ sarvva-śāstra-kuśa-
22 lāy[a] Dēvaśarmmanē(nē) grahā(ha)na-nimittam asmad-āyur-bbala-vi-
23 jay-ābhivṛddhaye samprādāma [i] Tad=i[m]am(dam) sarvva-parihārai[h*]⁵ pa-
24 riha[r*][tta]vya[m] parihārayitē(ta)vyañ=cha yaś=ch=ēdarā asma[ch*]-chhā-

Fourth Plate; Second Side.

- 25 śa(sa)nam=ntikrāmō[t*] sa pāpaḥ śārira-daṇḍam=arhati āśichhātrā-
26 shā⁶ ślōkā bhavanti [i]* Bhūmi-dānam saman=dānām nam⁷ bhūto⁸ na bhavi-
27 vishyati [i]* tasy=aiva haraṇāt pāpa¹⁰ na bhūto na bhavishyati [i]*
28 Sva-dattam para-dattām gā¹¹ yō harēta vasundharām [i]* gavām śata-

Fifth Plate.

- 29 sahasrasya hantnḥ pibati kilbisham [i]* Bahubhir=vvasudā dattā¹² bahu-
30 bhiś=ch=ānupālitaṁ(tā) [i]* yasya yasya yathā bhūmā¹³ tasya ta-
31 sya tadā phalam [i]* Sa¹⁴-vijaya-rājya-sa[m*]vatsarē chaturthē Vaiśākha-
śukla.¹⁵
32 paksha-pañchamyām dattam bhāt[t*]rakā[nām] sva-mukh-āñaptyā¹⁶ likhitam=
adaui¹⁷ |

No. 12.—BHAVNAGAR PLATES OF DHRUVASENA I: [VALABHI-]SAMVAT 210.

By V. S. SUTTHANKAR, POONA.

I edit this inscription from the original copper-plates, which were presented in 1914 by the Bhāvnagar Darbār to the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, where they are now deposited. The history of the plates previous to their acquisition by the museum is not forthcoming.

The plates, which are inscribed on one side only, are two in number, each measuring about 11" broad by 6½" high. The edges are slightly raised to protect the writing; and the inscription is in a state of almost perfect preservation throughout. The plates are of fair

¹ Read -rāshṭrē.

² Read -grāmāḥ.

³ Perhaps read Chhandōga-sūtrāya. [Was Chhandō-vidē perhaps intended?—Ed.]

⁴ The syllable *rai* has been written over an erased conjunct letter, whose second part was *ya*.

⁵ Read *api ch=ātr=ārshāḥ*.

⁶ Read *bhūtan=na*.

⁷ Read *pāpam na bhūtan=na*.

⁸ Read *rrasr dhā dattā*; the syllable *da* of *dattā* is written below the line.

⁹ Read *yadā bhūmis=*.

¹⁰ The syllable *sa* apparently stands for *saṁdhamāna*, which precedes *vijaya-rājya* in the Pihira grant.

¹¹ The syllable *kla* is corrected from *ksha*.

¹² Read *likhitam=idam*.

² Read *Ōgōḍḍu-grāmam*, as in A.

⁷ Read *Bhūmi-dāna-samam dānam na*.

⁸ Cancel the syllable *vi* at the beginning of this line.

¹¹ Read *Sra-dattam para-dattam va*.

¹⁰ Read *-ājñā*.

"In the bazar of Kīragrāma I was shown the spot where, so late as two generations ago, stood a shop, belonging to the temple and where the two pious Banians, whom the local traditions too know as the founders of the temple, are said to have lived. This is clearly the *panyasāla* mentioned in the *Prasasti* II, 34. Regarding the oil-mill which Manyuka and Āhukā dedicated I could not hear anything; and the god has long lost the income from the *maṇḍapikā*. But there was formerly a custom-house on the frontier of the territory of Mandi which passes close to the village. On the rocky hill which rises near the village and is now occupied by the Dāk bungalow, the Rāne family is said to have had a fort. I do not dare to decide if these *Rānes*, whose descendants are still Rajput zamīndārs in the parganā of Baijnāth, are identical with the *Rājānakas* of Kīragrāma.³

"But in illustration of what you have said on p. 102, vol. I, of the *Epigraphia* regarding the intermarriage of this Rajput family of Kīragrām with the Rājās of Traigarta, I may mention that the Rājā of Kapurthala quite lately married a girl from the house of a bitterly poor Rajput of the Gulherian Miān clan, who lives as zamīndār not far from Baijnāth. Though the man is so poor that his daughter, the present Rānī, used to work for wages in the tea plantations, his countrymen have not yet pardoned him that he contracted the alliance with the Rājā.

"Your proposed identification of Suśarmapura with Koṭ is fully confirmed by the local traditions.

"The temple [of Baijnāth] is well preserved, and in my opinion it has not undergone such very great alterations as the earlier describers state.⁴ Thus, big statues of Gaṅgā and Yamunā, which clearly belong to the time of the inscription, are found on the gateway pillars of the *Purī*, exactly as Rāma describes them in the *Prasasti*, I. 29, and his other detailed statements regarding the building fully agree with the actualities. Only the roof seems to me modern; according to the statements of the Purohitas it was renovated about one hundred years ago by Rājā Samsārchand."⁵

XL.—A NOTE ON THE PRĀKRIT GRANT OF THE PALLAVA KING ŚIVASKANDAVARMA (VOLUME I, pp. 2—10)

BY ERNST LEUMANN, PH.D., STRASSBURG.

Prākṛit inscriptions always present particular difficulties. Dr. Bühler, with his usual sagacity, has removed most of those connected with Śivaskandavarman's grant, Some others of the same inscription can only be mastered when further documents of a similar type turn up. A few, however, may perhaps be dealt with now. We have

³ I consider the identity of the *Rāne* family with the *Rājānakas* to be very probable. *Rājānaka* is also the parent of the title *Rānā*.—[G. B.]

⁴ Cunningham, *Arch. Surv. Rep.*, vol. V., p. 179 f.

⁵ I take this opportunity to note that Professor Kielhorn has published in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XX, pp. 114 ff, certain emendations of my readings of the two *Prasastis* in accordance with rubbings made by Sir A. Cunningham. The following among Professor Kielhorn's proposals appear to me acceptable:—I. 6, *sureshu nāsthām apareshu kurvatām*; I. 29, *bhaktitruṣallobhamaleṇa tena*; I. 37, *śāstradrishṭim anusṛitya*; II. 2, *sa pātu vo Mahādeva Brahmādyā bhaktim āsthitāḥ*; and II. 9, *Kṛitārthau*. In addition, I would mention that I now translate *astrijano* in I. 13a by "archers" instead of by "heroes," as *astri* is clearly the nominative of *astrin*; note 64 must be altered accordingly.

to correct the following passages in Dr. Bühler's transcript (on pages 5—7 of volume I) :—

1. 1, Read *aggiṭṭhoma*. The irregular combination *ṭṭh* (for *ṭṭh*) is a mistake of the engraver which has crept in on account of the similarity of the signs for *th* and *ṭh*.

1. 3, Separate *visaye savattha*, i.e. *vishaye sarvatra* 'everywhere in our (*amham*) country.'

1. 4, Read *māḍabika* and restore it to *māḍambika*. This word, which means 'chief of a *maḍamba* district' is often found in the older Jain literature;¹ its base *maḍamba* occurs in the same texts and beside in some *Niryuktis* and *Bhāshyas*.

1. 5, Read *ārakhādhikate*, which stands for *ārakkhādhikate* and is equivalent with *ārakkhiya* 'guard' of the Jain literature; literally it means 'employed as a guard (*ārakshā'dhikṛita*).' As to the sign *khā*, cf. lines 27 and 38.

1. 7, Read *e* instead of *cha* and cf. the sign for *e* in lines 27, 30, 34. The word *ettha* (*atra* 'here') opens of course a new phrase, and we need not follow Dr. Bühler in inserting a second verb; *vitaraṃa* is indeed the verb wanted and closes well the preceding phrase. The first verb (*āṇaveti*), however, is certainly well supplied by Dr. Bühler; only we think its place is not before *amham* (in 1. 3), but after *ppayutte* (in 1. 6). At any rate we are not to combine in irregular co-ordination the accusatives of lines 3—6 with the genitive *saṃcharan-taka-bhaḍa-manusāṇa*.

I would then translate the whole passage thus: "Śivaskandavarman informs (*āṇaveti*) in our country everywhere the royal princes, generals, rulers of larger and smaller districts (*raṭṭhikas* and *māḍambikas*), local prefects and others, the freeholders of various villages, *vallavas*, *govallavas*, ministers, guards, captains² *tūthikas*, *neyikas* and all others employed in our service: We grant an exemption from (any taxes that might be levied by or for) *saṃcharantakas*, soldiers or other persons.³

1. 44, Read *vasudhādhīpataye* (acc. pl. from *°pati*).

¹ e.g. in the *Aupapātika sūtra*, *Paryuṣaṇakalpa* ('*Kalpasūtra*'), etc.

² The corrected reading *ārakhādhikate* (in 1. 5) makes it very probable that the word immediately following (*gumika*) is also a military term.

³ In reply to Dr. Bühler's appended notes, I may remark that the persons favoured by the grant are undoubtedly "the Brahmans, who are the freeholders of the settlement (*koḍunka*) called Chhillareka." The gift is therefore a *Brahmaṇa pariḥāra*, i.e. 'an immunity granted to Brahmans. Honorific allowance, as Dr. Bühler proposes, does not change the sense, but is less appropriate, *koḍunka* is apparently a contracted form of *koḍumbaka* (Sans. *kauṭumbaka*): in the same way *naigyoka* seems to me to stand for *naigyogika*, which would be a synonym of the term *ābhīyogika*—'servant'—of the Jaina literature. The term *kumāra pariḥāra* similarly denotes an immunity presented to a prince; the Jātaka phrase adduced by Dr. Bühler means— "When, afterwards they noticed that he was a prince, they no longer gave him any work to do, but spared him, so to say, by a princely immunity."

The inscription, of course, mentions, also, the persons who are to respect the grant, i.e. who are not allowed in any way to trouble the above-named Brahmans (by levying taxes, etc.). So the two cognate Pallava plates clearly state: *Sarvāyuktakāḥ sarva-naigyokāḥ rājavalābhāḥ saṃcharantakāḥ cha tat-sīmaṃ sarva-pariḥārāḥ pariḥarantu pariḥārayantā cha ayuttu sarva-pariḥāreḥi pariḥarantu pariḥārayan (tu cha)*, "The persons of the king's service and party must spare and cause to spare the territory (*described before*) by all the (eighteen) kinds of exemption. "In face of these parallel passages, the words—*saṃcharantaka-bhaḍamanusāṇa*... *pariḥāraṃ vitaraṃa*, can only have the sense which I have given them, without pretending, however, that my translation reflects accurately the grammatical construction. This latter can only be made clear when the three syllables before *pariḥāraṃ* are deciphered.

That *saṃcharantakas* are a nuisance to people, we learn, e.g. from the description of a model town given in the *Nemicharita*, I. 14 (on Hemachandra's *Bhāvabhāvanā*, v. 5): in that town no *saṃcharantakas* are allowed to stroll about (... *saṃcharantakāḥ tīrai na tattha bhāmīn*...). Another Prakrit word of the Pallava Inscription (which however occurs also elsewhere) is *ḍappa* 'father': this is found in *Daśavaikūlikasūtra* vii, 18,—See *Zeitsch. d. Dent. Morgenl.-Gesellsch.* vol. XLVI. pp. 628.

1. 45, Read *mejálāye*, i.e. *mejjátāye*. In Jaina Prākṛit *maryādā* becomes *mejja*, the last two syllables being contracted. The Sanskrit sounds *arya* in Prākṛit generally are changed to *era*, sometimes to *ejja* or *ariya* or *ajja*.

1. 46, Separate *cha si*. The word *si* refers to *mejjátāye*, and therefore represents a singular case like *tasyāḥ*; it is indeed a short form for the anaphoric pronoun *se* that is often met with in the *Niryuktis* and *Bhāshyas* of the Jain literature. The function and origin of *se* has been well discussed by Professor Wackernagel in the *Zeitschrift für Vergleichende Sprachforschung* (vol. XXIV, p. 600). Though *se* and *si* refer to *all genedrs and numbers* we find occasionally in the *Niryuktis* and *Bhāshyas* a special plural form *sim* which, by the addition of the Anusvāra, has been formed after the fashion of plural genitives like *tesim* (*teshām*), etc.

What remains to be said is of less importance; we are probably to read *vādaka* for *vaṭaka* (in lines 12 and 30); misprints are apparently *hiroga* for *hirogo* (10), *pali-bhāgo* for *patibhāgo* (12), *patibhāgo* for *pattibh-* (21), *ṭṭivas°* for *ṭṭivās°* (36), *pilā* for *pīlā* (40), *dattā* for *datā* (48), *kada* for *kaḍa* (51), *brāhmaṇa* for *brahmaṇa*. and *lekhaka* (52).

SOME FURTHER NOTES ON THE GRANT OF ŚIVASKANDA- VARMA. (VOLUME I, pp. 2—10.)

The corrections of my reading and rendering of Śivaskandavarman's grant, which Professor E. Leumann has proposed above, make, I think, a few further remarks from me desirable.

(Line 1.) Professor Leumann's statement that the plates have *aggiṭthoma*, not *aggiṭ-thoma*, is correct. I should say that the nonsensical form has been caused by a confusion between the two possible forms with *ṭṭha* and *ttha*. Both in literary and in epigraphic Pali, Sanskrit *shṭa* or *shṭha* is represented occasionally by the dental *tenuis* and the *tenuis aspirata*. Thus, we have in literary works for *kroshṭṛi* 'a jackal,' both *kotṭhuka* and *kotthuka*, or even *kutthu*, as well as forms in *ttha* for various past participles in *shṭa*. And the Sanchi votive inscriptions offer *sethi* and *seṭhi* for *śreshṭhin*; Aśoka's New Edicts both *vivutha* and *vyuṭha* for *vyuṣṭha*. In such words the Pali *ttha* probably goes back to originals with *sta*, similar to those in the Shāhbāzgarhī version of the Rock Edicts, where we find *sresta* for *śreshṭha*, *dipista* (3rd pers. sing. aor. Âtm.) equivalent to a Sanskrit form *adipishṭa*.

(L. 3.) Professor Leumann is right in separating *visaye savattha*, but the correction has already been given by me in the Addenda and Corrigenda to vol. I, p. 479.

(L. 4.) The plates have not *māḍabika*, as Professor Leumann asserts. The last sign is mutilated, the crossbar of the *ka* on the right having been omitted by mistake. The sign, which has thus come out, can only be read *nu*. Professor Leumann's restoration *māḍambika* "governors of Maḍambas," instead of *māmḍabika* "custom-house officers," is possible, though, owing to the rarity of the word *maḍamba* (except in Jaina works), somewhat doubtful. I add an explanation of the term *maḍamba*, which Professor Jacobi has kindly furnished to me from the Jaina commentaries: *maḍambāni sarvato'rdha yojanāt parato'asthitagrāmāni*.

(Ll. 5-7.) Professor Leumann's readings *ārakhādhikate* and *ettha* for my *āraṇadhikate* and *chattha* are certainly correct. His translation of lines 6-7, "We grant an exemption from (any taxes that might be levied by or for) *Samcharantakas* (soldiers) and other persons" cannot stand, for *°bhaḍamanusāṇa* is separated from *parihāraṃ* by a not now readable word ending in *o*, and in all probability the two expressions do not belong together. Even supposing that *samcharamtakabhaḍamanusāṇa parihāraṃ vitarāma* had to be taken together, the meaning could only be, "We grant an exemption to *Samcharantakas*, etc.,"³ it is against the custom observed in the grants to name first an exemption and afterwards the object granted. I must add that my translation of *parihāra* by "an immunity" ought to be changed to 'a honorific grant.' Of late I have found in the *Jātakas* several passages where *parihāra* has a concrete meaning and is used for "appanage, honorific allowance, special grant." In several stories it is narrated how queens receive or are deprived of their *parihāra*, and there is the compound *kumāra-parihāra* "an allowance suitable for a prince."

(L. 40.) The correct reading is *pilā* (not *pilā*, as Professor Leumann says), the short *i* being expressed, as is done very often, by a complete circle.

(L. 45.) *Majātāye* is the reading of the plates, not, as Professor Leumann holds, *mejātāye*. The little stroke above the *ma* has been caused by a slip of the engraver's punch. A real *me* looks very different (see lines 1, 29, 41)

(L. 46.) As *śim* is permissible for *tesim*, *etesim* and *esim*, according to Hemachandra *Prākṛita Vyākaraṇa* III, 81, and occurs, as Professor Leumann says, in Jaina works, I agree with him that its equivalent *si* in *cha si* should be written separate. *Si* refers, however, not, as Professor Leumann thinks, to *majātāye*, but to the grantees. Compare the corresponding passages in the Sanskrit grants, e.g. *Indian Antiquary*, vol. V. p. 196, l. 6; p. 207, l. 9; p. 212, l. 25; vol. XI, p. 113, l. 43; p. 159, l. 50.

The subject matter of the record is the grant of the village of Naruvūru, situated in *Kilaṅgu-nādu* of the *Rāyarāpura-ventheya* (district), to Uttamanambi, son of Uttamanambi, of the Ranganātha temple at Śrīraṅgam, on Friday, the first day of the dark fortnight of the month *Bhādrapada* in the cyclic year *Jaya*, which corresponded to the Śaka year 1336. The inscription further states that the same village was originally granted to one Appannangalu, son of Ichappa, by Vira-Harihara-Rāya Udayar, on Monday, the twelfth day (*Śravaṇa-Dvādasi*) of the bright fortnight of the month of *Bhādrapada* of the same year, i.e., four days earlier than the previous date, at *Chēvūrakōte*, in the presence of the god *Mādhava*, on the banks of the *Bhavānī* river, for the propitiation of the god *Tiyambaka*. It is also understood that Uttamanambi, who received the gift from Appannangalu, was to hold a subordinate position (*ēdūṇḍu*) to the latter with reference to the grant. It is not possible to explain why in such a short period as four days the gift should have changed hands. It was perhaps that Appannangalu could not at a distance manage the charity as effectively as a native of the place, and therefore handed over the management of the same to the charge of Uttamanambi.

The deed of gift to Uttamanambi stipulated :—

1. that the village of Naruvūru should thenceforward be designated Ranganāthapura ;
2. that a daily service with every detail of offerings to the god Ranganātha should be maintained ;
3. that a flower-garden should be kept up for the special service known as *Padineṭṭāmpadi-Śervai* (?) ;
4. that a *Satira*, or feeding house for Brāhmanas, should be constructed within the walls of the Ranganātha temple, and twelve Brāhmanas fed daily ; and
5. that four *mā* of land should be granted to each of eight Brāhmanas residing at Naruvūru, free of taxes

The prince Harihara-Rāya Udayar expresses his desire that, since this was a charity primarily by him, it should be conducted without remissness and diminution. Who the person called Appannangalu was, is not patent from the inscription ; he appears to have been a highly placed man, wielding some influence with the prince Harihara-Rāya Udayar, and to have induced the prince to grant the village with the distinct intention of giving it over to Uttamanambi. The family of the Uttamanambis is an ancient one in Śrīraṅgam ; the Uttamanambis were very influential, and there is still a current proverb, *ūr pādi Uttamanambi pādi*, “ the town is one-half and Uttamanambi the other half,” meaning that the members of the family were as good as the whole town put together. These are Brāhmanas of the *Pūrva-śikhā* sect and have done very much towards the enriching of the temple of the god Ranganātha of Śrīraṅgam. A detailed account of these will be found in an article on the Śrīraṅgam Plates of Dēvarāya II. to be edited by one of us in this journal. The Uttamanambis are one of the hereditary trustees of the temple of Ranganātha and enjoy certain rights and duties in it

The places, etc., mentioned in this record are : *Rāyarāpura-venthe*, Kelangu or *Kilaṅgu-nādu*, *Kāvērī*, *Naruvūru*, *Chēvūrakōte*, *Bhavānī* and *Śrīraṅgam*. Of these the *Kāvērī* and the *Bhavānī* are two rivers, the latter a tributary of the former. *Naruvūru* is evidently the modern *Nerūr*, situated on the bank of the river *Kāvērī* in the *Karūr tāluḥa* of the Coimbatore District. It is famous as the place where the great *Sadāśiva Parabrahmam*, a modern *Yōgi* of great powers and devotion, died and is interred. *Chēvūrakōte* may be identified with *Śēvūr* in the *Pallaḍani tāluḥa* of the same district. There are three places called *Rāyarāpalam*, *Rāvanapuram* and *Rāyapuram*, in the *Erode*, the *Udamalpēt*, and the *Karūr tāluḥa*, all of them sound like *Rāyarāpalam* ; but since *Nerūr*, the village granted, is in the same *tāluḥa* as *Karūr*, we may perhaps identify *Rāyarāpura* of the *venthe* of the same name with *Rāyapuram* in the *Karūr tāluḥa*. Whether *Kilaṅgu-nādu* takes its name from *Kilaṅgundal* in the *Dhārāpuram tāluḥa* would be hard to say.

TEXT.¹

[Metres : v. 1, *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* ; v. 2, *Anushtubh* ; v. 3, *Śālinī*.]

First Plate : First Side.

- 1 ○ शुभमस्तु [॥*] पातु त्रौणि जगंति संततमक्व-
- 2 पाराङ्गरामुङ्गरं² क्रोडाक्रोडकलेवरः स भगवां
- 3 न्यस्यैकदौष्टाङ्कुरे³ [॥*] कूर्मः कंदति नाकृति द्विर-
- 4 सनः पत्रंति दिग्दंतिनो मेरुः कोशति मेदिनी जल-
- 5 जति व्योमापि रोरंबति⁴ [॥*] स्वस्ति श्रीसाकवाहन-⁵
- 6 शकवरुष⁶ १३३६ संदु वर्तमान जयसं-
- 7 वत्सरद भाद्रपद व १ शु लु^{6a} श्रीमंमहारा⁷-
- 8 जाधिराज राजपरमेश्वर श्रीवीरप्रतापदेवराय-
- 9 महारायर कुमार श्रीमंमहामंडकेश्वर⁸
- 10 श्रीवीरहरिहररायवोडेयर⁹ श्रीरंगना-

First Plate : Second Side.

- 11 यदेवर स्थानद काश्यपगीत्रद रुक्मशाख्य¹⁰
- 12 उत्तमनंबियर मक्ककु उत्तमनंबियरि-
- 13 गे कोट¹¹ धर्मशासनद¹² क्रमवैतेदरे [॥*] नाड¹³
- 14 नम¹⁴ रायरापुरदवैठेयद केळंगुना-
- 15 उ कावेरिय तीरद नळुङ्कर¹⁵ अ कालुवळि
- 16 सह वर्तमान हदिनाळु हौनिन¹⁶ कुळद
- 17 ग्रामवनू¹⁷ भारद्वाजगोत्रद¹⁸ यजुशाख्य¹⁹ इच-
- 18 प्यगळ मक्ककु अप्पणगळिगे²⁰ ना[ड]¹³ जयसंवत्सरद²¹
- 19 भाद्रपद शुद्ध अवणहृदेसेउ²² सोमवार पुंण्यका-²³
- 20 [ल]दलु नाड¹³ आकुव राज्यद चेऊरकोटेयलु²⁴ भवानि-

Second Plate : First Side.

- 21 य तीरद माधवदेवर संनिधियलु²⁵ त्रियंब-
- 22 कदेवर²⁶ प्रीतियागि एकभोगवागि हिरंण्यो-²⁷

¹ From inked estampages prepared under the supervision of one of us.

² Read भगवान्यस्यैकदंष्ट्राङ्कुरे.

³ Read वरुष.

⁴ Read श्रीमन्महा^०.

⁵ Read श्रीदेवर.

⁶ Read धर्म^०.

⁷ Read नळुङ्कर.

⁸ Read भारद्वाज^०.

⁹ Read ०संवत्सरद.

¹⁰ Read चेऊरकोटेयलु.

¹¹ Read हिरं^०.

⁴ Read रीलवति.

^{6a} [i.e. *Śmkravāradalu*.—H. K. S.]

⁸ Omit the *anuvāra* on *ma* in श्रीमं.

¹⁰ Read रुक्मशाख्य.

¹² Read नाड.

¹⁶ Read हौनिन.

¹⁹ Read यजुशाख्य.

²² Read ०वादशियु.

²⁵ Read सन्निधियलु.

² Omit the *anuvāra* on *ra*.

⁵ Read शाखिवाहन.

¹¹ Read कोट.

¹⁴ Read नम.

¹⁷ Read ग्रामवन्.

²⁰ Read अप्पण^०.

²³ Read पुं^०.

²⁶ Read ०देवर.

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- 23 दकदानधारापूर्वकवागि धारेयने००दु¹
 24 कोटेउ² [॥*] आ आप्यणगकु³ नम⁴ कय्यलु⁵ प्रति-
 25 ग्रहिसि श्रीरंगनाथदेव⁶ प्रीतियागि
 26 आ न००ऊरग्रामके⁷ श्रीरंगनाथपुर-
 27 वेव नामवनु⁸ माडिकोटु⁹ श्रीरंगनाथ-
 28 देवरिगे प्रतिदिनौ¹⁰ नडसुव¹¹ कट्टकेय विवर [॥*]
 29 सोपस्करवागि एरडु हरिवाणद कट्टकेय-
 30 लुक्क¹² नैवेद्य दीप नंदादीप गंध पु[ष्प]मा-

Second Plate : Second Side.

- 31 ले धूप दीप तांबूलादि सहितवह सांगो-
 32 पांगवाद वौदु¹³ होतिन¹⁴ अवसरव नडसु-
 33 वदकेज¹⁵ देवरिगे आ श्रीरंगस्थानदलु¹⁶ हदि-
 34 नेटु मेट्टिन गकेय कट्टकेयलु नू००यि-
 35 प्पतु¹⁷ गुळिय चेत्रद नंदनवनवनू¹⁸ मा-
 36 डिसुवदकेज¹⁹ आ श्रीरंगस्थानद पौळिय वो-²⁰
 37 ऊगे वौदु²¹ छसचद²² मनेयनू²³ कहिसि आ छच-²²
 38 द पाकयन्नके^{23a} तक्क द्रव्यवनू²⁴ संपादिसि कोडु
 39 आ मनेयलु²⁵ हनेरडुमंदि²⁶ ब्राह्मरिगे²⁷
 40 पाकयन्नके^{23a} ओव²⁸ ब्राह्मणनू²⁹ माडिकोटु,

Third Plate : First Side.

- 41 प्रतिदिनौ¹⁰ ब्रीहितंडुसांन³⁰ सूप आज्य नाल्लु
 42 शाक तक्क तांबूल सहितवागि ब्राह्मणभो-
 43 जनद कट्टकेय दसचव²² नडसुवदकेज¹⁵ आ
 44 न००ऊरग्रामदलु⁷ एंटुमंदि²⁷ ब्राह्म-

¹ Read ०ने०००दु.

⁴ Read नम.

⁷ Read न००वूर०.

¹⁰ Read प्रतिदिनवू.

¹³ Read वौदु.

¹⁶ Read ०स्थानदलु.

⁹ Read ०दक.

²² Read छच.

^{23a} [Perhaps पाकयन्न was intended.—H. K. S.]

²⁵ Read ०लु.

²⁷ Read ब्राह्मणरिगे. [ब्राह्मण is used more often in popular language than ब्राह्मणह.—H. K. S.]

²⁸ Read ०व.

² Read कोट्टेवु.

⁵ Read कय्यलु.

⁸ Read नामवनु.

¹¹ Read नडसुव.

¹⁴ Read होतिन.

¹⁷ Read ०पु.

²⁰ Read वो.

²³ Read ०नू.

²⁶ Read हनेरडु०.

²⁹ Read ब्राह्मणनू.

³ Read आप्यण०.

⁶ Read ०देवर.

⁹ Read माडिकोटु.

¹² Read कट्टकेयलु००.

¹⁵ Read नडसुवदकू.

¹⁸ Read ०नू.

²¹ Read ओवु.

²⁴ Read ०नू.

²⁷ Read ०लु.



- 45 रिगे प्रत्येकरिगे नालकु माड¹ गद्देय स-
 46 रियादेयलु² सर्व्वमांन्यवागि³ को-
 47 हु नडसुवदकेज⁴ मेले आ जरलु⁵ एनु हु-
 48 द्विदनु⁶ नोउ⁷ सर्व्वमांन्यवागि³ अनुभविसुवद-
 49 केज⁸ आ ग्रामवनु⁹ हिरण्योदक¹⁰ दानधारा-
 50 पूर्व्वकवागि सर्व्वमांन्यवागि³ धारेयने००-

Third Plate . Second Side.

- 51 हु कोहु यी¹¹ अर्थके¹² दानशासनपत्रवनू¹³ कोटु¹⁴ अ¹⁵
 52 ग्रामद चतुस्सीमेयलु¹⁶ शंखचक्रद कल नडिसि को-
 53 हु अचिणि आगामि निधि निक्षेप जल पाषाण सिद्ध
 54 साध्य अष्टभोगतेजस्वाम्य¹⁷ सर्व्वप्राप्ति समस्तव-
 55 कि सहित अनुभविसुवहागि सद्यः परिच्छेद-¹⁸
 56 वागि अ¹⁵ अप्यणगकु देवरु¹⁹ ब्राह्मणर²⁰ धं-²¹
 57 म्मकार्य्यगकिगे कोट्टरागि अट्ट नाउ²² माडि-
 58 द धम्मवादकारण²¹ नोउ²³ अप्यणगकिगे ओडं-
 59 बट्ट कोट्ट यिदिरेदे²⁴ मर्यादेयलु²⁵ आ केळंगुना-
 60 ड कावेरिय तीरद श्रीरंगनाथपुरवाद न००-

Fourth Plate . First Side.

- 61 जर²⁶ कालुवकि सह ग्रामदलु²⁷ केळे कदे²⁸ कालुवेय-
 62 लु²⁹ अप्यणगकु निमगे कोट्टया द्रव्यदिंदौ³⁰ निं-
 63 म³¹ कैय³² द्रव्यदिंदौ³⁰ कट्टिसिकोडु तोट गद्दे-
 64 यनू³³ माडिसि व्यवसायदिंद रूपु माडिको-
 65 ड अवरु धारेयने००हु कोट्ट जयसं[व]-

¹ Read मावु.

⁴ Read नडसुवदक.

⁶ Read ०रु. [There is no necessity for this correction —H. K. S.]

⁸ Read ०दकु.

¹¹ Read ई.

¹⁴ Read ०हु.

¹⁷ Read ०तेजस्वाम्य.

²⁰ Read ब्राह्मणर.

²³ Read नीवु.

²⁶ Read न०० वूर.

²⁹ Read हु.

³² Read य.

² Read ०हु.

⁵ Read ०हु.

⁹ Read ०हु.

¹² Read ०के.

¹⁵ Read आ.

¹⁸ Read परिच्छेद

²¹ Read धं.

²⁴ Read एदिरीडु.

²⁷ Read ०हु.

³⁰ Read ०दिदली or दिदल.

³³ Read ०हु.

³ Omit the anusvāra on मां.

⁷ Read नीवु.

¹⁰ Read हिरण्योदकं.

¹³ Read ०हु.

¹⁶ Read ०स्सीमेयलु.

¹⁹ Read देवरु

²² Read नावु.

²⁵ Read ०रु.

²⁸ Read ०हु.

³¹ Read निम्प.

- 66 क्सरद¹ भाद्रपद ष १ मोदसागि श्रीरंगनाथ-
 67 देवरिगे प्रतिदिनौ² सोपस्करवागि ³अस्थानद कटके
 68 मरियादेयलु⁴ एरडु हरिवाणदलु⁵ नैवे-
 69 द्य दीप नंदादीप गंध पुष्पमाले धूप दीप तां-
 70 बूलादि सहितवह सांगोपांगवागि उदे-⁶

Fourth Plate : Second Side.

- 71 यकालद एरडनेय अवसरवनू⁷ तप्पदे नड-⁸
 72 सि देवरिगे ⁹अ स्थानदलु हदिनेटु मेट्टिनगळेय
 73 [क]टकेयलु¹⁰ नूळयिप्पतु¹¹ गुळिय चेत्रद नंदनव-
 74 नवनू¹² माडिसि अलि आदंथा पुष्पफलवनू¹³ दे[व]-
 75 रिगे समर्पिसुवहागे कटकेय माडि आ स्था-
 76 नद पौळिय ओळगे ओंदु क्सत्रद¹⁴ मनेय-
 77 नू¹⁵ कट्टिसि आ क्सत्रद¹⁴ पाकयळके वोव¹⁶ ब्राह्मणं-
 78 नू¹⁷ माडि आ पाकयळके तक्क द्रव्यवनू¹⁸ संपादि-
 79 सि कोट्टु अ⁹ मनियलु¹⁹ प्रतिदिनौ² हनेरडु²⁰ मं-
 80 दि ब्राह्मरिगे²¹ व्रीहितंडुलांन²² सूप आज्य

Fifth Plate . First Side.

- 81 नाळकु शाक तक्क तांबूल सहितवागि ब्राह्म-
 82 णभोजनके²³ नेनु[क्क] कटकेय दसत्रवनू²⁴ नड⁸सि
 83 आ नळुजर ग्रामदलु²⁵ एंटु मंदि ब्राह्म-
 84 रिगे²¹ प्रत्ये²⁶करिगे नाळु माउ²⁷ गदे²⁸य मर्यादे-
 85 यलु⁴ सर्व्वमान्यवागि²⁹ कोट्टु नड⁸सि मेले
 86 आ ऊरलु³⁰ एनु इट्टिदनु³¹ आनुभविसु-

¹ Read °सवत्सरद

⁴ Read °लु.

⁷ Read नु.

¹⁰ Read °लु.

¹³ Read पुष्पफलवनू.

¹⁵ Read °लु.

¹⁹ Read मनेयलु.

²¹ Read ब्राह्मरिगे See above, p 225, note 27

²³ Read °के.

²⁶ Read °त्ये.

²⁹ Omit the anusvāra on मां.

² Read प्रतिदिनव.

⁵ Read °दलु.

⁸ Read °लु.

¹¹ Read °लु.

¹⁴ Read क्सत्रद.

¹⁷ Read ब्राह्मणननु.

²⁰ Read हनेरडु.

²⁴ Read क्सत्रवनू.

²⁷ Read माउ

³⁰ Read °लु

³ Read आस्था.

⁶ Read द.

⁹ Read आ.

¹² Read °लु.

¹⁵ Read नु.

¹⁸ Read नु.

²² Read °लांन

²⁵ Read नळुजर ग्रामदलु

²⁸ Read °लु

³¹ Read ह. See above, p. 22



- 87 वेवेदु¹ नीड² आप्पणगळिगे ओडंबट्टु कोट्ट यि-
 88 दिरे[डि]³ मर्यादेयलु⁴ तप्पदे नड⁵सि सुखदिं
 89 भोगिसूदु⁶ ॥ नाड⁷ यी⁸ धर्मवन्नु⁹ सर्वमा-
 90 न्यवागि आचंद्रार्कस्थायियागि तप्पदे नड⁵सि-

Fifth Plate : Second Side.

- 91 वहेवेदु ओडंबट्टु¹⁰ कोट¹¹ धर्मशासन¹² [॥*]
 92 स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा यो हरेत वसुं-
 93 धरां [॥*] षष्टिर्व्वरुषसहस्राणि¹³ विष्ठायां
 94 जायते क्रिमिः ॥ [२*] सामान्योयं धं-¹⁴
 95 म्मसितुर्द्वपाणां¹⁵ कालि कालि पाल-
 96 नोयो भवद्भिः । सर्वानेतां¹⁶न्नाविनः (।)
 97 पार्दिवंद्रान्¹⁷ भूयो भूयो या-
 98 चते रामचंद्रः ॥ [३*] ओवोरदेवरा-
 99 य [॥*]

ABSTRACT OF CONTENTS.

(Ll. 1-5.) Adoration to Vishṇu in his Boar incarnation.

(Ll. 5-13.) In the Śālivāhana Śaka year 1336, corresponding to the cyclic year *Jaya* on the first tithi of the dark fortnight of the month *Bhādrapada*, on a Friday, *Mahā-maṇḍalēśvara Vīra-Harihara-Rāya Oḍeya*, son of *Vīra-Pratāpa-dēva-Rāya Mahārāya*, who possessed the titles *Mahārājādhirāja* and *Rājaparamēśvara*, gave to *Uttamanambi*, son of *Uttamanambi*, of the *Kāśyapa gōtra* and the *Rik śākhā*, (a servant) of the temple¹⁸ of *Śrī-Rāṅganātha*, a deed of a charitable gift, the terms of which are as follows :—

(Ll. 14-24.) “In the presence of the god *Mādhavadēva* of *Chēvūrakōṭe* in our kingdom, which is situated on the river *Bhavāni*, We, for the propitiation of the god *Tryambaka*, granted to *Appannagaḷu*, son of *Ichappagaḷu*, of the *Bhāradvāja gōtra* and the *Yajus śākhā*, on the *Śravana-Dvādaśi* tithi of the bright fortnight of the month *Bhādrapada* of the year *Jaya*, the village of *Naruvūru*, situated on the bank of the river *Kāvērī*, in *Kēḷaṅgu nāḍu* of the *Rāyarāpura vēṇtheya* (circuit or district) with all its appurtenances (?) (*kāluvali*)—a village which yields at present fourteen *hons*, as an *ēkabhōga* (village) by the pouring of gift-water (on the hands of the donee) together with gold.

(Ll. 24-28) “This *Appannagaḷu*, having received it from our hands, gave the village of *Naruvūru* the name of *Śrīraṅganāthapura* and established a course of offerings, etc., to be made daily to the god *Śrīraṅganātha*, which is as follows :—

¹ Read अनुभ°.

⁴ Read °लु.

⁷ Read नावु.

¹⁰ Read °दु.

¹³ Read षष्टिर्व्व°.

¹⁶ Read °ता°.

¹⁸ [*Sthāna* throughout this inscription seems to be used in the sense of temple; cf. *sthānika*, a worshipper.—

² Read नीवु.

⁵ Read °डु°.

⁸ Read ई.

¹¹ Read °ट्टु.

¹⁴ Read च°.

¹⁷ Read पार्दिवेन्द्रान्.

³ Read एदिरौडु.

⁶ Read °भोगिसुवदु.

⁹ Read धर्मवन्नु.

¹² Read च°.

¹⁵ Read °द्वपाणां.

(Ll. 29-33.) "Two plate-offerings with necessary equipments consisting of food, waving lights, perpetual lights, sandal paste, flower-garland, incense, light (of camphor to be waved in front) and betel-leaves and nuts, together with all concomitants, are to be offered once a day ;"

(Ll. 33-36.) "A flower garden (of the extent) of one hundred and twenty *kulis* of land is to be cultivated (for the supply of flowers to make garlands to be worn by the image of the god) on the occasion of the service (called) *padinettāmpaḍi* (?)² in the temple of Śrīranga

(Ll. 36-43) "A house being built within the enclosure of the temple of Śrīranga, to serve as a *chhatra* and necessary money to conduct the feeding being procured arrangements should be made to appoint a Brāhmaṇa servant to cook for the feeding of twelve Brāhmaṇas daily with rice, dhāl, ghee, four vegetable curries, butter-milk, together with betel-leaves and nuts.

(Ll. 44-47.) "Eight Brāhmaṇas in the village of Naṟuvūru should each be given rent-free four *mā* of wet land.

(Ll. 47-49) "And the remaining produce of the village, after meeting all these expenses, he may enjoy as rent-free.

(Ll. 49-57.) "With these objects in view he, Appanna, granted the village (to you) by the pouring of water, together with gold, as a freehold, and, having executed this deed of a charitable grant, fixed on the boundaries of this village stones bearing the *śaṅkha* and the *chakra* (the emblems of Viṣṇu, to whom the village is granted), so that you might enjoy the village with the eight kinds of enjoyment (enumerated), all income and all taxes and conduct the charitable acts towards the god and the Brāhmaṇas.

(Ll 57-89.) "And, since this is an act of charity which We (*i.e.* prince Harihara) have (first) instituted, you (Uttamanambi) should conduct the charities (which are once again repeated completely, as in ll. 28-56) according to the bond (*edirēdu*) you have given in your turn to Appannagalu with your consent ; (besides this), you should dig tanks, wells and canals in the village of Naṟuvūru³ either from the money given to you by Appannagalu or from your own pocket, convert the land into gardens and paddy fields, improve the agricultural prospects in it and conduct the charity from the said first *tithi* of the dark fortnight of the month of Bhādrapada of the year Jaya.

(Ll. 89-93.) "This is the charity deed given (to you) by Us with the firm faith that you (Uttamanambi) will conduct the charities as long as the moon and the sun exist."⁴

(Ll. 93-98 contain the usual imprecatory verses.)

(Ll. 98 99 bear the signature of the king Vira-dēva-Rāya)

¹ [In repeating for the second time these stipulations in ll. 67 to 87 the inscription states that the service here noted was the second of the morning offerings to the god (l 70 f).—H. K. S.]

² [The Kannaḍa words *hadinenṭu mettu* certainly suggest the well-known service called *padinettāmpaḍi* in the temple of Śrī-Ranganātha, but the meaning of *galeya* remains unexplained. Perhaps the author of the inscription used *galeya* in the sense of the genitive plural *gala* ; cf. the use of *vēṇṭheya* for *vēṇṭhe*.—H. K. S.]

³ Instead of "either from . . . or", we can translate also "both from . . . and." See above, p. 226, note 30.

⁴ [The translation given does not appear to be correct. The king says that he would of his own free will agree to declare the charities (recorded in the grant) tax-free as long as the moon and sun exist.—H. K. S.]



No 16.—THE SANCHI INSCRIPTION OF SVAMIN JIVADAMAN: THE 13TH YEAR.

By R. D. BANERJI, M.A.

Very little is known about *Svāmin Jivādāman*, the father of the Kshatrapa Rudrasimha II, who reigned over Saurāshtra in the third and the fourth decades of the third century A.D. and who was very probably the ancestor of the Mahā-Kshatrapa *Svāmin* Rudrasēna III. No inscriptions of this period have been discovered, and one has to depend entirely on numismatics for the reconstruction of the history of this period. The line of Chāshtana seems to have come to an end with the Kshatrapa Viśvasēna, son of the Mahā-Kshatrapa Bhartridāman. The latest known date of Viśvasēna is Śaka 226=304 A.D.¹ In the following year (Ś 227=305 A.D.) a prince named Rudrasimha strikes coins, therefore it is certain that the reign of the Kshatrapa Viśvasēna came to an end either in Ś 226 or in Ś. 227. On this point Prof. E. J. Rapson states, "There is, however, only the possibility of a very small error in regarding Viśvasēna's last known coin date, 226, as the actual end of his reign, since his successor, the Kshatrapa Rudrasimha II, issued coins in the following year, 227."² Nothing is known about the origin of this third dynasty of Satraps of Saurāshtra. On the coins of Kshatrapa Rudrasimha II it is stated that he was the son of Svāmin Jivādāman. "With Mahākshatrapa Bhartridāman and his son, the Kshatrapa Viśvasēna, comes to an end the ruling family of Chāshtana. It is succeeded by a family which traces its descent back to a personage *Svāmin* Jivādāman, who, like Ghasmotika, the father of Chāshtana, bears none of the titles which may be regarded as distinctly royal in character, 'rājā,' 'mahākshatrapa' or 'kshatrapa.'"³ Prof. Rapson is inclined to agree with the late Pandit Bhagwan Lal Indraji in thinking that Svāmin Jivādāman was a scion of some younger branch of the family of Chāshtana, because of his title *Svāmin* and the affix *ādāman* to his name.

A stone inscription was discovered in the village of Kānakhēda near Sāñchī in the Bhopal State, by one of the Assistants of Sir John Marshall, Director-General of Archæology in India, two or three years ago. This record throws some light on the hitherto obscure personality of the ancestor of the third dynasty of the Satraps of Saurāshtra. The inscription is in a very imperfect state of preservation and consists of six lines of writing. The language of the record is Sanskrit, and it is partly in prose and partly in verse. The inscribed surface measures 2' by 3' and the average length of letters is 1½". The record opens with a number of object cases and the first line ends with the name of Jivādāman. The object of the rest of the inscription is to record the excavation of a well by the Judge or General (*Mahā-Dandapāyaka*) Śrīdharavarman the Scythian (*Śaka*), who was the son of Nanda the Scythian, in the kingdom-increasing year 13. The middle of the record has suffered considerably by flaking, and it is impossible to make out any sense at all. The last two lines contain two *pādis* of a verse in the Śārdūlavikrīḍita metre, which records the purpose of the inscription, viz the excavation of a well by Śrīdharavarman. The verse is followed by two numerical symbols and by three or four syllables which are illegible. The adjectives in the first line cannot refer to Jivādāman, as they begin with the word *Bhagavataḥ*. It is probable that some comparison was made between the lord who was the commander of the heavenly hosts, whose armies had never been vanquished, the lord Mahāsēna (*Shanda* or *Kārttikēya*), and Jivādāman, but the fragmentary state of the first line prevents us from making any guesses. It is quite certain, however, that the line ends with the word *Jivādāman*, the case-ending being illegible. It is also quite certain that the word *Jivādāman* is a proper name, and not an adjunct of any other name. The connection between the first line and the second line cannot be made out. It begins with the word *dharmma-vijayēna*, which is an adjunct of the subject *Śrīdharavarmanā*. It contains a phrase the exact meaning of which is not apparent.

¹ Rapson, *B. M. Cat.*, col. 166.

² *Ibid.*, col.

³ *Ibid.*, col.

The inscription is one of *Mahārāja Dhruvasēna* [I.] and records the grant of a village (of which the name must have occurred in the missing portion of the grant and is therefore now lost) to a Brāhmaṇa named *Rotghamitra* of the *Vrajagana gōtra*, a student of the *Chhandōga School*, and resident of *Simhapura*, for the maintenance of certain sacrifices. The grant is dated sam. 200 6, *Āsvina śukla 3*. The *samvat* year, when referred to the *Valabhi* era, yields A.D. (206 + 319) 525. The *dātaka* was *Mammaka*, and the writer *Kikkaka*, as usual.

The only point worthy of notice in this grant is the village-name *Simhapura*, which is mentioned in it as the residence of the grantee. It is tempting to identify it with *Sihōr* in the east of the *Kathiawad* peninsula, a junction on the *Bhavanagar-Wadhwan Railway*, not far from *Valā*, the ancient *Valabhi*.

[KATHIAWAD PLATE OF DHRUVASENA [I.]]

TEXT.¹

- 1 rṇṇava-kshiti-sarit-parvvata-sthiti-samakālinam putra-pautr-ānvaya-bhōjyam bali-
- 2 charu-vaiśvadēv-ādyānām kriyāṇām samutsarppaṇ-ārttham *Simhapura-vāstavya-*
brāhmaṇa-*Rōtghamitrāya*
- 3 Vrajagana-sa-gōtrāya (Ch)Chhandōga-sa-brahmachāriṇō brahma-dāyam nispiṣṭam
[|*] yatō=sy-ōchitayā brahma-
- 4 dēya-sthityā bhūmijataḥ kṛishataḥ pradiśataḥ=karshāpayataś=cha na kaiś=chit=svalp-
āpy-ābādha vichāraṇā vā
- 5 kāryy=āsmad-vamśajair=āgummi²-nṛipatibhiś=ch=ānityāny=aiśvairyyāny=asthiram mānu-
shyam ch=āvōkshya sāmānyam cha
- 6 bhūmi-dāna-phalam=avagachchadbhir=ayam=asmad-dāyō=numantavyō yaś=ch=āchchhin-
dyād=āchchhidyamānam v=ānumōdēt
- 7 sa pañchabhir=mmahā-pātakais=s-opapātakais=samyuktas=syād=api ch=ātra *Vyāsa-gitan*
ślokaḥ
- 8 bhavataḥ [|*] shashtim[*] varsha-sahasrāpi svarggō mōdati bhūmidah[|*] āchchhetā
ch=ānumantā cha tāny-ēva narakē
- 9 vasēt [|*] sva-dattām para-dattā[m*]=vvā yō harēta vasundharām [|*] gavām
śata-sahasrasya hantu[h*] prāpnōti
- 10 kilbisham[|*]=iti sva-hastō mama mahārāja-Dhruvasēnasya [|*] dātakaḥ
pratihāra-Mammakaḥ [|*]
- 11 likhitam *Kikkakena* [|*] sam 200 6 *Āsvayuja śu 3* [|*]

No. 8.—SRIRANGAM COPPER-PLATE GRANT OF DEVARAYA II;
SAKA 1349 (1350).

By THE LATE T. A. GOPINATHA RAO, M.A., TRIVANDRUM.

The temple of *Śrī-Raṅganātha* at *Śrīraṅgam* possesses, among others, two sets of copper-plates belonging to the reign of the *Vijayanagara* king *Dēvarāya II*. The inscriptions engraved upon these two sets are edited below from the impressions prepared under my supervision.

No. I. SAKA-SAMVAT 1349.

This set consists of three plates (size $10\frac{3}{4} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$ in.), of which the first and the third bear writing on one face only, namely, the second side of the first and the first side of the third.

¹ From the original plate and a set of impressions.

² [Read *āgami*.—Ed.]

The inscription is in good state of preservation. The alphabet in which the record is written is **Nandināgarī**, and the language partly **Saṅskṛit** and partly **Kannaḍa**. The first section covers 41, and the second 34 lines, and the remaining portion contains the usual admonitory and imprecatory verses. At the end appears, as is usual with the documents of the kings of the first dynasty of Vijayanagara, the word *Śrī-Virūpākṣha*, the sign-manual of the king, written in the Telugu-Kannaḍa alphabet. The same sort of mistakes, careless execution of the engraving, leaving room for a number of corrections, erasures, interlineations, etc., and other faults common to the other grants of this period are to be found in these two sets of copper-plates also; there is no necessity for them to be noticed in detail here; they are noted in the foot-notes at the appropriate places.

The record is dated **Śaka 1349**, which is expressed by the **chronogram dhivalōka**; this year corresponded to the cyclic year **Plavaṅga**. In the Kannaḍa portion the Śaka year is given as 1350, and the same Plavaṅga is said to be current. On a **Sunday**, which was the **Uttāna-dvādāśī tithi** in the bright half of the month **Kārttika**, the king **Dēva-Rāya II** granted to the God **Raṅganātha** of **Śrīraṅgam** the village of **Pāṇḍamaṅgalam** together with the sub-villages, **Tirunalūr**, **Sōraṇaibaṇḍa-perumā-nallūr**, and **Sunepuha-nalūr**, in the name and for the merit of his mother **Nārāyaṇāmbikā**. The genealogy of the king is traced thus :—

Saṅgama
|
His middle son
Bukka I
md. Gaurāmbikā
|
Hariharāśvara
|
Pratāpa-dēva-Rāya I
md. Dēmāmbikā
|
Vijaya-Bhūpati
md. Nārāyaṇāmbikā
|
Dēva-Rāya II

Dēva-Rāya II bears the *birudas*, *Rāj-ādhirāja*, *Rāja-param-śvara*, *Bhāṣh-ātīlaṅghi-bhūpāla-bhujāṅga* (= *Bhāṣhege-tuppuva-rāyara-gaṇḍa*), *Mūru-rāyara-gaṇḍa* and *Hindu-rāya-suratrāṇa*. Having ascended his ancestral throne and while protecting the kingdom, residing in his capital **Vijayanagara**, which is situated on the bank of the river **Tuṅgabhadra**, king Dēva-Rāya made the grant mentioned above in the presence of the god **Virūpākṣha** on the bank of the **Tuṅgabhadra**. The villages **Pāṇḍamaṅgalam**, **Tirunalūr** and **Sōraṇaibaṇḍa-perumā-nallūr** are said to have been situated in the **Rājagambhīra vaḷaṇḍu** on the south side of the river **Kāvērī**; and **Sunepuha-nalūr** in the **Mēlmurī** of the **Māla nāḍu**, a sub-division of the **Rajarāja vaḷaṇḍu**, on the north of the same river. The Kannaḍa portion adds that the villages belonged to the **Amaruḍa hōbaḷi**. All of them belonged also to the **Tiruchchirāppalli rājya** or **chāvaḍi**. The purpose for which the grant is made is given in full detail in the Kannaḍa portion. From the income of the villages twelve perpetual lamps should be burned, flower-garlands dedicated and one festival celebrated. The grant was made as an auxiliary to the **Gō-sahasra Mahādāna** performed by the king. The grant was ordered to be executed from the first *tithi* of the bright fortnight of the month **Āṣāḍha**. The income from the villages situated on the south of the **Kāvērī** was 1403 coins (*kuḷa-gaḍyāṇa*), and that from the village on the north of the river 420; total 1,823.

gadyānas. A number of taxes leviable in these villages are included in the grant: they are taxes on the *nañsey*, *puñsey*, *pūm-payir*, *vāsal*- and *mañai-ppēru-kaḍamai*, *tari-kkaḍamai*, *māvaḍai*, *maravaḍai*, *kuḷavaḍai*, *kalāyam*, *tirigai-āyam*, *pēr-kaḍamai* (*tari-kaḍamai*), *āḷukku-nir-pāṭṭam*, *mahamai*, *kaṭṭigai-avasaram*, *paṭai-kāṇikkai*, *Āḍi-Kārttigai-pachchai*, and all old and new taxes. Several of these have remained unexplained up till now. It is easy to understand the nature of the first four; they are levied on wet and dry cultivation, on inferior crops, on houses and compounds and on looms; *māvaḍai*, *maravaḍai* and *kuḷavaḍai* are taxes on animals, trees and tanks: that is, perhaps, when animals are sold in markets; on fruit-bearing trees and for fishing in tanks. *Kalāyam* literally means tax on stone; it is very likely a tax payable for quarrying stones from hills; what tax is meant by *tirigai-āyam* is not known. *Pēr-kaḍamai* means taxes on persons, a sort of poll-tax evidently. *Āḷukku-nir-pāṭṭam* is a tax for maintaining the person appointed for making regular supply of water to the fields: this appears to be the same as *nirāṇikkam*. *Magamai* is a corrupt form of *magaṇmai*, the nature of being a son to another; this levy is still in force among certain merchants in the Tanjore and Trichinopoly districts. On all sales and purchases the merchants collect a small, but fixed, sum and utilize the money thus collected for some public purpose. Compare similar words, as *kōyīṇmai* corrupted into *kōyma*, *ārāṇma*, etc. *Kaṭṭigai-avasaram* appears to be some sort of tax on fire-wood; and *paṭai* (*paḍai*)-*kāṇikkai* is the contribution to be made for the maintenance of the army. *Pachchai* means a *kāṇikkai*, a *nazar*, a present on important occasions. In this sense the word is employed in contemporary literature; for instance, in *Śrī-vachana-bhūṣaṇam*, 1, 33 and 34. Such *kāṇikkais* seem to be given in the months of *Āḍi* and *Kārttigai*.

The following places and rivers are mentioned in the inscription:—*Tuṅgabhadra*, *Vijayanagara*, *Tiruchchirāppalli*, *Kāvēri*, *Rājagambhira vaḷanāḍu*, *Pāṇḍa-maṅgalam*, *Tirunālūr*, *Śēraṇaibāṇḍa-perumā-nallūr*, *Rājarāja vaḷanāḍu*, *Mēlmurī* of the *Māḷa nāḍu* and *Śūṇepuḥa-nālūr*. Of these the *Tuṅgabhadra* and the *Kāvēri* are the well-known rivers of South India. *Tiruchchirāppalli* is the modern town of Trichinopoly, the head-quarters of the district of the same name. The part of the country immediately to the south of the river *Kāvēri* was known to medieval inscriptions as the *Rājagambhira vaḷanāḍu*, and that on the north of the same as the *Rājarāja vaḷanāḍu*. *Māḷa nāḍu* is a sub-division of this territory and has given its name to a section of the Tamil Brāhmaṇas, i.e. the *Brihach-charaṇa* community of *Māḷa nāḍu*. *Vijayanagara*, the capital of the famous Hindu kings of Southern India, is the modern Hampi on the *Tuṅgabhadra*. *Pāṇḍa-maṅgalam* is a village a mile and a half west of Trichinopoly; this and *Tirunālūr* are in the Trichinopoly *Tālūk*; the correct form of the name *Śēraṇaibāṇḍa-perumā-nallūr* is *Śēraṇai-veṇṇa-perumāḷ-nallūr*. There is a village some distance south of *Pāṇḍa-maṅgalam* called *Vēndarāya-nallūr*. This is perhaps the same. *Śūṇepuḥa-nālūr* is situated at a distance of seven and a half miles to the north-west of Trichinopoly.

TEXT.¹

[Metres: vv. 1-25, *Anuṣṭubh*, and v. 26, *Śālinī*.]

First Plate: Second Side.

- 1 श्रीगणाधिपतये नमः [॥*] नमः(ः)स्ते [॥*] नमः(ः)स्ते [॥*] नमः(ः)स्तुगसि
- 2 रघुबि²चंद्रचाम[र*][चा]रवे [।*] चैलीकनगररंभमूल-

¹ From impressions prepared under my supervision.

² Read ०रुबिःरुभिः.

- 3 ಸ್ತಂಭಾಯ ಸಂಭವೇ¹ (ತು) | [1 1*] ಭೂ[ಯ*]ಕ್ತೇ² ಭವತಾಂ ಭೂತೇ³ ಭೂಯಾದಾಶ್ಚಯ್ಯ⁴-
 4 ಕಂಜರಃ[1*] ಆಹುರ್ವಿಹಾರಕಾಂತಾರ ಪ[1*]⁵ಗಮಾಶ್ಚಯ್ಯ [ಯಿ]-
 5 ಗಿಣಃ | [1 2*] ಕ್ಷೇಮಂ ವಃ ಪ್ರಚುರೀಕುರ್ಯಾತ್ಕೌಣಿಮಭ್ಯುದ್ಧಂನಯಂ⁶[1*] [ಕ್ರೋ]-
 6 ಡಾಕ್ತತೇರಭ್ಯುಷ್ಯ ಕ್ರೋಡಾಪಸ್ವ[ಲ]ಮಂಭುಧಿ⁷[ಃ|| 3*] ಅಸ್ತಿ ಕೋರಾ[ರ್ಣ]-
 7 ವೊಡ್ತಮಪಾಂ ಪು[ಪ್ಯ]ಮನುಷ್ಯ⁸ | ಅನ್ತಾನದಂ ನಿರ್ಮಾಶ್ಚಮಾಧ⁹-
 8 ತೇ ಶಿರಸೀಶ್ವರಃ [|| 4*] ಸದಾಮೋದನಿಧೇಸ್ತಸ್ಯ ಸಂತಾನೇಯದ್ರ[ಸಂ]-¹⁰
 9 [ಚಿ]ತೇ [1*] ಅಭೂದಾಶ್ಚಯ್ಯಮ[1]ಧುರ್ಯ ವಸುಧಾಯಾಸ್ತಪಃಫಲಂ [|| 5*]
 10 ಸಂಗಮೋ ನಾಮ ರಾ[ಜಾ]ಭೂ[ತ್ವಾ]ರಭೂತೇ ತದನ್ವಯೇ [1*] ರೇಜೇ ಯಸ್ಯ
 11 ಯಶಃಶಿಂಧೋಃ¹¹ ಸರ[ಣಿ]ವ ಸುರಾಪಗಾ [|| 6*] ಸರ್ವರತ್ನನಿಧಿ[-
 12 ಸ್ತಸ್ಯ ಸಂಪ್ರಾಡಾಸೀತನುಭವಂ¹² | ಮನ್ಯೋ ಬುಕ್ತಮಹೋಪಾಲೋ ಮ-
 13 ಣಿನಾಮಿವ ಕೌಸ್ತುಭಃ [|| 7*] ತಸ್ಯ ಗೋರಾಂವಿಜ್ಞಾಜಾನೇಸ್ತ(ನಯೋ ವಿ)-
 14 ನಯೋಭೂತೋ¹³ಜತಃ [1*] [ಹಾ]ರಗೌರಯಶಃಪು¹⁴ರಹಾರಿಹರಿಹ[ರೆ]-
 15 ಶ್ವರಃ [|| 8*] ¹⁵ಯಶೋಽಶಮಹಾದಾನಯಶಸಾಂ ದಿಗ್ವಿಹಾರಿಣಾಂ [1*] ಭೂಯ[ಸಾ]-
 16 ಮಭವಂನಾಲಂ¹⁶ ಭುಜನಾನಿ ಚತುರ್ದಶ [|| 9*] ಪ್ರತಾಪದೇವರಾಯಾಶ್ಚಃ
 17 ಪುಂನೋಭೂ[ತ್ವ]ವಿ ವಿಶ್ವತಃ [1*] ಪ್ರಮೋದ ಇವ ಮूर्ತೀ ಯಃ ಪ್ರಜಾನಾಂ ಸ್ವೇಗ್-
 18 ಷೇರ[ಭು]¹⁸ತ್ [|| 10*] ಪ್ರತ್ಯ[ರ್ಥಿ]ಸಮಿಧೋ ಹೃತ್ವಾ ಪ್ರತಾಪಾಗ್ನಿ ರಣಾಂಕಣೇ [1*]¹⁹
 19 ವಿಜಿತೋ ಯನ(i) ವೀರೇಣ ವಿಜಯಶ್ರೀಕರಯಜಃ [|| 11*] ತಸ್ಯ ದೇ-
 20 ಮಾವಿಜ್ಞಾಜಾನೇಸ್ತನಯೋ ವಿನಯೋಜತಃ [1*] ವಿಜ್ಞಾನಿಧಿ-
 21 ವಿಶೇಷಜ್ಞೋ ವೀರೋ ವಿಜಯಮೂಪತಿಃ [|| 12*] ದಯಾನಿಧೇರ[ಭೂ]-
 22 ತಸ್ಯ ದೇವೀನಾರಾಯಣಾಂವಿಕಾ [1*] ಶ್ರೀರೇರಿವ ಮಹಾಲಕ್ಷ್ಮೀಃ ಶಂ-
 23 [ಕ]ರಸ್ಯೇವ ಪಾರ್ವತೀ [|| 18*] ಪುಷ್ಕರಂ ತಯೋ [ಃ*] ಸ್ನಾಪ್ಯಂ ಪು²⁰ರ್ವಜನ್ಮ ತ-

Second Plate : First Side.

- 24 ಪಃಫಲಂ [1*] ದೇವರಾಯಮಹೋಪಾಲೋ ದಾತಾ ದೀವ್ಯತಿ ಭೂತಲಿ [|| 14*]
 25 ವಿಕ್ರಮೇ ವಿಕ್ರಮ[1*]ದಿತ್ಯಂ ಭೋಗೇ ಭೋಜಮಿವಾಪರಂ [1*] ರಾಜರಾಜಂ ವಿ-

¹ Read ಶಂ.

⁴ Read ಧಾಶ್ಚಯ್ಯ.

⁷ Read ಮನ್ಯುಧಿಃ.

¹⁰ Read ಸಂತಾನಂ ಯದುದ್ಧಂನಯಮ್.

¹² Read ಣಿ.

¹⁶ Read ಮಹಾಲಕ್ಷ್ಮಿ.

¹⁹ Read ರಣಾಂಕಣೇ.

² Read ಭೂಯೇ.

⁵ Read ಕಾಂತಾರಮಾಂ.

⁸ Read ಮನ್ಯ.

¹¹ Read ಯಶಃ ಶಿಂಧೋಃ.

¹⁴ Read ಪು.

¹⁷ Read ಧು.

²⁰ Read ಪು.

³ Read ಭೂತೇ.

⁶ Read ಧಮಯಜ್.

⁹ Read ಅನ್ತಾನ ಯದನಿರ್ಮಾಶ್ಚಯ್ಯ.

¹³ Read ಸಾಂಪ್ರಾಡಾಸೀತನುಭವಮ್.

¹⁵ Read ಯಶೋಽಶಮಂ.

¹⁸ Read ಭೂ.

- 26 तरणे राजानं यं प्रचक्षते [॥ 15*] अभंगमंगकाङ्गिगंगाद्या-
 27 सामरादिभिः [1*] राजानो यं निवेदते¹ राजचिह्नैः स्वयं[५]-
 28 तैः [॥ 16*] राजाधिराज(ः)स्तेजस्वी यो राजपरमे[३]रः [1*] भाषाति-
 29 लङ्घिभूपालभुजंगवि[६]द्वौघतः² [॥ 17*] मूढरायदगडाकः³
 30 परराजभयंकरः [1*] हिंदुराय[३]रचाणो⁴ मंदिवर्गेण वं-
 31 र्ण्यते [॥ 18*] श्रीतुंगभद्रापरिघे नगरे विजयाद्वये [1*] पित्र्यं
 32 सिंहासनं प्राप्य पालयन्[५]वितीर्त्तमां [॥ 19*] पुंस्त्व[१*]जा-
 33 यगं[५]शौ देवरायमहीपतिः[1*] धिक्स्त्रीकी सकला-⁵
 34 [६] भ्र[५]गा[५]य[५]वच्छ¹⁰ [॥ 20*] क[१]र्त्तिके मसि सुधाया¹¹ दाद[५]या]-
 35 मार्कवास्ये¹² [1*] तुंगभद्रानदीतो[१] श्रीविरूपाक्षसंनि-
 36 [धौ] [॥ 21*] चि[५]सिरापन्निरा[५]ये राजगंभीरवल्लभिदे¹³ कावेरिय-
 37 दक्षिणे पाडमंगलया[म*] [६]कुभौ तिरुनलूरपि¹⁴ सरनैवड-
 38 पेरुमानलूरपि उत्तरेयाद्वकंन्याया¹⁵ राजराजवल्लभि-
 39 धे प्रवृजपदे सुनेपुङ्गुनलूरधा उभौ श्रीरंगराजग्र परि-
 40 यार्थं¹⁶ नारायणवल्लभि[१*]नतः धनैव¹⁷ देवराजेन दत्तं श्रीव-
 41 नाधुधारया¹⁸ ॥ स्वस्ति श्री जयापुदाय सिकवर्ष¹⁹ ११५० इव-
 42 गसंवच्छ²⁰रद कार्तिकसुध उत्तानुद[१*]दक्षि²¹पुष्पकालद
 43 श्रीम²²महाराजाधिराजपरमेस्वर श्रीवीरप्रतापदे-
 44 वरायमहारायक श्रीरंगनाथदेवरिगे नारायणस्त्री-
 45 ये[१*]वगल हेसरणि पीदु अवसरव नडसुव चदके²⁴ दिन
 46 [पी]दके²⁵ हनेरडु परिवाणनंदादीविगवमाली श्री-

Second Plate : Second Side.

- 47 दु तिरुनालु न(१)उवुदके²⁶ कोट्ट दमंमात्तन²⁶ [1*] उत्तानुद²¹[१]-

¹ Read निवेदते.

² Read हिन्दु.

³ Read पुष्प.

⁴ Read त्व.

⁵ Read राजनश्रीरवलाभिधकावेया.

⁶ Read श्रीरंगराजग्रपरिपद्यार्थं.

⁷ Read जयापुदायक.

⁸ Read न.

⁹ Read चान्दके

¹⁰ Read भुजंगविह्वलतः.

¹¹ Read-य.

¹² Read नक्षत्रीही.

¹³ Read सुधाया.

¹⁴ Read पाडमंगलयायम-अपुभौ.

¹⁵ Read श्रान्वाभिधकावेया; धनैव.

¹⁶ Read त्व.

¹⁷ Read य.

¹⁸ Read धनं.

¹⁹ Read नक्षत्रीही.

²⁰ Read नक्ष.

²¹ Read नक्षेत्रादे.

²² Read त्व.

²³ Read सुधाया.

²⁴ Read स्वर्णधुधारया.

²⁵ Read उत्तानुद[१*].

²⁶ Read नक्षेत्र.

24 26 28 30 32 34 36 38 40 42 44 46

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- 48 'दसोपुंख'काखदलु' तुंगभद्रातीरदलि श्रीविष्णु[१]-
 49 चसंनिधियक्ति नाज^१ माडिद सङ्गमोदानानाव[१]-^३
 50 मि श्रीरंगनाथदेवरिगे चंगरंगभोग चमिरितु-
 51 पडिगे तत्सङ्गद चासाड सुथ पाण्य^४ चारभ्य-
 52 वागि चिरिप्र^५पक्षिवावडिय राजगंभीर चीळ
 53 नाड चमरद^६होभलिय पांडमंगलद ग्राम १ इ-
 54 दरलुह^७तिरनालूर ग्राम १ सेरनेभंडपेस-
 55 मालेनलूर^८ ग्राम १ चतु^९ पिडाकीसङ्ग ग्राम चीद-
 56 के कुल १४०१ [१*] वडकर^{१०} राजराजवळना-
 57 ड मलनाड मेसिसुरिय सुनेपुङ्गलूर या-
 58 म चीदके^{११} कुल ४२० [१*] उभय(:)ग्रामयेरड-
 59 कां कुळगय[१*]ण १८२१ [१*] कंदग्राम एर-
 60 डर चतुसोमेने सलुव नची^{१२} पुंघी वां-
 61 नृपयिर पुंघीर वांसलुमनेपेरक-
 62 डमे^{१३} तरिकाडमी^{१४} मावडे मरवडे
 63 कुळवडे कलायं तिरिगे^{१५} आयं पे-
 64 कडमे^{१६} तरिकाडमे चीलुकुनीपा-
 65 ट मङ्गमे^{१७} कटिगेचवसर पटे-
 66 काणिके आडिकातिकै(१)पचै म-
 67 तु^{१८} एनुमंता होसवरि^{१९} इलेव-

Third Plate : First Side.

- 68 रि मुंताद सकल सुवर्नादाय सकलभता^{२०}
 69 दाय निधिनिलेपजसपायाच अक्षिणि आगामि
 70 सिद्धसाध्य मुंताद अष्टभोगतिज[:*]स्वाम्यस[चि]तव[१]-
 71 गिमाचंद्राकं स्था^{२१}यियागि सर्वमान्यवागि सेरिसि
 72 कोटेवागि श्रीरंगनाथदेवरिगे चंगरंगभो-
 73 नू असुतपडियलु नडसि सुकडि^{२२} अनुभविसु-
 74 वदु ॥ दानपासनयोर्मध्ये^{२३} दानाप्पेयोनुपासनं [१*] दा-

^१ Read पुख.

^४ Read तत्सङ्गद चासाड सुथ पाण्ये.

^७ Read चतु.

^{१०} Read पुनृपयिर वांसलुमनेपेरकडमे.

^{१३} Read चेकडमे. This and tari-kadama are repeated unnecessarily.

^{१६} Read 'कार्तिके पच मनु.

^{१९} Read स्था.

^२ Read नाज.

^५ Read तिरिचिरायक्ति.

^८ Read वडकरे.

^{११} Read कडमे.

^{१४} Read होसवरि.

^{१८} The letter न in पासन looks like द.

^३ Read 'नाडवागि.

^६ Read सेरनेवेनृपेरमाळ नडूर.

^९ Read चान्दके.

^{१२} Read छे.

^{१५} Read ता.

75. नात्स्वर्गमवाप्नोति पालनादनु¹तं पदं ॥ [22*] स्वदत्तां [प]-
 76 रदत्ता² वा यो हरित वसुंधरा[म् ॥*] षष्टिवर्षसह[त्रा]-³
 77 णि विष्टा⁴यां जायते क्रिमिः⁵ ॥ [28*] एकोव भगिनी लोके स-
 78 वेवामेव भूभुजां [॥*] न भोग्या न करपाद्या विप्रद-
 79 ता वसुंधरा ॥[24*] स्वदत्तां⁶द्वि⁷गुणं पुण्यं परदत्तामुपाल-
 80 नं [॥*] परदत्तापदारेण⁸ स्वदत्तं⁹ निष्फलं भवेत् ॥[25*] सामान्यो-
 81 यं धर्मसेतु नृपाणां काले काले पालनीयो भवद्भिः । सर्वा-
 82 नियतानु¹⁰न्नाविनः¹¹ पार्थिवेन्द्रान् भुयो भुयो¹¹ याचते रामचंद्रः¹² ॥[26*]
 83 श्रीविरूपाक्ष¹³

ABSTRACT OF CONTENTS.

Verses 1. Adoration to Śambhu (Śiva).

V. 2. Adoration to Gaṇeśa.

V. 3. Adoration to Varāha.

Vv. 4-5. On earth, as the fruit of its *tapas*, was born Yadu in the family of the Moon, which came out of the ocean of milk and is worn by Śiva on his head.

Vv. 6-7. In his race was born a king named Saṅgama. His middle son was Bukka, who resembled the jewel *kaustabha* among other jewels.

Vv. 8-9. To him by Gaurāmbikā was born a son, named Harihara, who was gentle and famous. The renown of his making the sixteen great gifts (*mahādāna*) redounded even beyond the fourteen worlds.

Vv. 10-12. His son was Pratapa-dēva-Rāya, who appeared the embodiment of the happiness of his subjects. He conquered his enemies in battles by the prowess of his arms and obtained the favour of Vijaya-Lakshmi (goddess of Victory). To him, as husband of Dēmāmbikā, was born the prince Vijaya-Bhūpati.

Vv. 13-18. The queen of Vijaya-Bhūpati was Nārāyaṇāmbikā. As the fruit of the meritorious acts done by them in their previous birth, Dēva-Rāya was born to Vijaya-Bhūpati and Nārāyaṇāmbikā and distinguished himself on earth. He is compared to Vikramāditya in valour, to Bhōja in his *bhōga* (?) and to Rāja-rāja (*i.e.* Kubera) in his munificence. The kings of the Aṅga, Kalinga, Vaṅga, etc., countries did homage to this king, holding *chāmara*s and other royal insignia in their hands. He bore the *birudas* Rāj-ādhirāja, Rāja-param-śvara, Bhāṣh-ātīlaṅghi-bhūpāla-bhujāṅga, Māru-rāyara-gaṇḍa, Para-rāja-bhayaṅkara and Hindu-rāya-suratrāpa.

V. 19 to the end of line 41. Dēva-Rāya, who, seated on his ancestral throne in Vijayanagara, which has the Tuṅgabhadra as its ditch, ruled the earth, made the grant of the villages of Pāṇḍa-maṅgalam, Tiruṅṅlūr, Śēranaibanda-perumā-nalūr and Sunepaha-nalūr to the god Raṅganātha. The gift was made in the Śaka year 1349, which is given by the chronogram *dhivalōka* and which corresponded to the (cyclic) year Plavaṅga, on a Monday

¹ Read अनु.

² Read हा.

³ [Read °हरिण—Ed.]

⁴ Read °नेताम् भाविनः

⁵ This line is written in Telugu-Kannada characters.

⁶ Read रदत्ता.

⁷ Read क्रिमिः

⁸ Read °पदारेण स्वदत्तं.

⁹ Read भूयी भूयी.

¹⁰ Read षष्टि° वषाणि.

¹¹ Read °द्वि.

¹² Read नृ.

No. 16.—VELVIKUDI GRANT OF NEDUNJADAIYAN: THE THIRD YEAR OF REIGN.

By H. KRISHNA SASTRI, B.A., OOTACAMUND.

Sixteen years ago, when Mr. Venkayya in his Epigraphical Report for 1908 (pp. 50 ff) discussed with great ability the contents of the fourth of the early Pāṇḍya copper-plates discovered till then, he remarked: "The originals of these plates have not been traced. The following account of them is based on a preliminary study of two excellent impressions belonging probably to Sir Walter Elliot's collections kindly placed at my disposal by Dr. Fleet in 1893." These duplicate impressions of the grant now in the editor's possession, are marked by Dr. Fleet "I-n-11" and must have been originally intended for publication in the *Indian Antiquary*. Mr. Venkayya, however, could not at once prepare an article on them, as the early Pāṇḍya chronology was then obscure. About the end of 1915, Dr. L. D. Barnett of the British Museum, London, sent me impressions of a copper-plate inscription preserved in that institution and wished to know if it had been published and what its contents were. Curiously enough, it happened that these were the very same impressions of which Mr. Venkayya was unable to trace the originals. I wrote back to Dr. Barnett informing that the plates contained on them an important Pāṇḍya grant which had been already noticed in the Epigraphical Report for 1908 and asked for certain details about them. He says briefly: "There is no seal on the grant: the plates are held by a thin copper-ring, which has been cut." The detailed measurement of the plates and their number, consequently, remain to be what has been described by Mr. Venkayya, viz., these are **ten copper-plates**, of which the first seven are numbered on the left margin on their inner sides and the impressions measure $10\frac{1}{2}$ " by $3\frac{1}{2}$ ", the first and the last plates being written only on their inner sides.

The writing on the plates is both in the Grantha and Vaṭṭeḷuttu characters, the first being used in Sanskrit passages (ll. 1 to 30 and ll. 142 to 150) and in all Sanskrit words that occur in the Tamil portion of the inscription. The Grantha characters and orthography do not call for any special remarks except that in almost all conjunct consonants, where they are written one below the other, the upper or the first member of the compound letter is marked by the *virāma*, following evidently the Tamil method of writing. The same influence is also observed in the pronunciation and spelling of Sanskrit words, e.g., *pārakan* and *purōkan* (l. 99), *kritāpatānan* (l. 100) and *kaṇḍakanishṭhuran* (l. 100 f.). In one particular case, the purely Tamil word *antaṇar* (l. 61) is written partly in Grantha and partly in Tamil. The use of *tsha* for *ksha* (l. 144), *uma* for *tma*, *dma* for *lma* and *ri* for *ṛi* or *ru*, in compound letters, also shows the same influence. Consonants coming after *r* are always doubled except in °ṛṣ° in line 14 and °ṛṣ° in line 17. The *upadhmanīya* and *jihvāmūliya* symbols are used throughout in their proper places. The *anusvāra* used in *-varggam-yulhi* (l. 14) and in *saṁyati* (l. 28) is worth noticing. It denotes the *anunāsika* forms of *yu* and *ya* and is shaped in the form of a crescent with a dot in it placed over the heads of these letters. In his commentary on Pāṇini VIII-4-59 Bhaṭṭoji-Dīkshita remarks that the *anusvāra* in such cases changes itself optionally into the nasal form of *ya*.

The Vaṭṭeḷuttu character so called, is an oblique form of Tamil (excepting certain letters) with a few angularities which on careful scrutiny could be easily accounted for. The only four letters in the alphabet whose form cannot be explained with reference to Tamil are the vowel letters *i* (உ) (see *irakki*° in line 40), *ai* (ஐ) (see *uimpadiṇṇar* in line 135) and the more frequently occurring *na* (ந) and *po* (ப). In the matter of the Vaṭṭeḷuttu palaeography of this inscription it might be noted (1) that the *pulli* is correctly inserted throughout the inscription except in a few cases, e.g., *vōḷḷi*° (l. 31), *ottirattum*° (l. 47 f.), *aṛṛam* (ibid.), *-avaṛku* (l. 46) and *vōḷḷi*° (l. 37); (2) that it is unnecessarily inserted over the vocalic *e* and *o* and even

over the initial vowel letter *o*, as in *maṇṇum*, *chchor*, (l. 34), *koṛkai*, *koṛraṇ*, *koṇḍa* (l. 35), *dēy* (l. 38), *goḷi* (l. 43), *ṇeṇṇuṇi* (l. 45), *ṛrennan* (l. 46), *kkolai*, *chcheḷiyaṇ* (l. 50), *olḡāda* (l. 108 f.), *oḷḡāda* (l. 109), *poḷil* (l. 65), *pporu* (l. 63), *poruṭṭāga* (l. 71); and (3) that it is omitted in a few cases. The shaping of the long *ā*-sign in *rū* (l. 119), *ṇū* (l. 107) and *ḷū* (l. 76) and the use of the Tamil *aḷabeḍai* (Skt. *pluta*) in *kkolīya* in line 97 for the purpose of completing the metrical quantity are worthy of notice. This *aḷabeḍai* according to the Tamil grammarians is to be used in (i) selling articles, (ii) calling people at a distance and (iii) in filling up the metrical quantity in a verse. Pāṇini omits (i) and (iii). While in Sanskrit only vowels have *pluta*, in Tamil the consonants (nasals and sibilants) are also thus lengthened.

The orthographical peculiarities such as the insertion of *y* after consonants with the *e*-sign (ll. 94, 97 f.); the substitution of the vowel *i* for *yi* (ll. 66, 115, 118, 140); the non-observance of euphonic rules in adding the suffixes *um* (l. 93), *uḷ* (l. 59), *in* (l. 93) and *oḍu* (l. 46 f.); the want of distinction between the long and the short *i* (except in the single instance *nīrōḍ-aḷḷi* in line 117) and between the long and the short *o*, are noteworthy. *Pūli-ūr* (l. 58), *mai-y-iruppai* (l. 121 f.), *chey-iḍai* (l. 122), *maṇi-imai* (l. 81), *kkali-araiṣaṇ* (l. 90), *kurai-uru* and *nirai-uru* (l. 102) are also cases of the omission of *sandhi*. *Paramēśvaraṇār-Vēḷvikuḍi* (l. 110) for *ṇāl Vēḷvikuḍi* and *veḷirpaṭṭu* for *veḷippaṭṭu* (ll. 41, 49, 52, 88) are evidently wrong forms; *ṣekkuni* (l. 120) for *ṣeykkuni* and *aimpadiṇṇar* (l. 135) for *aimpadiṇṇar* may be regarded as colloquial usages: similar also may be the use of *kuḍu* (l. 125) for *koḍu*. The form *iydu* (l. 152) for *idu* through the intermediate form *ihdu* probably gives us the clue for the correct pronunciation of the Tamil *āydam*-sign which is now pronounced as the *jihvāmūliya* and the *upadhmāniya* forms of the *visarga*. The metre used in the Tamil portion of the inscription is the *Agaval* while in the Sanskrit portion the metres employed are: *Vamśastha* (vv. 1, 12), *Anuṣṭubh* (vv. 2, 17, 20 and 23), *Vasantatilakā* (vv. 3, 9 and 19), *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* (vv. 4, 5, 6 and 10), *Mālabhārini*¹ (vv. 7, 8, 15 and 16), *Upēndravajrā* (vv. 11, 14), *Drutavilambita* (v. 13) and *Āryā* (v. 18).

Palaeographically, the Grantha characters of the Vēḷvikuḍi grant differ from those of the Madras Museum plates of Jaṭilavarman,² although for reasons stated in the sequel, both of these have to be attributed to the period of the same king Neḍuṇṇaḍaiyaṇ. The difference is distinctly observed in the formation of the *serif* which in the first case is a plain horizontal line, whereas in the second, it makes a loop with the letter. The bottoms of letters like *ma* and *ba* and the top of the vowel *i* are bent at the base line in the Vēḷvikuḍi grant, whereas in the Madras Museum plates they either form one uniform curve, or are straight; the *upadhmāniya* and the *jihvāmūliya* signs are not used at all in the Madras Museum plates. The punctuation marks at the end of verses in the Vēḷvikuḍi grant are the *piḷḷaiyār ṣuḷi* (२) whereas in the Madras Museum plates they are denoted by the so-called *ōm* symbol (ॐ)³; *anuvādas* are more frequent in the Madras Museum plates than nasal conjuncts. The Vēḷvikuḍi grant, in numbering the plates, uses the Grantha letter-symbols, whereas the Madras Museum plates use the usual Tamil numerals. In the Vaṭṭeḷuttu alphabet employed, however, the two grants do not seem to differ much, except in the case of the letter *ya* which in the Vēḷvikuḍi grant as in the Āpaimalai inscription,⁴ is uniseptate, while in the Madras Museum plates it is bipartite. This single difference in the characters of the Tamil portion which is the earlier, and perhaps constitutes the grant proper in both, need not show that the two grants must belong to different periods. The

¹ The scheme of this verse as given in the *Cāḷandōmaṇḍari* is:—

निचने ससजा यदा गुह चित् सभरा येन तु मालभारिणीयम् ॥

² *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXII, with Plate, pp. 57 ff.

³ The latest interpretation of this symbol is *siddhāḥ*, 'successa.'

⁴ *Above*, Vol. VIII, p. 317 ff.

insertion of the Grantha portion in the Vēlvikuḍi grant might have been somewhat earlier than that in the Madras Museum plates.

The Sanskrit portion of the record commences with an invocation to Śiva (verse 1) and goes on to refer in general terms to the Pāṇḍya kings and their race, of which the family priest was the sage Agastya¹ (vv. 2 and 3). At the end of the previous *Kalpa*, it is stated, there was a powerful king named Pāṇḍya who was ruling at the entrance into the sea (i.e., on the coast of a gulf) and that the very same king at the beginning of the current *Kalpa* was born as Budha, the son of the Moon (v. 4). His son was Purūravas; and in his family, whose crest was a pair of fish, which shared with Indra, the lord of gods, half of his throne and his necklace and was a party in the purāṇic churning of the milk-ocean, was born king Māravarman, a patron of the learned (vv. 6 and 8). His son was Raṇadhira (v. 9) and his son Māravarman II Rajasimha (vv. 10 and 11) at whose presence the king Pallavamalla ran away from the battle-field (v. 12). This king Rājasimha married a Maḷava princess and by her begot king Jaṭila (v. 14), who was also called Parāntaka (v. 17). Thus ends the short Sanskrit eulogy (*prasaṣti*) which was composed by the *Sarvaśruti* Varōdaya-Bhaṭṭa (l. 30).

We may now pass on to what the bigger and the more important part of the record, the Tamil *prasaṣti*, has to say, with the remark that the Sanskrit portion, by its brief notice and the very meagre historical material which it supplies in the form of a general introduction, could not have been contemporaneous with the Tamil portion. It was evidently added only later to give a dignified appearance to the grant proper which is in Tamil. This Tamil portion begins with the mention of a past event, namely, that the *kēlvi*-Brāhmanas² of Pāṇḍūr-Kūṛṅgam seeing that one of their own community, named Naṛkoṇṇa, the headman of Koṛkai, who had contemplated the performance of a Vedic sacrifice, with the help of the ruling Pāṇḍya king (*ādhirāja*) Palyāgamudukuḍumi Peruvaḷudi, placed his petition before the king and themselves standing in front of the sacrificial hall, blessed that spot to be thenceforth (?) called Vēlvikuḍi.³ The king granted the village to Naṛkoṇṇa and it was thus that the village came to be enjoyed by the latter for a long time. After this, a powerful Kali king, named Kaḷabhraṇ, conquering many *ādhirājas*, brought under subjection the whole Pāṇḍya country including, of course the village Vēlvikuḍi which was then resumed. Some time elapsed and after this sprang forth a powerful Pāṇḍya, named Kaḍuṅgōṇ, who reconquered the whole land from his enemies. His son was Avanichūḷāmaṇi Māravarman. His son was Śeḷiyaṇ Vāṇavaṇ Śēndan and his son, Arikēsari Asamasamaṇ Māravarman, who won a battle at Pāḷi against his enemies; defeated a certain Vilvēli at Nelvēli; destroyed the Paravas and the people of Kuru-nāḍu; won a victory at Śēppilam, conquered the Kēraḷa several times at the strongly fortified town of Puliyūr; made many gifts and protected the Brāhmanas and the invalids. His son was Śaḍaiyaṇ, the lord of the Koṅga country (Koṅgarkōmāṇ), who was possessed of the titles Teṇṇa-Vāṇavaṇ, Śēmbiyaṇ, Śōḷaṇ and Madura-Karunāṭakan,⁴ won a battle at Marudūr,

¹ Agastya is also supposed to have been the founder of the Tamil language and the author of the Tamil grammar *Aṇattiyam* mentioned in Tamil literature. He is referred to as the family priest of the Pāṇḍyas also in Kūḷidāsa's *Raghurakṣa*, VI. 61, and in the commentary on *Iṇṇaiyānār Agapporuḷ*.

² *Kēlvi-andaṇāḷar* may also mean 'learned Brāhmanas'. But *kēlvi* seems to be used here in a technical sense. In inscriptions we find the word applied to a class of administrative officers whose business was to carry the applications of petitioners to the 'hearing' of the king. See also *Ep. Ind.* Vol. III, p. 69, foot-note 7.

³ I.e., the village of the sacrifice. In the Tamil portion in l. 108 f. it is stated that the village had the name Vēlvikuḍi given to it by king Mudukuḍumi.

⁴ The significance of this title is not apparent. Could it be that like Śēmbiyaṇ and Śōḷaṇ he could have acquired it by conquering the Western Chālukyas who were known as Karnāṭakas? But we know that these were too far away from the reach of the Pāṇḍyas. Another possible explanation is that the Pāṇḍyas might have intermarried with the Chālukyas and the issue of such an intermarriage might well be called 'the Sweet Karnāṭaka'! Again, the identification of the Kaḷabhra with Karnāṭa by Mr. Venkayya (see below p. 295) seems to gain in significance in considering the propriety of the title Madura-Karunāṭakan held by king Śaḍaiyaṇ.

defeated **Āyavēl** in battles at **Śeṅgoḍi** and **Pudāṅkōḍu**, destroyed the **Maharathas** at the big town (**Mahānagara**) of **Māṅgalapuram** and stamped the symbols of the bow; the tiger and the fish on the big mountain, viz., the Himalayas. This shows his supreme authority over the **Chēra**, **Chōla** and **Pāṇḍya** countries, whose symbols were the bow, the tiger and the fish, respectively. His son was **Tēr-Māraṇ** who routed his enemies at **Neḍuvayal**, **Kurumaḍai**, **Maṇṇi-Kurichohi**, **Tirumaṅgai**, **Pūvalūr** and **Koḍumbalūr**, defeated the **Pallava**¹ king and captured his elephants and horses in the battle of **Kujumbūr**, crushed his enemies at **Periyalūr** crossed the **Kāviri** (i.e., the river **Kāvēri**), subdued (the country of) **Māla-Koṅgam**, reached **Pāṇḍi-kKoḍumiḍi**, worshipped **Paśupati** (i.e., **Śiva**), contracted marriage relations with **Gaṅgarāja**² and renewed the fortifications of **Kūḍal**, **Vaṇḍi** and **Kōḷi**. His son was **Parāntaka Neḍuñjaḍaiyaṇ**, who drove the **Kāḍava** (i.e., the **Pallava**) into the forest, after defeating him in the battle of **Peṇṇāgaḍam** on the southern bank of the river **Kāviri** and won a battle at **Nāṭtukkurumbu** driving away the **Āyavēl** and the **Kurumbas** to the forest. This king possessed a long list of *birudas* such as **Śrivarāṇ**, **Śiṇa-chChōḷaṇ**, **Puṇa-pPūliyaṇ**, etc., enumerated in *ll.* 98 ff.

In the third year of the reign of this last mentioned king, a man having arrived at **Kūḍal** with a loud complaint, the king himself enquired into the matter with kind words and hearing from him how his village **Vēlvikuḍi** in **Pāṅgaṇ-kōṅgam**, originally granted under that name by his ancestor, the great king (**Paramēśvaran**) **Palyāgamudukuḍumi Peruvaḷudi**, was resumed by the **Kaḷabhra** and had since then remained so even after the resumption of Government by the **Pāṇḍyas**, he ordered the applicant to produce the necessary evidence before the *nāḍu* to prove that the village was his from early times and thus to get it back. The complainant proved his claim accordingly and the king renewed the grant to the applicant **Kāmakkāṇi Nārchīṅgaṇ**, the headman of **Koṅkai**. The *āpatti* of the grant was **Madavikalan Māraṅgāri alias Mūvēndamaṅgala-Ppēraraiyaṇ**, the crest-jewel of the **Vaidyakas** and a native of **Karavandepura**, and a favourite of the king of kings (i.e., the **Pāṇḍya** king **Neḍuñjaḍaiyaṇ**). It is stated of this **Māraṅgāri** that he fought bravely in the fight that ensued between the kings of the Eastern country (**Pūrva-rājar**) and **Vallabha** on the occasion when the daughter of **Gaṅgarāja** (the **Gaṅga** king) was procured for **Koṅgar-kōṇ**.

ll. 134 to 141 repeat that the owner of this *brahmadēya* (viz., **Vēlvikuḍi**) was **Kāmakkāṇi Śuvarāṇ-Śiṅgaṇ**, the headman of **Koṅkai**, by which perhaps the **Nārchīṅgaṇ**, just mentioned, must be referred to. The composer of the *Tamiḷ prāśasti* was the **Sēnāpati Ēnādi alias Śattāṇ Śattāṇ**. This brings us to the end of the *Tamiḷ* portion. The next *Sanskrit* verse speaking of the *ājñapti* of the grant says that he was **Māṅgalarāja Madhuratara**, a **Vaidyaka** and a master of the *Śāstras*, a poet and an orator. Then follow four imprecatory verses which are expressly stated to be quoted from the **Vaishṇava-Dharma**. A *Tamiḷ* prose passage coming after this says that the king himself ordered the engraving of this copper-plate grant and that the engraver was a certain **Yuddhakēsari Perumbapaikkāraṇ**.

In noticing these plates in his *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1908, pp. 50 ff., Mr. Venkayya has already made it clear how *Kalpa-kshayāt* in v. 4 has to be understood with reference to the traditional account of the deluge³ or tidal wave in the **Pāṇḍya** country and to the survival of a king of the old **Pāṇḍya** line "of the race of the Moon and in all respects corresponding," under the name **Budha**. Similarly also, the mythical boast of the **Pāṇḍya** kings to have engraved their crest on the top of the Himalayas and to have shared one-half of **Indra's** throne and worn the garland of the king of the gods, has been shown to occur frequently in the later **Pāṇḍya** inscriptions. **Palyāgamudukuḍumi-Peruvaḷudi** is a historically famous **Pāṇḍya** king in whose honour

¹ The name of this **Pallava** king, which begins with **Śe**, is hopelessly damaged on the impression.

² Evidently the same mentioned in connection with the next king, his son **Neḍuñjaḍaiyaṇ**.

³ Old **Madura** is supposed to have been washed away by the sea: see commentary on *Agapporu*, p. 4.

five poems are known to have been sung by three famous Śaṅgam¹ poets and included in the Tamil anthology called *Puraṇḍūru*. In one of these he is stated to have captured the extensive forts of his enemies and to have destroyed and ploughed their streets with a team of white-mouthed asses. This way of dealing with the conquered countries seems to be a very old one. Dr. S. Konow points out that there is a reference to it in the Hathigumpha inscription of Khāravela.² It is mentioned also in some inscriptions of the later Pāṇḍya king Māgavarman, Sundara-Pāṇḍya I. The Kālabhra occupation of the Madura country and the consequent interregnum are also noted by Mr. Venkayya with the remark that the Kālabhra may be the Karpāta. After the interregnum came Kaṭṭuṅḡ with whom the first academy (Śaṅgam) of Tamil poets is supposed to have come to an end. The list of the kings that followed Kaṭṭuṅḡ to the donor Neḍuñjadaiyan is given in a genealogical table on p. 54 of the *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1908, together with further information supplied about them by two other sets of Pāṇḍya copper-plates³ secured from Śippamaṇḍr. Mr. Venkayya thinks that Neḍuñjadaiyan of the Vēlvikuḍi grant must be different from Neḍuñjadaiyan of the Madras Museum plates published by him in the *Indian Antiquary*, not only on the strength of certain palaeographical differences already noted above but also on account of the different engravers who in the one case was Yuddhakēsari Pāṇḍiya-Pperumbaṇaikkāraṇ and in the other, Pāṇḍi-Pperumbaṇaikkāraṇ alias Arikēsari. He further identifies Neḍuñjadaiyan of the Vēlvikuḍi plates with Māṅaṇjadaiyan of the Āṇaimalai cave inscription; for, between these two there is not only palaeographical similarity, but also it happens that the *ājñapti* of the former is the prime minister mentioned in the latter, both being called Māraṅgāri Mūvēndamaṅgalappērarniyan, members of the Vaidya (or Vaidyaka) family and natives of Karavandapura with the attributes *Maduratara* and *Kavi*. Consequently, the two kings Neḍuñjadaiyan and Māṅaṇjadaiyan, who both bore the same surname Parāntaka, must be identical and the date of the Vēlvikuḍi grant must be about A.D. 769-70 which is the date of the Āṇaimalai inscription.

About the military achievements of Neḍuñjadaiyan we learn from this inscription that he defeated the Kāḍava king at Peṇṇāgaḍam on the southern bank of the Kāvēri river and drove the Āyavēl and the Kuṇṇabas in a battle fought at Nāṭṭukkuṇṇambu. Again, a statement made about the *ājñapti* of the grant in lines 126-129, adds that Māraṅgāri rendered valuable service to his master Neḍuñjadaiyan by defeating a certain Vallabha at Veṇbai, on the occasion when the eastern kings secured the hand of the Gaṅga princess in marriage for Koṅgarkōṇ. Here Koṅgarkōṇ in order to suit the context, must be taken to be a surname of the Pāṇḍya king Neḍuñjadaiyan himself. This is not improbable, inasmuch as his grandfather Śadaiyan is also called in the inscription (Text, l. 70), Koṅgarkōmāṇ, and his father Tēr-māṅaṇ is stated to have contracted relationship with the Gaṅga king (Text, l. 84). This latter event perhaps refers to the occasion when Māraṅgāri achieved the success mentioned above.

In spite of what Mr. Venkayya thinks about the identity of the kings mentioned in the Vēlvikuḍi plates and the Madras Museum plates there are strong reasons to believe that both refer to the same king. For, the ruling king Parāntaka Neḍuñjadaiyan and his *birudas* Paṇḍi-tavatsala, Virapurōga and Vikramapāruga occur in both. Further, the surname Śrīvaramaṅgala given to the granted village Vēlaṅguḍi in the Madras Museum plates makes it clear that the king must have also had the *hiruda* 'Śrīvara' which we find actually given to him in the Vēlvikuḍi plates.⁴ The special mention of Mūrti Eyiyan in l. 136 of the Vēlvikuḍi plates as

¹ According to tradition there were three Śaṅgams or old academies of Tamil Poets. The date of the last of these has been widely discussed. The latest pronouncement on the subject is that it must have come into existence some time after the 5th Century A. D.

² *Acta Orientalia*, Vol. I, Part I, p. 23f.

³ These plates are under publication by me in the *Epigraphia Indica*.

⁴ Mr. K. V. Subrahmanya Ayyar also supposes it to be so; vide his *Sketches of Ancient Deccan*, pp. 103 ff.

one of the fifty Brāhmaṇa sub-doneses marks him out as an important personage. From the Ānaimalai inscriptions, we know that Eyinaṇ was an epithet or surname held by Māraṇ Eyinaṇ, the younger brother of Māraṅgāri himself. Perhaps Māraṇ Eyinaṇ and Mūrti Eyinaṇ were both younger brothers of Māraṅgāri. The *ajñapti* of the Madras Museum plates was Dhīrataran Mūrti Eyinaṇ, who was one of the *mahā-sāmantas* of the king. There is little doubt that Mūrti Eyinaṇ of our plates and Dhīrataran Mūrti Eyinaṇ of the Madras Museum plates are identical and that thus also the king Neḍuñjaḍaiyaṇ mentioned in both these sets of plates is one and the same. If this identification is accepted the two allied plates together supply the full list of the military exploits of Neḍuñjaḍaiyaṇ. By the third year of his reign (the date of the present grant) Neḍuñjaḍaiyaṇ must have subdued the Āyavēl and the Kuṇḍambar and defeated the Pallavas south of the Kāviri; but before his 17th year (the date of the Madras Museum plates) he had carried his conquests right into the heart of the Koṅgu country and taken possession of it by defeating its king Adiyaṇ and his allies the Pallavas and the Kēraḷas. The conquest of the Koṅgu country and the desire to possess it seem to have been very strong with the Pāṇḍya kings. For, Śuḍaiyaṇ, the grandfather of Neḍuñjaḍaiyaṇ, held the title 'Lord of the Koṅgas' and his father Tēr-Māraṇ actually crossed the Kāviri, subjugated Maḷa-Koṅgam and had invaded that country even as far as Pāṇḍi-kKoḍumuḍi. Neḍuñjaḍaiyaṇ seems only to have followed in the footsteps of his ancestors in subduing the Koṅga-bhūmi, as far as the land of the Gaṅgas. The information that a Gaṅga princess was married into the Pāṇḍya family is not mentioned in any of the Gaṅga records of this period which falls into the reign of Śivamāra I (755 to 765 A.D.). The Vallabha or the Western Chalukya king who was defeated on this marriage occasion was probably Kirtivarman II who succeeded to the Chalukya throne in A.D. 746 or 747 and whose army is stated in his records to have defeated the army of the Kēraḷas, the Chōlas and the Pāṇḍyas.

From what is stated of the countries of Koṅgu and Kēraḷa in these inscriptions of Neḍuñjaḍaiyaṇ, it is not difficult to see that the former was bounded on the east and perhaps also on the north by the land of the Gaṅgas—the Gaṅgavāḍi 96,000 of the Western Gaṅgas of Talakāḍ and that on the south it extended far beyond Koḍumuḍi, as even to cover the northern portion of the later Rājāsārya-Vaḷanāḍu of the Chōlas which included in it the present Musiri and the Trichinopoly talukas. Coimbatore was in the western division of the Koṅgu-maṇḍalam. The king of the Northern (*vaḍa*) Koṅgu was Adiyaṇ¹—the Adigaimāṇ or Adiyamāṇ of later inscriptions whose capital was at Dharmapuri, the ancient Tagaḍūr, in the Salem district. The Kēraḷa country was situated on the west coast beyond the Sahyādri mountains and may have included also the southernmost portions of the present Coimbatore district. In the 8th century, therefore, it looks as if the Koṅgu king allied himself with the Pallavas in the north and the Kēraḷas in the south and tried to oppose the invasion of the Pāṇḍya Neḍuñjaḍaiyaṇ. The Vallabha was defeated by the Pāṇḍya general and a Gaṅga princess was married into the Pāṇḍya family perhaps as a political measure. It is stated that Pūrvarājar put to flight Vallabha. Māraṅgāri also fought on the same occasion. Perhaps the Pūrvarājar were the chiefs of Gaṅgavāḍi subordinate to the Western Gaṅga king who contracted marriage relations with the Pāṇḍyas.

Mr. Venkayya observes again in his Epigraphical Report that the title Arikēsari occurring in text-line 62, was borne by a certain Neḍu-Māraṇ who is mentioned in the commentary of Nakkīrar on *Irāiyānār-Agapporuḷ*. This latter work, as tradition says, was made available for the public by Nīlakaṇṭhaṇār of Muṣiri eight generations, i.e., about two hundred years, after the actual date of Nakkīrar. Mr. Venkayya seems to have gone wrong in identifying Neḍu-Māraṇ of literature with Tēr-Māraṇ of the Vēlvikuḍi plates where, however, the characteristic title Arikēsari is not given to him. The other titles, too, are not applied to him and the

¹ See remarks on his Nāmakkal inscription in the Madras Epigraphical Report for 1906, p. 75 f.

battles fought by him as described in the commentary under reference, are not found in the eulogy of Tēr-Māṇaṇ given in the Velvikudi plates. On the other hand, Māṇavarman, the great grandfather of the donor Neḍuñjaḍaiyan, is not only called Arikēsari but is also stated to have fought victorious battles at Pāḷi, Śēṇṇilam and Nelvēli which same are mentioned of him in the commentary on the *Agapporuḷ*.¹ This mention, therefore, of the very same battles both in the plates and in the commentary, sufficiently warrants our identifying Neḍumāṇaṇ of the commentary with Māṇavarman, the great-grandfather of Neḍuñjaḍaiyan and not with Tēr-Māṇaṇ. Nakkirar has sung also of Neḍuñjeliyan in *Puraṇāṇūru*, and it is not impossible that this Neḍuñjeliyan is identical with Śeliyan, the father of Arikēsari Māṇavarman.

Of the six ancestors of Neḍuñjaḍaiyan mentioned in the Tamil portion of the inscription and the three immediate ancestors mentioned in the Sanskrit portion, we learn nothing more than that the first king Kaḍuāṅḍōṇ who came to rule after the Kalabhra interregnum was a **Pāṇḍy-ādhirāja**,² that the next Māṇavarman bore the title **Avanichūḷāmapī** and that the third Śēṇḍaṇ, also called Śeliyan and Vāṇavaṇ, was probably identical, as stated above, with Neḍuñjeliyan of the *Puraṇāṇūru* fame. The fourth king, whose military achievements are given in detail, was Śrī-Māṇavarman Arikēsari Asamasaman, who in addition to the victorious battles mentioned already, destroyed the Paravas and the people of Kuṇu-nāḍu. The fifth Śaḍaiyan, also called Raṇuḷhira, was the lord of the Koṅgas, fought battles against the Āyavēḷ at Marudūr, and with the Mahārathas at Maṅgalapura; and the sixth, Tēr-Māṇaṇ or Rājasinha, defeated Pallavamalla, perhaps at Kuḷumbūr, and fought battles at Neḍuvayal, Kuṇumaḍai, Maṇṇikuṇichchi, Tirumaṅgai, Pāvalūr, Koḍumbālūr and Periyālūr and subjugated the country of Maḷa-Koṅgam as far as Pāṇḍi-kKoḍumiḍi. He contracted relationship with Gaṅgarāja, marrying the daughter of the Gaṅga prince to his son Neḍuñjaḍaiyan, himself having married the daughter of the king of the Maḷavas.³ The fact that he defeated Pallavamalla shows that Tēr-Māṇaṇ must have been a contemporary of that king and lived about A.D. 710-760.⁴

As regards the territorial terms and village names that occur in the inscription, Pāṇaṇ-kūṇṇam is identical with the division of that name in which the village Śōḷavandāṇ near Madurai was included.⁵ Maḷava is identical with Maḷa-nāḍu.⁶ Kuṇu-nāḍu, and the granted village Velvikudi, and the villages Nagarūr, Korraṇputtūr and Pāyal mentioned in the description of the boundaries of the latter cannot be identified. Koṅkai is the well-known seaport of that name in the Tinnevely District. Of the villages Nelvēli, Śēṇṇilam, Puliyūr (in Kēraḷa), Marudūr, Maṅgalapura, Neḍuvayal, Kuṇumaḍai, Maṇṇikuṇichchi, Tirumaṅgai, Pāvalūr, Śēṇḍuḍi, Puḍāṅḍōḍu, Koḍumbālūr, Kuḷumbūr, Periyālūr, Pāṇḍikkoḍumiḍi, Kāḍal Vāñji, Kōḷi, Peṇṇāḍaḍam, Nāṭṭukkuṇumbu, Karavandapuram and Veṇbai,—Nelvēli is Tinnevely;

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 129 ff.

² Describing the several grades of rulers, the *Kāṁikūgama* states that an *ādhirāja*—*ādhirāja* is the form which the inscription uses throughout the Tamil portion—holds the second rank among kings:—

चतुस्समुद्रपर्वन्तं पृथिवीं यः प्रपालयेत्।

यस्यैवर्त्तो समाख्यातः सप्तराज्यं प्रपालयेत् ॥

अधिराजस्यमाख्यातः

(*Hindu Iconography*, Vol. I, Part I, p. 29 n.)

³ Maḷava is identical with the old Maḷa-nāḍu or Rājāsraya-Vaḷanāḍu (see *S. I. I.*, Vol. II, Introduction, p. 24, and *Historical Sketches of Ancient Dekhan*, p. 129).

⁴ Udayachandra, the general of Nandivarman Pallavamalla, also claims in the Udayēṇḍiram grant to have defeated the Pāṇḍy. at Maṇṇaikkudi (*S. I. I.*, Vol. II, p. 368, Text, l. 60 f.). Perhaps we may have to identify Maṇṇaikkudi with Maṇṇikuṇichchi which is mentioned in the Tamil portion (Text, l. 73 f.) as one of the places where Tēr-Māṇaṇ was victorious.

⁵ No. 127 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1910.

⁶ See above note 3.

Marudūr is perhaps Tiruppuḍaimarudūr near Ambāsamudram; Maṅgalapuram of the Mahārathas might be Mangalore; Koḍumbāḷūr is in the Pudukkōṭṭai State; Pāṇḍikkoḍumiḍi is the village Koḍumuḍi near Karūr a station on the South-Indian Railway; Kūḍal is Madura; Vañji is Karūr¹; Kōḷi is Woraiyūr near Trichinopoly; Peppāgaḍam is in the Tanjore District; and Karavandapuram is the modern Kaḷakkāḍ in the Tinnevely District.

TEXT.²

First Plate.

Svasti³ [||*]

- 1 Śriyañ=chiram vaś=śiśir-āmsu-śekharaś-Śiva[ḥ*] śrit-ārtti-pratibandha-kāraṇam [1*]
tanōtu sauvarṇṇa-kapa-
- 2 rdda-sundarañ=kudarppa-Kandarppa-mada-pramarddanaḥ 2 [1*] Viśvambharā-
bhara-śrānta-śēsha-viśrāma-kāraṇam [1*] ā-
- 3 kalp-āntam=bhuvī sthēyād=anvayaḥ-Pāṇḍya-bhābhṛitām 2 [2*] Astambhayat-
kshiti-dharam=pravijimbhamāṇam=ambha-
- 4 s=samastam-apibaj-jaladhōś=cha yas=sah [1*] Kumbh-ōdbhavō bhavati yasya
muniḥ-purōdhās=sa śrī-nidhi-
- 5 r=jjayati Pāṇḍya-narēndra-vamśah 2 [3*] Asthād=apratima-prabhāva-mabitaḥ=
Pāṇḍy-ābhidhānō nidhō-
- 6 r=vvārādhvārī⁴ mahipatis-tribhuvanō linē=pi kalpa-kshayāt [1*] Dhātṛā spishṭa-
vatā punas=sa
- 7 jagatām rakshārttham=abhyarthitas=tējasvi tanayatvam=ōtya śāśinō nāmnā Budh-
ākhyō=bhavat 2 [4*]

Second Plate ; first side.

- 8 Putras=tasya Purūravā bhuja-bala-pradhvasta-daityaḥ=prabhus=tad-vamśō Śikharin-
dra-mastaka-śi-
- 9 lā-vinyasta-matsya-dvayō [1*] Śakr-ōrddh-āsana-hāra-bhāji śaraṇō viśvasya viś-
vambharā-gēha-
- 10 svāmini śāśvatō yudhi jit-āśēsh-āmar-āri-prabhau 2 [5*] Dūtibhūta-divōkasi⁵
kshiti-dhara-kshu-
- 11 bdh-ābhisaniksbōbhita-kshir-ōdanvati Kumbha-sambhava-kara-prāpt-ābhishēka-kriyō
[1*] isht-ārtth-ārppaṇa-
- 12 tarppit-ārtthi-janat-āpārṇṇa-kshamā-maṇḍalō janm-āvāpa jaga⁶-tray-ārchchita-guṇa[ḥ*]
śrī-Māravarimmā nṛi-

¹ Pandit Raghava Aiyangar of Ramnad has proved from copious references to literature that the earliest Vañji is Karūr. But an inscription at Dhārāpuram mentions the town Koḷgu-Vañji, suggesting thus, another Vañji which was perhaps the earlier and the capital of Chōra.

² From two excellent impressions supplied by Dr. Fleet to Mr. Venkayya in 1893 and another supplied by Dr. L. D. Barnett to me in 1915.

³ These two syllables are written on the left margin of the plate.

⁴ Read *vārārān=acāri*.

⁵ Read *-divakasi*.

⁶ Read *jagat*.

Velvikudi Grant of Nedunjadaiyan : the 3rd year.

i
2
4
6

2
4
6

1

ii a
8
10
12
14

8
10
12
14

ii a

ii b
16
18
20

16
18
20

ii b

iii a
22
24
26
28

22
24
26
28

iii a

iii b
30
32
34
36

30
32
34
36

iii b

iv a.

38 38
40 40
42 42
44 44
46 46

iv b.

48 48
50 50
52 52
54 54
56 56

v a.

58 58
60 60
62 62
64 64
66 66

v b.

68 68
70 70
72 72
74 74
76 76

vi a.

78 78
80 80
82 82
84 84
86 86

- 13 Paḥ 2 [6*] Dharapī-valayaṁ samastam=etan=nija-dōrdḍaṇḍa-mah-ōrag²ṇa
bibhṛit¹ [1*] aharat-sa bhu-
14 jaṁgam-ādhibhartuṣ=chira-kāl-ōdvahana-klaman-dharāyāḥ 2 [7*] Adhiruhya
tulām=a-mitra-varggam=ṇudhi ji-

Second Plate ; second side.

- 15 tv-Āmṛita-garbbhatō janitvā [1*] sudhiyām=adhipas=suvarṇṇa-rāśim vidhivat=sa
pratipādayām-babhūva [2] [8*] Tasy-ā-
16 ²nmajas=taruṇa-bhāskara-tulya-tōjā rājā babhūva Raṇadhīra iti pratitah [1*]
yō līlay=aiva bhuvana-
17 sya babhāra bhāraṁ hāraṁ yath=āśya guravas=suranāyakasya 2 [9*] Putras=
tasya Purandara-pratikṛitir=bhū-
18 sundari-vallabhō namr-āśōsha-narēndra-vēshṭana-maṇi-vrāt-āvṛit-āṁghri-dvayaḥ [1*]
āsīt=satya-sakhaḥ=pa-
19 rākrama-dhanaḥ=³patmāsanāyāḥ=patir=vvidy-āchāra-vibhūṣhaṇa[h*] śruta-[dha]ra[h*]
śri-Māravarṁm=ābhidhaḥ 2 [10*] Sa Rāja-
20 siṁhas=sarasiruh-ākshō bhayam bhuvi prāṇa-bhṛitām=apāśya [1*] raraksha
dakshaḥ kshapit-āri-paksha-
21 ⁴h=kshamātalan kshamā-patir=akshat-ājñah 2 [11*] Narō nu Rakshō nu Harō-
nu Pūrushah=parō nu Śakrō nu

Third Plate ; first side.

- 22 sarōsham=āgataḥ [1*] iti [sma] matvā yudhi yam=bhay-ā[rddi]taḥ=[pa]lāyatō
[Pallava]malla-bhūpa-
23 tiḥ 2 [12*] Kanaka-garbbha-kṛita-prasavaḥ=punas=samadhiruhya tulām=atulām=
api [1*] akira[tzā]-
24 rttham=apākṛita-kalmashō dvija-daridra-sur-āyatanō=shu yaḥ 2 [13*] Māhā⁵-
kulinām=Maḷav-ēndra-[ka]-
25 nyām sa Māravarṁmā sadraśim⁶=uvāha [1*] ajāyat=āśyām Hara-sūnu-kalpō
jagad-dhitārtthañ=Jaṭi-
26 l-ābhidhāuḥ 2 [14*] Aśishat=sa dharām=ahina-sārah=kshitipañ=kshāḷita-⁷
kalmash-ānushaṁgam [1*] nata-rā-
27 jaka-mauli-ranna⁸-raśmi-prakar-ābhyarchchita-pāda-patma⁹ piṭṭhaḥ 2 [15*] Khalayō
sa gupān=adāt=Kṛitasya
28 sva-bhujābhyām sura-pādapa-svabhāvam [1*] abhayam śaraṇāgata-prajābhyas=sa
divam samṇati śa-

¹ Read *bibhṛat*.

² Read *pakshaḥ kshamā*.
Read *kshitipañ kshā*.

³ Read *°tmaja*.

⁴ Read *Mahā*.
⁵ Read *ratna*.

⁶ Read *padmā*.

⁷ Read *sadṛśim*.
⁸ Read *padma*.

Third Plate ; second side.

- 29 tru-pārthivēbhyāḥ 2. [16*] Rājatām sa mahāpāla-kirīṭ-ārppita-śaṇaḥ [1*]
Rājasimha-suto rā-
30 jā chiram-urvyām-Parāntakaḥ ||||— [17*] I-praśasti 'Sarvvakratu-yāji āgiya
Varōdaya-Bhaṭṭanār-che-
31 yappattadu | ||||— Kol-yāpai-palav-ōṭṭi-kkūḍa-maṇṇar-kulān-tavi-
32 rtta Palyāga-Mudukuḍumi-pPeruvaḷudi eṇṇum Paṇḍyādhirājanā-
33 nāga-mā-malar-chchōlai-naḷir-śipaimiśai-vaṇḍ-alambum Pāganūr-
34 kkūṟṟam¹=eṇṇum paḷapa-kkiḍakkai-nir-nāṭṭu-chchoṟkappālar-śo-
35 lappaṭṭa śrutimārggam-pilāiyāda Kōṟkai-kilā-Nāṟkōṟṟaṇ koṇ-
36 ḍa vēlvi muṟruvikka kōlvi-andaṇṅālar muṇbu kēṭka eṇṇ-eḍut-

Fourth Plate ; first side.

- 37 t-uraittu vēlviśālai-muṇbu niṟru Vēlvikuḍi eṇṇ-a-ppadiyai=chchi-
38 rōḍu tiru-vaḷara=chcheydār [||*] Vēndaṇ=appoḷudēy nīrōḍ-aṭṭi-kkoḍuttamai-
39 yā=ṇiḍu-bhukti ²tuttapiṇṇ[||*]=Aḷav-ariya ādhirājarai agala nīkki agal-iḍattai-
40 kKaḷabhraṇ=eṇṇuṇ=Kali-araiśaṇ kaikkōṇḍ=adaṇai iṟakkiyapiṇ[||*] Paḍu-kaḍaṇ-muḷai
41 tta parudi-pōla Paṇḍyādhirājan vēlirpaṭṭu viḍu-kadir-avir-ōḷi vilaga viṟri-
42 rundu vēlai-sūḷnda-viyal-iḍattu-kkōvuṇ=kuṟumbum pēvuḍaṇ murukki=chche-
43 nkōl=ōchchi vēṇ-kuḍai-nīḷaṅ-ṅaṅ-ōḷi-nīṅaiṇda Taraṇi-maṅgaiyai=ppiṟar-
44 pāl=urimai tiravidi=ṇikki-ttappāl=urimai naṇṇaṇam=amaitta māṇam-pē-
45 rtta-tāṇai-vēndaṇṇ=ōḍuṅgā-maṇṇar-ōḷi-nagar=aḷitta Kaḍuṅḍōṇ=eṇṇuṇ=kadi-
46 r-vēr-Bēṇṇaṇ [||*] Maṟṟ-avaṅku magan-āgi mahitalam podu-nīkki Malar-maṅgai[y*]-o-

Fourth Plate ; second side.

- 47 ḍu maṇaṇ-ayaṇda aṟṟam-il-aḍar-vēṅ-ṅāpai-Ādhirājan Avaniḥūḷāmaṇi etti-
48 rattum=igal-aḷikku=matta-yāpai Māravarmman [||*] Maṟṟ-avaṅku maruv-iṇiya
oru-magaṇ-ā-
49 gi Maṇ-magaḷai maṇu-kkaḍindu vikramattin vēlirpaṭṭu vilāḍgal-vēl-po-
50 ri-vēndar-vēndaṇ śilai-ttaḍa-kkai-kkolai-kkaḷiṟṟu=chChēṭṭyaṇ Vāṇavaṇ
51 śēṅkōṟ-Chēndaṇ [||*] Maṟṟ-avaṅku=ppaḷipp-iṇṇi vaḷi-ttōṇri Udayagiri-madhyama-
52 t-tuṇṇu-śuḍar-pōla=ttēṇṇ-eṇṇu diśai naḍuṅga maṟṟ-avaṇ vēlirpaṭṭu=chchō-
53 ḷi-yāpai śelav=undi=pPāḷivāy=amar-kaḍandu Vilvēli-kkaḍar-ṅāpaiyai
54 Mēlvēli=chcheru veṇṇum xivavi-vand-aḍaiyāda Paravaṇai=ppāḷi-paḍut-
55 tum=aṟukāl-iṇam puḍai tīḷaikkun=Kurunāṭṭavar-kulān=keḍuttu-
56 ā=kai-nnalatta-kaḷiṅ=undi=chChēnnilattu=chcheru veṇṇum pāṟ-aḷavun=

¹ The *paḷli* is marked over *ms.*

² Read *tuytta*.

Velvikudi Grant of Nedunjadaiyan : the 3rd year.

vi h.

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vii b.

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viii a.

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viii b.

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IX a

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IX b

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Fifth Plate; first side.

- 57 [ta]ni-chchenkōr-~~Kēra~~lānai-ppala-mu[raiyam=urimai]-chchugram[ōḍ=avar-yā]pai-
 58 [y*]um purisai-mmadiṟ-Puli[y*]ūn-ppaga-pāligai ira[v]āmai iga[1-ā]-
 59 li[y*]ūl veṇṇu koṇḍum vēl-āli[y*]um viyaṇ-paraṃbum-ōlāmai ṣeṇ-
 60 r-erind-aḷittum Hiranyagarbhamun-Tulābhāramun-darapimisai-ppala ṣey[du]
 61 antaṇarkkum aṣaktarkkum vand=apaiga eṇr-itt-aḷitta makarikai-āpi-maṇi-
 62 neḍu-muḍi-Arikṣaari Asamasaman śrī-Māravarmman. [||*] Maṇṇ-avaṅku magan-
 āgi=kkorā-vō-
 63 l valaṇ-ēndi-pporud-ūruṇ-kaḍar-rāṇaiyai Marudūruṇ māṇb-aḷitt-Āyavō-
 64 lāi agappaḍa ey=eṇṇāmai eṇind-aḷittu=chChenḡoḍi[y*]um Pudāṇ[kō]ṭ-
 65 tuṇ=cheru veṇṇ-avar-ṣiṇaṇ-tavirttu=kkōṅg-alaruṇ-naṇum-poḷilvāy=kku-
 66 [y*]i[lo]ḍu ma[y*]il-agavu-Maṅgalapuram-eṇṇum mahā-nagaruṇ Mahāratharai e-

Fifth Plate; second side.

- 67 rind-aḷitt-aṇai-kaḍal-valāgam podu-moḷi agaṇṇi-chchilai[y*]um puli[y*]um
 68 kayaluṇ=chenṇu nilaiy-amai-neḍu-varai-iḍava[y*]iṇ-kidāy maṇṇ=iṇid-āṇḍa
 69 taṇṇ-aḷi-chchenkōr-~~Rēṇṇa~~-Vāṇavaṇ Ṣembiyaṇ Ṣōḷaṇ maṇṇar-maṇṇa[ṇ*] maḍu-
 70 ra-Karunāḍagaṇ koṇ-ṇaviṇṇa neḍuṇ-chuḍar-vōr-Kōṅgar-kōmāṇ kō=chChadaiyaṇ
 [||*]
 71 Maṇṇ-avaṅku putraṇāy Maṇ-magaḷadu poruṭṭāga matta-yāṇai ṣelav=undi māṇa-
 72 vēl valaṇ-ēndi=kkāḍu-viṣaiyāl=edirndavarai Neḍuvayalvāy nigar-aḷi-
 73 ttu=kkaruv-aḍainda maṇattavarai=kKurumaḍaivāy=kkūrpp-aḷittu Ma-
 74 ṇṇikuṇichchi[y*]uṇ=Tirumaṅgai[y*]u=muṇṇiṇṇavar muraṇ-aḷittu mēvalō-
 75 r-kaḍar-rāṇai[y*]ōḍ-ēṇṇ-edirōy vandavarai-pPūvalūr-ppuṇaṇ-gaṇḍuṇ=
 76 koḍum-purisai-nneḍuṇ-kidaṅgiṇ-Koḍumbālūr=kkūḍār-kaḍum-pari-

Sixth Plate; first side.

- 77 [y*]uṇ=karuṇ-kaḷiṇuṇ-kadir-vōliṇ-kaikkōṇḍuṇ=Chēva . . . [kā]ḍāda Pallavaṇai-k
 78 Kuḷumbūruṭ=ṭōṣ-āliya eṇṇ-iranda māl-kaḷiṇum=ivn[liga]!um pala kavarn-
 79 dum tariyalarāy=ttarittavarai=pPēriyalūr-ppid-aḷittum pāviri[y*]u-
 80 m-poḷiṇ-chōlai-kKāriyāi-kkaḍanditt-aḷag-amainda vār-ṣilai[y*]iṇ Maḷa-Ko-
 81 ṇgam=aḍippaḍuttu miṇḍ-oliya-maṇi-imaikkum=eḷil-amainda neḍum-pu-
 82 riṣai=pPaṇḍikkoḍumiḍi ṣeṇṇ-eydi=pPaṣupatiyadu paṇma-pāḍam paṇind-ō-
 83 tti=kkanaka-rāṣi[y*]uṇ-kadir-maṇi[y*]um mana-maḡaḷaḷ=kkuḍuttittuṇ-kōṅga-
 84 r-van-naṇuṇ-kāṇṇi-kGaṇḡaḷ-rāṇaḍa sambandhaṇ=cheydum eṇṇiṇṇaḍaṇ Ga-
 85 sahasramum Hiranyagarbhamun-Tulābhāramum maṇṇiṇṇimisai-ppala ṣeydu ma-
 86 rai-nāviṇṇōr kurai-tirttuṇ=Kūḍai Vāṇji Kōḷi eṇṇu-māḍa-mā-madi-

Sixth Plate; second side.

- 87 l pudukki[y*]um-aṇai-kaḍal-valāgaṇ-kurāiyāḍ-āṇḍa maṇṇar-maṇṇa[ṇ*]-Rēṇṇavar-
 maruga-

¹ Read *magiḷa*.

² Read *kKuruga*.

- 88 n māṇa-veṇ-kuḍaimēṇ=Rōr-Māraṇ [||*] Marr=avaraku magan-āgi Māl-uruviṇ veliṇpa-
 89 tṭu=kkorṇa-mūṇr-uḍaṇ=iyamba=kkūḷir-veṇ-kuḍai maṇ kāppa Pū-magaḷum Pu-
 90 la-magaḷum Nā-magaḷun=malan=ōtta=kKali-araiṣaṇ vali tālara=ppoliviṇoḍu vi-
 91 rirundu karuṇ-kaḍal-uḍutta peruṇṅaṇ-ñāḷattu nāṅ-perum-paḍai[y*]um pā-
 92 ppaḍa=pparappi=kkarudādu vand=edir-malainda Kāḍavapai=kkāḍ-āḍaiya=ppū-vi-
 93 ri[y*]um-puṇar-kalāni-kKāviri[y*]iṇ=ṇepkaraimōṅ=ṇaṇ-āgam-malar-chchōlai-
 94 pPēṇṇāgaḍatt-amar veṇṇun=ti-vāy-a[y*]il=ōndi=ttiḷaitt=edirēy van-
 95 d=iḷutta Āyavēlai[y*]uṇ-Kurumbarai[y*]um=āḍal-amaruḷ=alitt=ōṭṭi=kkāṭṭu-
 96 [k]kuṇumbu ṣeṇṇ-āḍaiya Nāṭṭukkuṇumbir=cheru v[e]ṇṇum=aṇai-kaḍal-valā-

Seventh Plate ; first side.

- 97 gam=oru-moḷi=kkolṭiya ṣilai-mali-taḍa-kkai Teṇṇa-Vāṇayaṇ avāṇō-
 98 y Śrīvaran Śrī-maṇōharan Śiṇaohohōḷaṇ Puṇappūliyaṇ vitakanmashan¹
 99 vinayaviśrutan² vikramapārakan viṇapurōkan marudbalan mānyaśūsanan Manūpaman
 100 marḍḍitavīran giristhiran gitikinnaran kripālayan kṛitāpatānan Kalippagai
 kaṇḍa-
 101 kanishṭuran³ kāryadatshīṇa⁴ kārmukha⁵-Pārthtan Parāntakan Paṇḍitavatsalan
 paripūruṇan pā-
 102 pabhīru kurai-uṇu-kaḍaṅ-paḍai-ttāṇai-ṇuṇaṅriḥyan gūḍhaniṇirṇayan⁶ nirai-uṇu-mala-
 103 r-maṇi-niṇ-muḍi-Nēriya[r*]kōṇ-Nēḍuṇṇāḍaiya[u*] [||*] Maṇṇ=avarṇaṇ rājya-
 vatsalam⁷ mūṇṇā-

Seventh Plate ; second side.

- 104 vadu ṣelānirpa āṅg=oru-nāṇ=māḍa-mā-maḍir-Kūḍaṅ-paḍu niṇṇavar ā-
 105 krōdhikka=kkorṇavaṇḍy maṇṇ=avarai=tterreṇa nangu kūvi eṇṇēy nuṇ-kurāi
 106 eṇru muṇṇāṅa-ppaṇitt-arulā mō-ṇā=ṇiṇ-kuravarāṅ=pāṇ-muṇai[y*]iṇ va-
 107 ḷuvāmai māṅaṇ-tōy-malar-chchōlai=pPāṅaṇūr-kkūṇṇattu=ppaḍuvadu
 108 āḷva-tāṇai-āḍal-vēndēy Vēḷvikuḍi eṇṇum piyar-uḍaiyadu o-
 109 ḷḷāḍa vēṇ-rāṇai[y*]oḍ=ōḍa-vēli uḍaṇ kātta Palyāga-Mudukuḍumi-
 110 pPeruvaḷudi eṇṇum Paramēśvaraṇa⁸ Vēḷvikuḍi eṇṇappaṭṭadu
 111 kēḷviyir=ṇarappaṭṭaḍaṇai=ttuḷakkam-illā kaḍaṅ-rāṇaiy-āya Kalabhra-
 112 rāl-iṇakkappaṭṭadu eṇru niṇṇavaṇ vijñāpyāñ=cheyya naṇṇu naṇṇ-eṇru
 113 muṇuvalittu nāṭṭā=ṇiṇ paḷamaiyāḍal kāṭṭi nī [koḷgav=eṇ]ṇa nāṭṭ[ā]ṇ=raṇ

Eighth Plate ; first side.

- 114 paḷamaiyāḍal kāṭṭiṇāṇ=āṅg=appaḷuḍēy kāṭṭa mō-ṇāḷ=e[ṇ]-kura-
 115 varāṅ=pāṇmuṇai[y*]ir=ṇarappaṭṭaḍai emmāḷun=tarappaṭṭaḍ=eṇru ṣe-
 116 mmāṇḍ=avaṇ=eḍutt-arulī viṇ-kai-ttaḍa-kkai-vīral-vēndaṇ Korṇai-kilā-
 117 n Kāmakkāṇi Nārchingaṅku=ttēr-ōḍuṇ-kaḍaṅ-rāṇaiyāṇ=niṇrōḍ-aṭṭik[ko]-
 118 ḍuttamai[y*]iṇ maṇṇ=idaṅku=pperu-nāṅg-ellai terreṇa viritt=uraip-
 119 piṇ=pugar-aṇu-poliṇ=maruṇṅ=uḍutta Nagaṇūr-ellaikkum mēkkum maṇṇ-idaṅku-

¹ Read °kalmashan.

² The original has the impossible combination °viśrutan.

³ Read °niśhṭuran.

⁴ Read °kāryadakshīṇa.

⁵ Read kārmuka°.

⁶ Read gūḍhaviṇayan.

⁷ Read °vatsaram.

⁸ Read ṇāl.

- 120 tt[e]ṇ ellai **Kuḷandaivaṇ**-Kū[vandai-śe[y*]kkuṇ-**Kaḷandai**-kkuḷattil-āḷukk[u]
 121 vaḍakkum maṟṟ-idaṟku mōl-ellai aṟṟam-illā-k**Korraputtū**(r)r-Oḍumaiy-i-
 122 ruppai-chehey-idai mōṟṟalai-pperuppiṟku-kkiḷakkum maṟṟ-idaṟkn vaḍupā-

Eighth Plate ; second side.

- 123 l-el[lai kāya]luṭ=kamalam malarum **Payalu** vaḍapālai-pperuppiṟku-t-
 124 teṟkum ivv-iyait[ta*] peru-nāṅg-ellaiyir-paṭṭa pūmi kārāṇmai miyāṭchi
 125 ull-aḍaṅga mēl-oṇ-guravar-āṟ=kudukkappaṭṭa pariśōy emmāluṇ=[ko]ḍuk-
 126 kappattadu [[*] Maṟṟ-idaṟk-āṇatti kuṟṟam-iṟṟi-kkūruṇkālai-kkoṅgar-van-na-
 127 ruṇ-kapṇi-¹k**Gaṅgarājanadu** kanyā-ratnam **Koṅgar**koṟku-kkuṇandu koḍuppu ārp-
 128 p-aṟṟā-aḍar-rāṇai-p**Pūrvvarājar** puṅaṟṟ-eḷundu vil-viravuṇ=kaḍar-rāṇai-[**Va**]llabhaṇai
 129 **Veṇbaivāy** āl-aṇṇarull=aḷind-ōḍa vāḷ-amaruḷ-uḍaṇ=vavviya ēpa-ppori²
 130 igal-amaruḷ=idi-urum-eṇa valaṇ-ōnda [malai]tta-tāṇai-**Madavikalap**³ maṇṇar-kō-
 131 ṇ-arulir=peṟruṇ=kol-valaikkum-vōṟ-rāṇai-ppal-valai-kkōṇ kuṇaru-

Ninth Plate ; first side.

- 132 ppaṭṭu=ppōr-vandavar-madan=tavirkkuṇ-**Karavandapurattavar**-ku[la-l]tōṇṟal māv-ēn-
 133 duṇ = kaḍar - rāṇai - **Mūvēndamaṅgalappērari**[ya]ṇ = āgiya **Vaidyaka-śikhāmaṇi**⁴
Māraṅgā-
 134 ri [[*] I-ppiramadōyam-uḍaiya **Koṟkai**-kiḷāṇ **Kāmakkāṇi** **Śuvaraṇ-Jiṅgaṇ** i-
 135 ḍaṇuḷ mūṇṟil-oṇṇuṇ=tapaḷku vaitt-iraṇḍu-kūṟum aimpadiṇvar Brāhma-
 136 ṇarkku nīrōḍ=aṭṭi=kkoḍuttāṇ [i*] Idaṇuḷ **Mūrtti** **Eyiṇaṇ** śavai[y*]ōḍ-o
 137 ttadu nāṅg-arai-ppaḍāgāram-uḍaiyaṇa [i*] Idaṇuṭ=ṭapaḷku vaitta oru-kūṟṟilu-
 138 n=tambimārkkku nāṅguṇ=taṇ-chirappanār-makkaḷukku āṟum sa-
 139 bhai[y*]ōḍ=otta paḍāgāraṇ=kōḍuttāṇ [i*] I-ppraśasti pāḍiṇa **Sēṇāpa-**
 140 **ti** **Ēṇadi** ā[y*]iṇa **Śattaṇ-Chattar**ku mūṇṟu kūṟṟārum-āy-t-
 141 taṅgaḷōḍ=otta nāṅgu paḍāgāraṇ=kōḍuttār ||⁴

Ninth Plate ; second side.

- 142 **Āsit**⁵=**Maṅgalarājō** **Mādhuratarāḷ** śāstravit=kavir=vvāgmī[i*] āṇṇaptir-asya
Vaidyaḷ **Karavandapur-ā-**
 143 dhivāstavyaḷ **2** [18*] ⁶Ratshān=naraḷ parakṛitau vidadhīta vidvān=pādā hi
Dharmma yaśasaḷ para-
 144 masya labdhā[h*] [i*] Dhātr=aiva ⁷śraśṭam-akhilam ⁸bhuvanan=tath=api
 ratshantri⁹ puṇyatatayaḷ ¹⁰prathivīn=narēndrā[h] || [19*] ||⁴
 145 Na hi bhūmi-pradānād=vai dānam=anyad=viśishyatō [i*] na ch=api bhūmi-haraṇāt
 pāpa-
 146 m=anyad=vidhīyatō **2** [20*] **Dātā** daś-ānugrahṇātī¹¹ yō harēd=daśa hanti
 cha [i*] atit-ānāgatā-

¹ Read *kKaṅga*.

² These two syllables are written over an erasure.

⁴ For the ornamental form of the punctuation, see Plate.

⁵ On the use of *tska* for *ksha*, see above, p. 1.

⁶ Read *bhuvananam*.

¹⁰ Read *pri*.

⁸ Read *vikalan*.

⁹ Read *śiśa*.

⁷ Read *śraśṭam*.

⁸ Read *nti*.

¹¹ Read *gr*.

- 147 nī=ha kulāni. kula-nandana. 2. [21*] Sva-dattām para-dattām vā, yā. hansta
vasundharā
148 m [i*] na tasya [na]rakāt-ghorād-vidyātā. nishkrātib kvachit. 2. [22*]
Bahubhir=vvasudhā

Tenth Plate.

- 149 dattā bhujyātā h[i] tarādhipaiḥ [i*] yasya yasya yadā bhūm[i]s=tasya.
tasya ta-
150 dā phalam [23*] || chatvārah imē Vaishnavē Dharmē ślokāḥ ||
151 Maṛṛ=i[da*]nai=kkāttār malar-aḍi ep muḍi mōla enṇu korraṇaṇēy paṇi-
152 tt-aruli-tterrepa=ttāmra-śāsanāñ=cheyvittāṇ ||||— Iyde=eludi-
153 ṇa Śuttakēśari-pPerumpiṇaikārapukku perumakkaḷ arulār-peṇṇa-
154 du oru illa-valāṇvām iraṇḍu mā-chchey[y*]um oru punchey[y*]u-
155 m peṇṇāṇ ivai Yuddhakēśari-pPerumbaṇaikā[ra*]p-eḷuttu [||]

TRANSLATION.

(Verse 1): Hail ! May Śiva, whose head ornament is the cool-rayed (moon); who is the (primeval) cause for the cessation of the sufferings of the devoted, who is beautiful with matted hair of golden hue, and who crushes the mischievous pride of Kandarpa (Cupid); grant you perpetual happiness.

(V. 2). May the line of Pāṇḍya kings, the cause of rest to (the serpent) Śāsha, who is fatigued by bearing the burden of the Earth (on his heads), prosper on this earth to the end of the kalpa.

(V. 3). Victorious is the race of Pāṇḍya kings, the mine of prosperity, whose family priest is the sage (Agastya) born of the pitcher, who stopped the rapidly growing mountain from (further) growth, and drank all the water of the ocean.

(V. 4). There was (ruling) at the entrance into the sea a king famed for his matchless prowess, named Pāṇḍya, who, even after the three worlds had disappeared at the end of the kalpa, was requested again to rule the worlds by the Creator who created (these) anew, and was born as the splendid son of the moon and named Budha.

(Vv. 5 and 6). His son was Purāṇavas, who crushed the kings of giants by the strength of (his) arm ; in his family which had engraved the pair of fish (its crest) on the topmost rock of the lord of mountains (i.e., Mēru); whose (kings) shared with Śakra (i.e., Indra) half of his throne and his necklace; which was the asylum of the universe ; which was the husband of the earth ; which was everlasting ; which in battles defeated completely the powerful enemies of the gods ; whose messengers were the gods ; who stirred and churned the milk-ocean by the mountain (Mandara); the crowning ceremony (of whose kings) was performed by the hand of the pitcher-born (sage Agastya); and which had filled the circle of the earth with supplicants whose hearts were gladdened by the granting of their desires, was born the glorious king Māravarman, whose virtues were praised by the three worlds.

(V 7). Bearing on his big serpent-like shoulder the whole circle of this earth, he removed the fatigue of the lord of serpents (i.e., Śēsha); (which had been caused) by the carrying of the earth for a long time.

Read rakād=

² Read dha°.

³ For the ornamental form of the punctuation, see Plate.

(V. 8). He, the patron of the learned, conquered enemy crowds in battles and ascended the scales; came out of the nectar womb (of the cow); and according to rule, gave away heaps of gold¹.

(V. 9). His son was the king called **Rapadhira**, whose prowess was equal to that of the youthful sun and who bore the burden of the earth as sportively as his ancestors wore the necklace of (Indra), the chief of the gods.

(V. 10). His son was the glorious king named **Māravarman**, a counterpart of Parandara (Indra); the dear lord of the beautiful lady, earth, whose pair of feet was surrounded by the collection of gems in the crowns of all kings bowing in obeisance; whose friend was truth; whose wealth was prowess; the lord of the goddess of prosperity (Padmāsānā); who was an ornament of learning and good conduct and a depository of sacred knowledge.

(V. 11). That lotus-eyed **Rājasimha**, the king of the whole earth, driving away the fear of created beings on earth, ably protected the earth unopposed (after) destroying the allied enemies.

(V. 12). "Is he Nara (i.e., Arjuna); is he a giant; is he Ilara (i.e., Śiva); is he the Primeval Man (Vishnu); is he Śakra (Indra) come with anger?" thus thinking of him, in the battle-field, the frightened king **Pallavamalla** runs away (from him).

(V. 13). Who being made to be born of the womb of the golden (cow) and having again ascended the matchless scales, was freed of (his) sins and showered freely (his) wealth on Brahmins, beggars and temples.

(V. 14). This (king) **Māravarman** suitably married the daughter of the **Malava** king of high birth; and from her was born, for the good of the world, (the king) named **Jatila** almost equal to **Skanda** the son of Śiva.

(V. 15). That king of great strength ruled the earth clearing it of (all) associations of corruption; the footstool of his lotus feet was worshipped by the great lustre proceeding from the gems on the crowns of prostrating kings.

(V. 16). I imagine that he lent (his) virtues to the **Kṛita** (golden age); (he lent) to the celestial tree its nature, from his hands; to the subjects who sought refuge (in him), his promise of protection; and to the enemy kings on the battle-field, heaven.²

(V. 17). May he be long glorious on earth, king **Parāntaka**, the son of **Rājasimha**, whose commands are borne on the crowns by rulers of earth.

(L. 30). This *prasaṁsa* was composed by **Varōdayabhaṭṭa** who was a performer of all sacrifices (*Sarvakraṭuyājīn*).

(L. 31). **Narkorran**, the headman of **Korkai**, who never transgressed the path of the *Śrutis* as interpreted by the highly learned (men) of the division called **Pāganūr-kūṭram**,—a well-watered land of extensive paddy fields, where the beetles buzzed on cool buds in groves blooming with the Nāga and the mango (trees),—being desirous of completing a (Vedic) sacrifice begun (by him), through (the favour of) the *adhirāja* of the **Pāṇḍyas** called **Palyāgamudukuḍumi-Peruvēludi**, who dispersed the crowd of the enemy kings by leading numbers of ferocious elephants (against them), the *kāḷvi*-Brahmanas, in presence (of the king) saying

¹ These are the gifts which kings are expected to make on their coronation or on obtaining conspicuous victory in battles. They were also expiatory in character. See below, v. 13.

² The nature of the celestial tree is to give whatever is wanted and the hands of the king were giving away gifts on a very liberal scale. To give enemy kings heaven means to kill them on the battle-field and by so doing to send them to heaven.



"Please hear (O king)" explained the petition (of Narkorrap), stood in front of the sacrificial hall and blessed that spot to grow in prosperity under the name Vēlvikuḍi.¹

(L. 38). The king at once gave it with libations of water and it was since long (so) enjoyed.

(L. 39). Then a Kali² king named Kaḷabhraṇ took possession of the extensive earth driving away numberless great kings (ādhirāja) and resumed the (village mentioned) above.

(L. 40). After that, like the sun rising from the expansive ocean, the Paṇḍyādhirāja, named Kaḍuṅgōṇ, the lord of the South of sharp javelin who wore (the cloak of) dignity and was the leader of an army, sprang forth, occupied (the throne), spreading round him the brilliant splendour of (his) expanding rays (prowess), destroyed the kings of the extensive earth surrounded by the sea together with (their) strongholds and (their) fame, wielded the sceptre (of justice) and removed by his strength the evil destiny of the goddess of Earth whose splendour deserved to be under the shade of (his) white umbrella, by terminating by his strength³ the possession of her under others and establishing her in his own possession in the approved manner and destroyed the shining cities of kings who would not submit to him.

(L. 46). Then came his son Avanichūḷamaṇi Maṇavarman, who removed the common ownership of the earth (by making it his own), who was wedded to the goddess (born) of the flower (i.e., Lakshmi), the leader of a faultless army of fighting spearsmen, and the infuriated elephant who destroyed by all (possible) means the power (of enemy kings).

(L. 48). Then came his son, a lovely one and incomparable, the just ruler, Śeliyaṇ Vāṇavaṇ, Śēndaṇ, the lord of the hill-chiefs who throw weapons (dexterously), who removed the spot⁴ from the goddess of the earth, who became well known by his prowess and who possessed long hands (holding) the bow, and furious elephants.

(L. 51). Then to him (was) born, a son,⁵ Arikēsari, Asamasamaṇ śrī-Maṇavarman, whose high jewelled crown was adorned with ornamental hangings; who, like the brilliant Sun from the middle of the eastern mountain, came out spreading his rays, causing the quarters to tremble; won the battle at Pālī by driving into the field of battle caparisoned elephants; conquered the ocean-like army of Vilvēli⁶ in the battle of Nelvēli; destroyed the Paravas who did not seek refuge by approaching him; annihilated the race of the people of Kuru-naḍu where crowds of beetles abounded on all sides; won a victory at the battle of Sennilam by driving into battle (a herd of) elephants of strong trunks; conquered many a time during the day, in the terrible battle-field of Puliyūr of strongly fortified walls, the Kēraḷa (king) whose matchless sway (extended) over the whole earth together with (his) near relations and their elephants and captured them alive⁷; marched against, attacked and destroyed unopposed the sea of weapons, and the high mountains (of that country); performed many times on earth (the gifts called) hiraṇya-garbha and tulābhāra, and gave (the same) with pleasure to Brāhmanas and the infirm inviting them to come and assemble.

¹ In blessing it, they actually suggested that the king might grant the village to the Brahman Narkorrap under the name Vēlvikuḍi.

² Mr. K. V. Lakshmana Rao, M.A., has suggested in an article entitled 'The Kopparam Plates of Pulakēśin II, contributed to the *Annals of the Bhandarkar Institute*, Vol. IV, Part I, pp. 43 to 54, that Kali-kula occurring therein text-1. 8 is possibly a reference to the Kaḷabhraṇ. He seems to be right; for the phrase Kaḷabhraṇ=annuṇa=Kali-araiḍaṇ in l. 40 of the Vēlvikuḍi Plates properly translated means 'a Kali king named Kaḷabhra.'

³ Tiravidin is interpreted by Pandit R. Raghava Aiyengar of Ramnad to mean 'by his strength.'

⁴ As usual this 'spot' of the earth is her being in possession of kings other than himself.

⁵ Dr Winslow gives under vaḷi, the phrase vaḷittōṅgal in the sense of 'a son.'

⁶ Dr Krishnaswami Aiyengar holds the view that Vilvēli means 'a hedge of bows,' but here it must refer to a name.

⁷ The word -iṅgaṁmai is explained by Pandit Raghava Aiyengar of Ramnad to mean 'in a moment.'

(L. 62). Then (came) his son King Śaḍaiyaṇ, the lord of Koṅgas, whose javelins were long, brilliant and destructive, who was (also called) Teṇṇaṇ Vāṇavaṇ, Śembiyaṇ, Sōḷaṇ,¹ king of kings, the beautiful Karunāṭakaṇ, who with the victorious javelin in his right (hand), fought and destroyed the glory of the ocean-like army that came forth at Marudūr and capturing Āyavēḷ, attacked and destroyed him completely², gained victories in battles at Śeṅgoḍi and Pudāṇkōḍu³ and brought his (*i.e.*, Āyavēḷ's) anger to an end ; at the great city called Maṅgala-pura, where the peacock danced with the cuckoo near tanks perfumed with opening flowers, attacked and destroyed the Mahārathas ; removed the word "common property"⁴ (with reference to) the country (bordering) on the roaring sea ; administered justice tempered with mercy and ruled the earth with love, having reached the slopes of the high and permanent mountain (Mēru) and cut on the broad face of it the bow, the tiger and the fish.

(L. 71). Then (came) his son Tēr-Māṇaṇ (*i.e.*, Māṇaṇ of the horse-chariot) the king of kings, a member of the Pāṇḍya (Teṇṇavar) family, the proud possessor of the white parasol, who in order to acquire the goddess of the earth, carried in his right hand the awe-inspiring javelin and driving (forth) *must* elephants (into the battlefield), defeated straightway at Neḍuvayaḷ his opponents, who had rushed in great haste (*against him*) ; suppressed the rage of those whose minds were filled with anger (*against him*), at Kuṇumaḍai ; destroyed the power of (the enemies) who confronted him at Mūṇṇikuṇichchi and Tirumaṅgai ; saw the backs of the in-subordinate (*chiefs*) who advanced towards him with an ocean-like army, at Pūvalūr ; captured the fiery steeds, the black elephants and the sharp missiles of enemies at Koḍumbālūr which had high ramparts and deep trenches (round it) ; deprived the splendour of the Pallava (*king*) at Kuḷumbūr and took numberless huge elephants and horses ; humbled at Periyālūr the greatness of those who had come to cut him asunder not bearing (to see his greatness) ; crossed the Kāviri (*with its*) groves (of trees) and tanks of budding flowers ; subjugated Maḷa-Koṅgam with (the help of his) beautiful long bow ; proceeded and reached Pāṇḍikkōḍumiḍi of high fortifications, beautiful with the lustre emanating from brilliant gems ; prostrated at and worshipped the lotus feet of Paśupati (Śiva) ; gave away with great pleasure heaps of gold and lustrous gems ; contracted relationship with Gaṅgarāja, who wore garlands of sweet-scented flowers ; and performing on earth countless (gifts of) *śrīśaḥsra*, *hiranyagarbha* and *tulābhāra*, relieved the distress of (the Brāhmaṇas) who studied the Vēdas ; renewed the palaces and the high ramparts (of the capital towns)⁵ named Kūḍal (*i.e.*, Madura), Vāñji (Karūr) and Kōḷi (Uṇaiyār) and ruled the whole earth (bounded) by the roaring ocean.

(L. 88). Then (came) his son Neḍuñjaḍaiyaṇ, the king of the Nēriyar (*i.e.*, the Chōḷas), who (wore) a high crown covered with flowers and gems, who kept (*his*) council secret, who was respected for his virtues (and possessed) an army of battalions (*as extensive*) as the rising noisy ocean, who was afraid of (committing) sins, who had no wants, who was the lover of the learned (Paṇḍitavatsala), death to his enemies (Parāntaka), a Pārtha (*i.e.*, Arjuna) in (wielding) the bow, clever in his designs, cruel to the wicked, the enemy of the Kali (*age*) (Kalippagai), the performer of noble deeds, the abode of mercy, a Kinnara in music, firm as mountain, the smasher of heroes, he who equalled Manu, whose commands were obeyed, who was strong as

¹ The king having conquered the Chēra and the Chōḷa, apparently appropriated their crests also, *viz.*, the bow and the tiger and their titles Vāṇavaṇ, Śembiyaṇ and Sōḷaṇ.

² The word *ēyēṇṇāmai* is translated tentatively.

³ Śeṅ-goḍi and pudāṇ-kōḍu may have to be interpreted in the sense of 'brilliant flag' and 'brand new drum.' (?), which perhaps were the boast of the Āyavēḷ.

⁴ *I.e.* made it all his own.

⁵ We must understand after *enṇam*, some word like *nagaraṅgaḷin*. But it is also possible that *māḍa-māmadal* is a recognised term (*rūḍha-nāma*) for a capital town with palaces and fortifications; cf. the term as it occurs in I, 104.

wind, the foremost of the valiant, master of heroism, renowned for good behaviour, free from (all) blemish, **Punappūliyan**, **Sinacchōlēṇ**, **Śrīvāra**, the paramour of Śrī (i.e., Lakshmi), the **Tēnṇaṇ** (i.e., Pāṇḍya) and **Vaṇavaṇ** (i.e., Chēra)¹ whose long hand holds the bow and whose one word (of command) was accepted by the earth (bounded by) the noisy sea, who appeared in the form of Viṣṇu with victory thrice-told², protecting the earth under his cool white umbrella, well praised by the goddess of the flower (i.e., Lakshmi), the goddess of the earth and the goddess of the tongue (i.e., Sarasvatī); who began his rule so brilliantly that the strength of the lord of Kālī was weakened; who, in the battle of **Pēṇṇāga-ḍam** (surrounded by) an expanse of water and flowery groves and (situated) on the southern bank of the **Kāvēri** of blooming flowers and well-watered paddy fields, defeated the **Kāḍava** (king), who inconsiderately came and attacked (him) with his four-fold big army spread on all sides of the extensive earth girt by the black ocean, and drove (him) into the forest; and who crushing and driving in a fierce battle the **Āya-Vēl** and the **Kurumbas** that came and attacked (him) in great numbers, advanced with fiery spears and gained a victory over them in a battle at **Nāṭṭukkurumbu** (i.e., Kurumbu-nāḍu) (so that they) sought shelter in forests for (their) fortifications.

(L. 103). While the third year of the reign of this (king) was current, one (particular) day a bystander of **Kūḍal** (i.e., Madura) (the city of) mansions and high ramparts, having cried out (by way of complaint)³, the king himself at once called him mildly and was pleased to ask him first "what is your complaint." The bystander submitted thus "Oh! Mighty king of powerful army! Formerly without swerving from the pure (path) prescribed by law, (the village) called **Vēlvikuḍi** included in **Pāṇṇūr-kūṇṇam**, whose flowery groves touched the sky, was designated **Vēlvikuḍi** and was granted through the **kēlvi** (Brahmans) by your ancestor, the great lord known as **Palyāgamudukuḍumi-Peruvaḷudi**, who protected (the earth) girt by the ocean with an army of spearsmen who never miss (their aim). It has (since) been resumed by the ignoble (yet) ocean-like army of the **Kaḷabhras**." The king gently smiled and said: "Very well, very well, prove your antiquity (of the gift) by (a reference to) the district (assembly) and receive (it back)." He (the suppliant) proved then and there, the antiquity of his (claim) by (a reference to) the district (assembly). Thereupon the powerful king, of long arms holding the bow, being overjoyed was pleased to declare "what was granted formerly by my ancestors according to rule, is also granted by Us," and so saying he, of (many) chariots and ocean-like army, gave (it) with libations of water to **Kamakkāṇi Nārohiṇṇaṇ**, the headman of **Korkai**.

(L. 118). The four big boundaries of this (village) given in full detail are:—(The eastern boundary is) to the west of the boundary of **Nagarūr** surrounded on (all) sides by faultless flower-gardens. The southern boundary of this (is) to the north of the field (called) **Kaḷvandai-śēy** of **Kuḷandēvaṇ** and of the banyan tree in the **Kaḷandai-pond**. The western boundary of this (is) to the east of the mound (peruppu) on the western side of the field (called) **Oḍumaiyiruppai-śēy** of the faultless **Korraputtūr**. And the northern boundary of this (is) to the south of the mound on the northern side of (the village of) **Pāyal** where lotuses grow in canals.

(L. 124). The land included within the four big boundaries thus described is also given away by us, inclusive of **kārāṇmai** and **mīyāḷchi**, in the same manner as it had been given formerly by our ancestors.

(L. 126). The **āṇattī** of this (grant) correctly described is **Madavikalap**, **Maraṅgari**, the crest-jewel of the **Vaidyaka** family entitled **Mūvēndamaṅgalappērāraiyaṇ** who was favoured by the king of kings, whose army fought powerfully like a thunderbolt, in battles where

¹ See foot-note 1 on p. 807, above.

² கொற்றமுன்றுடனியம்ப could not be satisfactorily interpreted.

³ I have taken **ākroḍḍhikka** to stand for **ākroḍḍhika** from root **krus** with the prefix **ā**; see **Naiṣṭhikāśya**, h. I, v. 81, where **ā-kruḍyata** is explained 'cried out in order to expose a mistake committed.'

No. 16.] VELVIKUDI GRANT OF NEDUNJADAIYAN : THIRD YEAR OF REIGN. 309

machines shaped like wild hogs (*śnapporī*) killed (*the enemies*) in (*close*) fight with (*drawn*) swords when the kings of the east (*Pārvarājar*) possessing clamorous battalions of fighting men rose up, and put to flight with (*great*) loss in an infantry attack at Venbai, the Vallabha of a vast army of archers, on the occasion when the excellent daughter of Gaṅgarāja who wore a garland of highly scented flowers (*dribbling*) honey was secured and offered to Koṅgarkōṇ (*i.e.*, the Pāṇḍya king)¹, who was a prince of the race of Karavandapurattavar, who possessed a powerful and big army that crushed the pride of those who came to fight being (*thither*) brought together by (*i.e.*, under the leadership of) kings wearing many bracelets and possessing an army of spearmen who wielded deadly weapons.

(L. 134). Kāmakkaṇi Śuvaraṇ Śiṅgaṇ, the headman of Koṭṭai, who owns this *brahmādēya* reserving for himself one-third of this (*village*), gave the (*remaining*) two parts to fifty Brāhmaṇas with libations of water. In this are included the four and a half *paḍāgāras* (*of land*) of Mūrti Eyiṇṇ approved by the (*village*) assembly. And in the part reserved for himself in this (*village*) he gave with the approval of the (*village*) assembly four *paḍāgāras* to his younger brothers and six *paḍāgāras* to his younger paternal uncle's children. And the owners of the three parts with their united approval gave four *paḍāgāras* (*of land*) to the general (*Senāpati*) Śnadi alias Sattap Sattap, who composed² this eulogy (*prastiti*).

(V. 18). The *ājñāpti* of this (document) was Maṅgalarāja, the very sweet (*madhuratara*) poet (*kavi*) and orator, well versed in the sciences, a Vaidya and a resident of Karavandapura.

(V. 19). Oh! Dharma! A (*learned*) man must render protection to the deeds of others. Indeed (*these are*) the feet acquired by (*i.e.*, on which stands) great fame. The world was all created by Dhātṛi (Brahman). Still kings desirous of merit protect the earth.

(V. 20). No gift is greater than the gift of land; nor is there a greater sin enjoined (*on man*) than (*that of*) resuming land (*already given*).

(V. 21). Oh! Gladdener of your race! He that makes a gift on this earth blesses (*his*) ten generations past and future; and he that takes away (*that which has been given*) destroys ten generations past and future.

(V. 22). To him that robs land given by himself or by others, there is no expiation anywhere except in the dreadful hell.

(V. 23). Lands have been given away by many. Different kings are ruling (*them*). The fruit (*of protection*) belongs to him whose land it happens to be (*at the time*). These four are verses in the Vaishṇava-Dharma.

(L. 151). "The flower-like feet of those who protect this (*charity*) shall be on my crown." The king himself was thus pleased to say and caused a copper-plate grant to be executed at once.

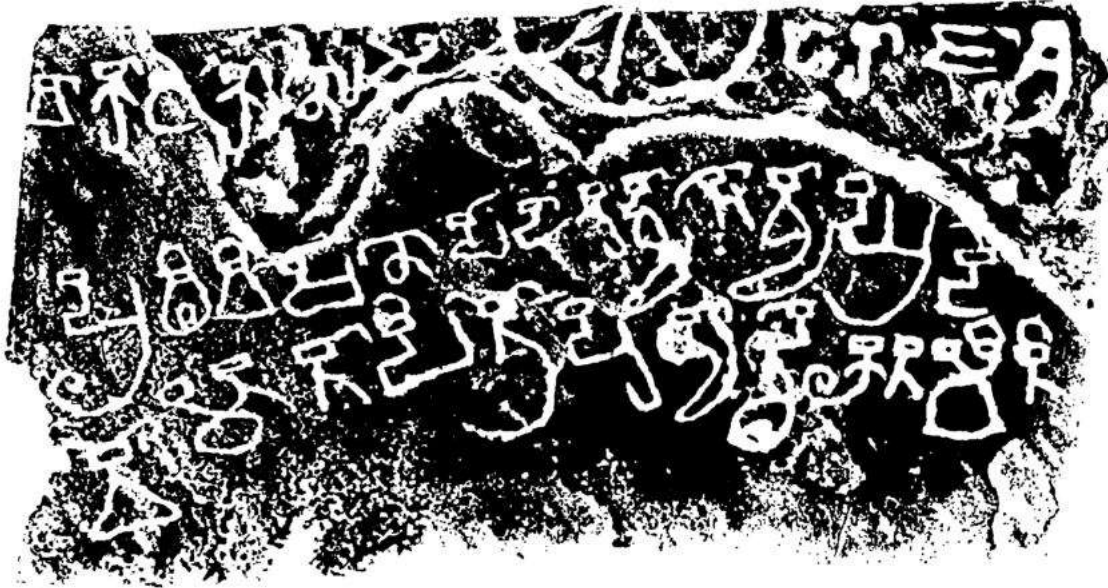
(L. 152.). Śuttakōśari-pPerumbāṇaikkāraṇ who engraved this (*document*), and to whom were allotted through the favour of the great mon (*of the village*) one house site, two mā of (*wet*) field and one³ dry field received (*the above*). This is the signature of Yuddhakōśari-Perumbāṇaikka[ra]ṇ.

¹ See above, p. 307. If we took Koṅgarkōṇ as referring to the king of the Koṅgas, the reason for Māraṅkāri taking part with the Koṅgu king will have to be explained. So far as we know, the Koṅgu king was an enemy of the Pāṇḍya and was on several occasions defeated by him.

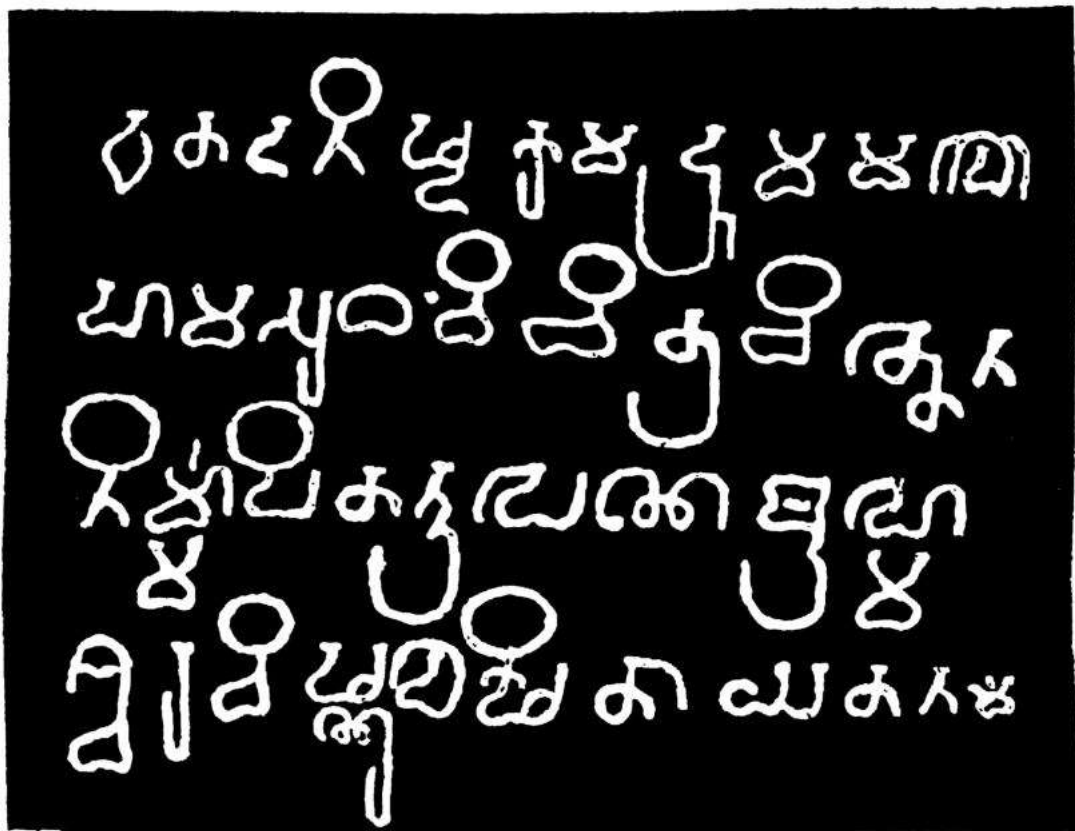
² The word *paḍina* clearly indicates that the composition was in verse.

³ Perhaps one mā.

1. A Vakataka Inscription from Ganj.



2. Mandagappattu Inscription of Vichitrachitta.



F. W. THOMAS

SCALE ONE-FIFTH

WHITTINGHAM & GRIGGS, PHOTO-LITH.

No. 18.—TWO INSCRIPTIONS OF THE PALLAVA KING RAJASIMHA-NARASIMHAVARMAN II.

By V. RANGACHARYA, M.A.

A.—THE MAHĀBALIPURAM INSCRIPTION.¹

This record is engraved on the plinths of two platforms in the western side of the second courtyard of the Shore Temple at Mahābalipuram (Māmallapuram), and was discovered by the Archaeological Department in 1912. The platforms have been surmised to be either the *balipithas* of the two main shrines of that temple or the supports of their missing flagstaves. One of the three Chōla inscriptions² of the Shore Temple, discovered in 1887, calls the god of the temple 'the Lord of Tirukkāḍalmallai.' Another calls the temple itself Jalaśayana, while the third mentions the shrines of Kshatriya-simha-Pallavēśvara-dēva, Rājasimha-Pallavēśvara-dēva and Pallikōṇḍaruliya-dēva. Rao Saheb Krishna Sastri³ believes that the two platforms, above mentioned, and the monolithic *dhvajastambha* in the sea are the probable remnants of the three shrines referred to in the last of the Chōla epigraphs. The discovery of the inscription on the platforms is important for the fact that it throws light on the identity of the king who built these shrines, a question about which nothing definite has been known. It is true that the names Rājasimha and Kshatriyasimha, after which two of the deities were named, indicated a Pallava origin to the temple; but no direct or contemporary evidence had been available to prove it. The present inscription supplies it.

The inscription⁴ is written in the Pallava-Grantha character and consists of a single line running round the plinths. It is much damaged. The existing portion comprises six Sanskrit verses in the *Āryā*, *Vasantatilakā* and the *Anuṣṭubh* metres, besides the attributes [Bhaya]rahitaḥ and Bahunayaḥ after the first verse and the title *śrī-Udayachandraḥ* after the second verse, which are in prose. They contain the names, surnames and titles of a Pallava king who, as will be shown presently, has to be identified with Narasimhavarmān II. The first verse, which is wanting in the last three syllables, gives the king the epithets of Apratima, Avanihbūshaṇa, Akalaṅka, Dharaṇichandra, Arimardana, Atulabala and Kulatilaka. The second verse gives him, among others, the titles of Atyantakāma, Aprājita, Chandrardhaś-

¹ See my *Topographical List of Inscriptions*, Vol. I, pp. 327-329. The local inscriptions herein noted (Cg. 50-81 f.) do not include those taken from the Mack. Mss., which are 31 in number. Of the thirty-six included in the list twenty (Cg. 58-74 & 77-79) have been edited by Dr. Hultzsch in *S. I. I.*, Vol. I, pp. 1-16 and *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. X, pp. 1-11. Two inscriptions (Cg. 75 and 76) discovered by the late Mr. Venkayya in 1907 are edited in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. X, p. 8, under Nos. 18 and 19. All these belong to the Pallava kings from Mahēndravarmān I onward. Of the remaining nine epigraphs five belong to the Chōla kings Rājarāja I, Rājēndradēva, Vīra-Rājēndra and Kulōttuṅga-Chōla I; the details of two (Cg. 53 and 54) are not available; and one (Cg. 56) is dated in the reign of the Vijayanagara emperor Achyutarāya. The inscription which is edited above, forms No. 566 in that year's official list of epigraphs and Cg. 80 in my *Topographical List*.

² These are Nos. 1, 2 & 3 of 1887 and Cg. 50-52 in the *Topographical List*. They have been edited by the late Dr. Hultzsch in *S. I. I.*, Vol. I, under Nos. 42, 40 and 41 respectively.

³ *Madras Epigr. Rep.*, 1913, p. 88, para. 8. The Rao Saheb surmises that god Talaśayana whom Tirumaṅgai-Ālvār refers to was Viṣṇu and the Śaivite god, Kshatriyasimha-Pallavēśvara "who is directly facing the sea and being even washed by it, appears to have received the name Jalaśayana"—the one being on land, and the other on water. It seems to me that Jalaśayana is a later paurāṇic variant of Talaśayana and that both the terms can refer to Viṣṇu Pallikōṇḍaruliya-dēva alone, as Śiva is not in the *śayana* posture. Moreover, *Talaśayana* is only a shorter form of *Kāḍalmallai-talaśayana* and, as such, need not be taken as a term of contrast to *jalaśayana*.

⁴ It may be pointed out that the analysis given in this paragraph is not based on the plate given in the *Madras Epigr. Rep.*, 1913 (p. 88), but a revised one kindly prepared by the Government Epigraphist for the present edition. A comparison of the two plates will show that the order of the verses is changed.

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WEST SIDE.



SOUTH SIDE.



EAST SIDE.



NORTH SIDE.

B.



WEST SIDE.



SOUTH SIDE.



EAST SIDE.



NORTH SIDE.

WIRANANDA BABTRI.

SCALE: ONE EIGHTH.

SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.

A close study of the palæography of the present epigraph shows that the Shore Temple inscription is later than the Atyantakāma and Kāñchīpuram inscriptions and earlier than those of the Atirapachanḍa group. Incidentally it shows that to judge of the identity of kings from the palæography of their inscriptions alone, is dangerous in-as-much as at least three styles, namely, those of the Atyantakāma and Rājasimha group, the Shore Temple inscription and the Atirapachanḍa group, have to be attributed to the same king, i.e., Narasimhavarman II. This question as well as the chronology of the epigraphs will be discussed in my paper B on the Panamalai inscription of the same king printed below.

TEXT.¹

Platform A.

West Side—

श्रीः [१*] अप्रतिममवनिभूषणमकलंकन्धरणिचन्द्रमवनीन्द्राः[१*] अरिमर्दनमतुल-

South Side—

²[व]लं कुलतिलकं ये नमन्ति ते . . . ³[॥१*] . . . रहितो बहुनयः⁵

East Side—

॥ अत्यन्तकाममपराजितमेकराजञ्चन्द्रार्द्धशेखरशिखामणिमङ्गुतं⁶ यम् [१*] चण्डाश-

North Side—

निं क्षितिभृतामृहतामसह्यं सम्प्राप्य काममिव नन्दति जीवलोकः [॥२*] श्रीः(श्री)
उदयचन्द्रः M⁷

Platform B.

West Side—

श्रीराजसिंहो रणजयः[*] श्रीभरश्चित्रकामुर्कः[१*] एकवीरश्चिरम्यातु
शिवचूडामणिर्महीम् [॥३*] श्रीकामुर्कः

South Side—

कालकालः काला⁹ [१*][अ]भिरामो विजयते रणभीमो
गुणालयः M [४*] श्रीवल्लभमति-

¹ From the plate prepared by the Editor of this Journal. I must also thank him for his having permitted me to consult his transcript.

² The space available at the beginning of this line is more than necessary for the letter व.

³ As the *prīṭhā* of this verse is Āryā, four *mātrās* are wanting in order to complete the verse. Adopting the above reading, the word चण्डा, will suit the purpose, श्व and ते being appositional. सुखिनः would suit equally well.

⁴ Two syllables are wanting here. They may be भय or कुल as in the 22nd and 9th niches respectively of the Rājasimhavarman temple inscription. See S. I. I., Vol. I, pp. 15 and 16.

⁵ The *visarga* of this word is seen in the beginning of the east side.

⁶ The reading महीतोयं is also possible.

⁷ This symbol has been used as a punctuation mark.

⁸ चण्डा seems to be the more probable reading, in the opinion of the Government Epigraphist.

⁹ Six syllables are wanting to make up the *Anuṣṭup* metre. It might be restored by some such expression as नक्षत्रपदार्चकः.

East Side—

मानं रणवीरं कुल¹ [1^{*}] कर्जितसुव्रतराममृणमत युदा-
[र्जुन]² [11 ५^{*}]

North Side—

. . पमर्त्य दृष्टो³ शतृणम . म . म . . वनयनभक्त . . नरेन्द्रसिंहवमन्ति
नृपाः M [६^{*}]

TRANSLATION.

(Verse 1.) Prosperity ! Those kings (are fortunate who) bow to (the king) who is unequalled,⁴ the ornament of the earth, the spotless,⁵ the moon of the earth,⁶ the conqueror of enemies,⁷ the matchless in strength,⁸ the ornament of (his) family.⁹

The fearl ss (or the guileless).¹⁰ The great statesman.¹¹

(V. 2.) The world of men, having obtained this (king) is happy, as if it has obtained (its) desire—the king whose desires are endless,¹² the invincible,¹³ the sole ruler,¹⁴ the wearer of Śiva as his crest-jewel,¹⁵ the wonderful,¹⁶ the fierce thunderbolt¹⁷ who is intolerable to great (hostile) kings.

¹ This space should have been filled by six or seven letters representing eight mātras. Such as प्रकाशकरं or अर्जुनं जयिनं.

² As प्रणमत is Imperative, 2nd person, plural, we have to suppose that this is an address, and an expression like स्वराधीशः after युद्धाङ्गुन may be understood. The letter ञ् is found in smaller size after दृष्टो and thus enables us to decipher the word युद्धाङ्गुन, which is also found in S. I. I., Vol. I, No. 25, niche 15.

³ This reading is tentative. As the space available is for 32 letters, the verse may be in the Anuṣṭubh metre; but the last portion does not agree with this, and suggests the Arya metre. The Government Epigraphist would read the earlier portion thus: यमर्त्यदृष्टे शतृणाममन्त. महामन्त्रं [१०] विनयनभक्तं सिवम्. The whole verse is so defaced that the reading given above is, as it is, meaningless. [In the Vāyalūr inscription also Mahāmalla occurs as a surname of Narasimhavarman II.—Ed.]

⁴ See niche 27 in S. I. I., Vol. I, No. 25.

⁵ The same is found in niches 8 and 19 above in modified forms.

⁶ Cf. अमरिदिवाकर in niche 19 of the above.

⁷ Ibid., niche 4. Compare also अरिनाशः in niche 44.

⁸ Ibid., niche 26.

⁹ Ibid., niche 4.

¹⁰ Ibid., niche 9 where the expression क्लृप्तचित्त is found and niche 22 where the epithet अमरहित is given.

¹¹ The epithets श्रीवृद्धयः and मयानुसारी occur in the 3rd and 42nd niches of the above epigraph. Compare also विदितवृद्धयः in S. I. I., Vol. I, No. 24, verse 5.

¹² This *viruda* is found in S. I. I., Vol. I, No. 24, verse 5; *ibid.*, No. 25, niche 1; and the Vāyalūr and Tiruppōrūr inscriptions. *Atyantakāma* was also a *viruda* of Narasimhavarman I as is proved by No. 5 of the Dharmarājaraṭha inscriptions at Mahābalipuram. The late Dr. Hultzsch believed that it was also the title of Paramēśvaravarman I, to whom he attributed No. 17 of the Dharmarāja-ratha epigraphs and those in the Gaṇḍeśa temple (S. I. I., Vol. I, p. 4, No. 18 and *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. X, p. 8, No. 20), the Dharmarāja-maṇḍapa (*ibid.*, No. 21) and Rāmānuja-maṇḍapa (*ibid.*, No. 22). The reason why he concluded thus is the mention of Paramēśvara. It seems to me to be, however, a mere pun and not a real name. The palaeography of the epigraph in which it occurs, moreover, is the same as that of Rājasiṃha in the Kailāsanātha temple. On these grounds I seriously doubt the correctness of identifying Atyantakāma with Paramēśvaravarman I and am disposed to think that all the *virudas* attributed by Hultzsch to this king must be attributed to Narasimhavarman II.

¹³ See S. I. I., Vol. I, No. 25, niche 2.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, niche 37.

¹⁵ Compare शिवचूडामणि in verse 3 and महेश्वरशिखामणिदीप्तमौलि in the Vāyalūr epigraph.

¹⁶ Compare niches 10 and 28 in S. I. I., Vol. I, No. 25.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, niche 10 which gives the expression अमित्राघनिः.

The glorious rising moon.¹

(V. 3.) [For the translation of this see *S. I. I.*, Vol. I, p. 14.]

(V. 4.) The blessed archer,² the death to Death³ the beautiful,⁴ the terrible in war,⁵ the abode of virtues,⁶—is victorious.

(V. 5.) (*O kings!*) bow (*to him*) who is the beloved of Śrī⁷ (Lakshmi), who is highly proud,⁸ the hero in battle,⁹...the mighty,¹⁰ the exalted and lovely,¹¹ like Arjuna¹² in war.

(V. 6.) The lion¹³ among kings...all kings obeyed....

B.—THE PANAMALAI INSCRIPTION.

The subjoined inscription and the temple on which it has been engraved are mentioned in Mr. Sewell's *Lists of Antiquities*, Vol. I, p. 209, and the *Gazetteer* of the district of South Arcot, p. 385. It was brought to the notice of the Assistant Archaeological Superintendent for Epigraphy, Madras, by Prof. J. Dubreuil of Pondicherry in 1915. The village of Panamalai is situated sixteen miles north of Villupuram. An inscription¹⁴ from this place consisting of one Sanskrit verse which is identical with the last verse of the Kailāsanātha inscription¹⁵ of Rājasiṃha and the third verse of the Shore Temple inscription¹⁶ of the same king at Mahābalipuram, has been published in *S. I. I.*, Vol. I, p. 24. Rao Sahib H. Krishna Sastri had the present inscription copied and registered as No. 616 of 1915 in his *Report* for 1916. A facsimile of the inscription is published, together with a summary of its contents, (p. 114, para. 5 and plate III opp. p. 114) in the same *Report*. Prof. Dubreuil also has published a photo of the epigraph in his *Pallava Antiquities* (Vol. I, Plate I), together with a tentative translation of it by Prof. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar.

It is stated in the *Epigraphical Report* for 1916 that the beginning and the end of the inscription are covered by the paved floor of a *maṇḍapa* in front of the temple. The visible portion of the record consists of a single line in the Pallava-Grantha script cut over a

¹ *Ibid.*, niche 11.

² Compare विचकार्मुक in verse 3 and niche 13 in *S. I. I.*, No. 25 and भीमकार्मुक in *Ibid.*, No. 26, niche 16.

³ This title is proved by the Mahēndravarmāśvara temple inscription of queen Raṅgapatākā (*S. I. I.*, Vol. I, No. 29) to be the title of Narasiṃhavishṇu and so the latter should be Rājasiṃha-Narasiṃhavarman II. It follows logically that the Mahēndravarmān of that epigraph is the third king of that name. As Kālakāla was also the title of Atiraṇachanda (see *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. X, p. 12) we have to conclude that the latter was identical with Narasiṃhavarman II.

⁴ See *S. I. I.*, Vol. I, No. 25, niche 1.

⁵ Compare चाङ्गवर्ज in niche 16, *Ibid.*

⁶ *Ibid.*, niche 32.

⁷ *Ibid.*, niche 15.

⁸ See *S. I. I.*, Vol. I, p. 3, No. 9.

⁹ *Ibid.*, No. 25, niche 24.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, niche 2 and *Ibid.*, No. 26, niche 4.

¹¹ This *virāḍa* is seen in both the inscriptions referred to in the previous note. See the 6th and 9th niche respectively.

¹² See *S. I. I.*, Vol. I, niche 14 of No. 25.

¹³ This is only the variation of Rājasiṃha and gives a clue to the name of the king, Narasiṃhavarman II. It occurs also in the Vāyalūr inscription.

¹⁴ This is No. 31 in *S. I. I.*, Vol. I. Prof. Dubreuil points out that the inscription is not, as it is generally described, in a temple cut in the rock, but "simply on an anfractuosity of the rock within which an image of Kāfi (Mahishāsuramardini) has been placed." See his *Pallava Antiquities*, Vol. I, p. 11.

¹⁵ *S. I. I.*, Vol. I, No. 24.

¹⁶ See above, p. 107.

belt of granite running round the temple as in the case of the Kailāsanātha inscription of Rājasimha at Kāñchīpuram. It is a *praśasti* of king Rājasimha II and, like the one in the Shore Temple at Mahābalipuram, has no reference to his building of the shrine. The close resemblance, however, which the Panamalai temple bears to the Kailāsanātha temple in its style shows that the builder of the one must also have been the builder of the other.¹ The similarity of the contents of the two inscriptions, moreover, proves the identity of their subjects of praise. The Panamalai inscription consists of six verses in the *Sragdharā* and *Vasantatilakā* metres. It begins with the names of **Aśvatthāman** (Draupī) and his eponymous son **Pallava**, the founder of the dynasty (verses 1 and 2). It then gives a eulogy of the Pallavas and mentions the birth of **Rājasimha** to king **Ekamalla Paramēśvara**,² which it compares with the birth of Guha (Subrahmanya) to Paramēśvara (Śiva). The next two verses describe the virtues of Rājasimha, his valour and his devotion to Śiva. The last verse is in the form of an assertion and mentions the revival, in his *régime*, of the tree of *dharma*, in spite of the cruel and scorching sun of the Kali age. The Conjeeveram epigraph gives the same details, often the same expressions. In its description of Rājasimha, for example, the latter uses the phrases गुह इव परमादीश्वरादात्तजन्मा (verse 5) and उद्धृत्यवृष्टकुञ्जरराजसिंहः (verse 11), which are practically the same as those occurring in the present inscription in verses 3 and 4. The Kailāsanātha record, however, is more elaborate and adds the titles of *Atyantakāma*, *Śrībhara* and *Raṇajaya* to Rājasimha. It may be noted here that two other inscriptions in the same temple³ which give more than 200 titles to Rājasimha must be attributed to the same king.

This identification of the builders of the Kailāsanātha and Panamalai temples may be objected to on the ground of palaeography, for a comparison of the Panamalai script with that of the Kāñchīpuram temple shows that the former is much simpler and therefore later in date. In fact it bears a very close resemblance to the Atiraṇachaṇḍa group of Mahābalipuram and the Śālvankuppam epigraphs, and not the Atyantakāma group (which is similar to the Kailāsanātha epigraph). Compare the letters, for example, क, ग, ज, ञ, ऋ, भ and the signs for the secondary vowels आ, इ, and औ and the correctness of the contention will be immediately obvious. It can be incidentally inferred from this that the Mahābalipuram Shore Temple inscription of Rājasimha which I have proved to be later than the Atyantakāma and Kailāsanātha group, and earlier than the Atiraṇachaṇḍa group, was slightly earlier than the present inscription. Dr. Hultzsch,⁴ who believed that palaeography alone could give a clue to the identity of the kings, was of opinion that the earlier Kailāsanātha script belonged to the age of Rājasimha or Narasimhavarman II and the Atiraṇachaṇḍa group to the time of Nandivarman Pallavamalla of the Kāśākuḍi plates. Regarding the last, he has said : "It resembles, though it is not identical with, the alphabet of the Kāśākuḍi plates of Nandivarman. The name or surname *Atiraṇachaṇḍa* is unknown from other sources. As the alphabet of stone inscriptions sometimes differs slightly from that of the contemporaneous records on copper, there would be no objection to assigning these records to the time of Nandivarman, the contemporary of the Western Chālukya king Vikramāditya II."

¹ In his *Pallava Antiquities* (Vol. I, pp. 19-20) Prof. Dubreuil, with characteristic insight, enumerates the various points of agreement, e.g., the possession of collateral niches always opening towards the east or west, the dedication to the prismatic (eight or sixteen-faced and not the cylindrical) type of the *linga*, the adornment of the sanctuary wall with the images of *Sōmāskanda*, *Brahmā* and *Vishṇu*, the rearing lion type of pillar-supports and the single-arched *tiruvāchis*.

² The Vēlūrpālaiyam plates (*Madras Ep. Rep.*, 1911, p. 61) say that Narasimhavarman was the son's son (पुत्रपुत्र) of Paramēśvara : but it is alone in this version and is not so authoritative as the contemporary records at Kāñchīpuram, Mahābalipuram and Panamalai.

³ *S. I. I.*, Vol. I, Nos. 25 and 26.

⁴ See *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. X, p. 3.

But I have endeavoured to show in my edition of the Shore Temple inscription of Mahābalipuram that the Kailāsanātha, the Atyantakāma¹ and the Atirāṇachanḍa groups should all be attributed to the same king, viz., Narasimhavarmān II. The identification of Atyantakāma with him is proved by the Kāñchīpuram,² Vāyalūr,³ Tiruppōrūr⁴ and Shore Temple⁵ inscriptions and that of Atirāṇachanḍa with him by the Kāñchīpuram⁶ and Tiruppōrūr⁷ epigraphs (which were apparently not known to Dr. Hultzsch), while the epigraphs at Śāluvankuppam show that Atyantakāma and Atirāṇachanḍa were the titles of the same king (see *S. I. I.*, No. 21, verses 1 and 5). The attribution of the Atirāṇachanḍa group to the age of Nandivarman II cannot thus stand. The palaeographical comparison of it with Kāśākūḍi plates, moreover, shows that the inference of contemporaneity which Dr. Hultzsch makes, cannot be maintained. In regard to letters ए, च, ञ, ऋ, ॠ and secondary vowel ॡ, we find that the Kāśākūḍi plates are distinctly later and more modern than the corresponding letters in the Atirāṇachanḍa style. The same remarks apply to the present inscription which, as has been already mentioned, is exactly like that of Atirāṇachanḍa. This conclusion will naturally give rise to the question how an archaic style like that of the Kailāsanātha-Atyantakāma group could have co-existed with the more advanced styles of Śāluvankuppam and Panamalai (as well as the style of the Mahābalipuram Shore Temple which comes midway between the two). This has been, in my opinion, satisfactorily answered by Prof. Dubreuil. He believes that the more archaic and florid alphabet was "perhaps devised by the predecessor of Rājasimha, fifty years earlier. As it was much embellished and little employed, it was handed down without any change, and the sculptors of the time of Rājasimha who wished to employ this alphabet were satisfied with copying the old models instead of embellishing the writing of their days."⁸ Amongst the peculiarities of the present epigraph may be noted the combination of the conjunct *ra* and medial *ṣ* with a double curve (e.g., ॠ in verse 4 and ॡ in verse 6), and the characterisation of the final *ṣ* with a slanting stroke (as well as smaller size), like ॡ.

A few words may be mentioned here about Narasimhavarmān II. He seems to have been a man of peace, devoted more to religious pursuits than war and conquest. His father Paramēśvaravarmān I had gained the victory of Peruvaṇallūr⁹ over the Chālukya Vikramāditya I (655-680 A.D.) and saved the integrity of the Empire, though he had not apparently been equal to the task of dispossessing the Chālukyas of the district of Kurnool¹⁰ and possibly of Nellore¹¹ which they had seized. A clue to the date and site of the battle

¹ It may be mentioned that Prof. Dubreuil agrees with Dr. Hultzsch in identifying Atyantakāma with Paramēśvara I; but while I agree with him in regard to the style of the script of Paramēśvara's time, I am not able to see eye to eye with him in regard to his identity with Atyantakāma.

² See *S. I. I.*, Vol. I, No. 25, niche 1 and No. 19, verses 7 and 8.

³ Bottom block, which reads: लोकनरेन्द्र सिंहः शम्भोः पादारविन्द...चरणे निव्यमत्यन्तकाम...

⁴ Piece No. 7.

⁵ See ante, p. 106.

⁶ See *S. I. I.*, Vol. I, No. 25, niche 3.

⁷ Piece No. 4.

⁸ See his *Pallava Antiquities*, Vol. I, p. 23.

⁹ See the Udayandirām plates of Nandivarman, lines 16-17, which say: ततः देववज्रनक्षत्रयुक्ते विजितवह्मभयलः परमेश्वरवर्मा. The Kūram plates of Paramēśvara I describe how he made Vikramāditya take to flight, covered only by a rag (see *S. I. I.*, Vol. I, p. 149, lines 40-41). The latter is evidently a reference to the engagement at Peruvaṇallūr. The Kāñchīpuram inscriptions also refer to the destruction of Rājarasimha's city (i.e., the city of Vikramāditya). See *S. I. I.*, Vol. I, p. 12, verse 5.

¹⁰ See Kl. I and 4-6 in my *Topographical List*.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, Nl. 493. See also *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, pp. 98-102.

of Peruvālanallūr is given in the Gadvāl Plates¹ of Vikramāditya I. These plates record a grant by him in A.D. 674, while he was encamped at Urāgapura on the southern bank of the Kāvērī in the Chōla kingdom. Urāgapura has been identified by Venkayya² with Uraiyūr and the correctness of this has been confirmed by Prof. Dubreuil³ who has identified Peruvālanallūr with a village of the same name, about ten miles north-west of Trichinopoly. The latter scholar further points out how the Pallava Paramēśvara was probably helped by the contemporary Pāṇḍya Kōchchadāyaṇ and the Ceylonese king Mānavamma.⁴ He further surmises that Kōchchadāyaṇ married the daughter of the Pallava prince Rājasimha (later on Narasimhavarman II) and hence had a son named Rājasimha, so named naturally after his maternal grandfather. However this might have been, Rājasimha must have succeeded Paramēśvaravarman I sometime after A.D. 675. He evidently did not distinguish his reign by any war. All his inscriptions, while describing his martial valour in vague and general terms, agree in calling him an ardent devotee of Śiva, a saviour of Dharma and Truth. He seems to have furthered the arts and blessings of peace, if we are to attach any importance to his epithets इतिहामप्रियः, काव्यप्रबोधः, वीणानारदः, आतोद्यतुम्बुरः, वाद्यविद्याधरः, etc. It was he that built the central shrine in the Kailāsanātha temple at Kāñchīpuram, the Shore temple at Mahābalipuram, the Panamalai temple, and, as Prof. Dubreuil observes, the Airāvātēśvara temple at Kāñchīpuram. To these must be added some other structures from which the pillars containing Rājasimha's *brindas* were transferred to the later Kandasvāmi and Vyāghrapurīśvara shrines at Tiruppōrūr⁵ and Vāyalūr respectively.⁶

It only remains to be mentioned that the date of the present epigraph is not incapable of being ascertained. It has been already mentioned that Paramēśvaravarman I won a victory at Peruvālanallūr over Vikramāditya I in A.D. 674. Supposing that Paramēśvara lived for a few years after it, we may suppose that he ceased to rule, about A.D. 680. The struggle between him and Vikramāditya I was inherited and continued by their successors,—the Pallava Narasimhavarman II, Mahēndravarmān III, Paramēśvaravarman II and Nandivarman Pallavamalla on the one hand, and the Chālukya kings Vmavāditya Satvāśraya (A.D. 680-95), his son Vijayāditya (A.D. 696-733) and his son and successor Vikramāditya II (A.D. 733-746) on the other. Of these the last Pallava king was defeated by the last mentioned Chālukya king about A.D. 740. Now, as Narasimhavarman II lived two generations before Nandivarman, we may reasonably suppose that he lived in the years which immediately preceded and followed A.D. 700. And this is in keeping with the date we have assigned for the termination of the reign of Paramēśvaravarman I. These facts enable us to fix the Panamalai epigraph at about

¹ *Vile. Madr. Ep. Rep.*, 1910, p. 10, para. 10. The record is dated in Vaiśākha, full moon, S. 596 (the 26th year of his reign), i.e., Tuesday, April 25, A.D. 674, according to Dr. Fleet, or the next day. See also *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. X, pp. 100 ff.

² See *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. X, No. 22, pp. 101-2.

³ See his *Pallavas*, 1917, p. 43.

⁴ The king in the Vēlvikudi grant, the father of Tēmaru Rājasimha I (Arikēśari Parāṅkoṣa), and the victor at Maṇḍūr and Maṇḍapuram over Mahāvāta. Prof. Dubreuil believes that Mahāvāta was the Chālukya Vikramāditya I. Mānavamma was king of Ceylon from about 660 to 695, according to Dubreuil, but 641 to 726 according to the *Mahāvāta*.

⁵ See Gg. 194 in the *Epigraphical List*. The chief epithets found are Aviratadānaḥ, Śānaśaraṇaḥ, Jūṭhaśaraṇaḥ, Guṇavīṇaḥ, Dharaṇīlakaḥ, Atmaṇachandhaḥ, Anikarīkēśari, Prithvīmāraḥ, Atyantakāmaḥ and Abhayaṇakaraḥ.

⁶ See Gg. 1234. Besides giving a full genealogy of the Pallavas, the record gives the titles of Narēndrasimha, Advantakāma, Rantajaya, Śrinidhi and Kshattiyasimha to Rājasimha. This inscription has been edited by Rao Bahadur H. Krishna Sastri, *above* Vol. XVII, pp. 145 ff.

A.D. 700. Prof. Dubreuil ascribes it to between 700 and 710. The Shore Temple inscription at Mahābalipuram should be slightly earlier, while the scripts of the Kailāsanātha-Atyantakāma group might be based on a script about 50 years earlier (i.e., A.D. 650), but engraved a few years before 700.

TEXT.¹

- 1 'நீதபாதி ப்ரததபுஜவலி த்ரோணி'ரங்:4 புரார: [1*] அந்நத்யா-
- 2 ஶ்ரோத தக்மானிசுதபுரதபுனிர்ம்-
- 3 ஶாடாவிராசிடாந்நாடாடங்வித்யாவிசர இவ மஶீவக்ஷ[ம: பக்ஷ*]⁵ வாஶ்ய: [1*]
- 4 யக்ஷாந்நேஷ[:*]⁶ . . . பததி விஶிதபடாத்யாவநே⁷ மானநீயி மந்நாகிந்யா[:*] ப்ரவா-
- 5 ஶ: ம்ரதின் இவ மஶானந்வய: பக்ஷவானாம் [2*] சம்நாஜாமக்ஷமேதாவம-
- 6 தவிரஜசா் பூபுஜா் பக்ஷவானாமஸூ-
- 7 தாபக்ஷவானா் விமலதரமரஶாஜவங்ஷோஶ்வானாம் [1*] கீதீ-
- 8 ரத்பி⁸ ஶவாஶ்ட்ரவிஷ்ணுதமஶீசக்ஷவிஶ்யாதகீர்தீர்தீர்யி தேவா-
- 9 தேகமக்ஷாஶ்ட்ர இவ பர[மாடீசுவராடாத்நஜம்மா⁹] [1*]
- 10¹⁰ . . . பூஜஶ்ட்ர¹¹விஷாவமாசீ சத்வீ-¹²
- 11 க்ரீத: சமரத்ர¹³மஶாப்ரமாவ: [1*] யி ராஜசிங்ஶ இதி விஶ்-

¹ From the plate published in *Ep. Rep.* for 1916, opp. p. 114.

² This is the 4th quarter of a stanza in the *Sragdharā* metre. The first three syllables (which should be three *gurus*) are wanting.

³ Read த்ரோணி.

⁴ Prof. Krishnaswami Aiyangar wrongly reads it as த்ரோன.

⁵ There is an unwritten space of one foot here, capable of holding these three letters, which are found in the Kāñchipuram inscription. See *S. I. I.*, Vol. I, No. 24, line 11 (verse 3).

⁶ The space (about a foot) is unwritten. The three syllables which are necessary for the metre may be ப்ரஸூத: or ப்ரஜநே, which will be the predicate of வந்வய:.

⁷ Prof. Krishnaswami Aiyangar corrects பாவநி into பாவநி (see *Pallava Antiquities*, p. 13); but this is absolutely unnecessary as பாவநி is plainly the adjective of பததி.

⁸ Read சி.

⁹ The stone on which the inscription is engraved is broken here and the passage inserted has been taken from *S. I. I.*, Vol. I, No. 24, verse 5.

¹⁰ As the metre of this verse is *Asantatilakā*, the first six syllables (a *ta-jana* and a *bha-gana* — — — — —) are wanting. An expression like சத்ரவோக்ரீத will do.

¹¹ Read ஶ்.

¹² Read சத்வீ.

¹³ Prof. Krishnaswami Aiyangar wrongly reads it as ஶ். He also confounds ஶ with ஸ and suggests the wrong reading ஶமா in place of ப்ரமா. See *Pallava Antiquities*, I, p. 13.

- 12 तपुष्यकीर्त्ति¹रुद्र²समनुवृपकुञ्जरराजसिंहः [॥ ४*] ³हर्ता हि-
 13 षड⁴र्ग्यसमुच्छ्रयाणां [क]र्त्ता च कल्याणपरम्पराणाम् [१*]
 14 चित्ते सदा ⁵समृ-
 15 तभक्तिपूते धत्ते पदं⁶ यस्य मृगा⁷कमो⁸लि[.*] [॥ ५*] संरुढान्नाय-
 16 ⁹मयानेकशाखासमग्रः [त्री]-
 17 ¹⁰तेः फलकुसुमकृताकान्तिमालम्ब-
 18 माना[.]*¹¹ [१*] सदृत्ता¹²भोनिषेकैर्द्रुम इव सततन्तस्य . . . ¹³श्रद्धायासमुद्दाम . .
 जय¹⁴ति कलियुगग्रोष्मतप्तेपि¹⁵ धर्मः [॥ ६*].

TRANSLATION.

Verse 1. (To him) was born **Draupī**, the part-incarnation¹ of **Purāri**, who was famous for the strength of his shoulders.

V. 2. From that **Aśvatthāman** who was spotless with the great penance performed by him, there arose, like the extension of the **Āṅgavidyā**² (science of **Vyākarna**, etc. contributing to knowledge) from the **Vēda**, the beloved king of the earth called **Pallava**; and from him who trod the path of purity, came, like the floods of the **Mandākinī** from the moon,³ this great family of the **Pallavas**.

¹ Read हि.

² Prof. Krishnaswami Aiyangar mistakes it for दृ (dri).

³ This verse is in the *Indravajrā* metre.

⁴ Read म.

⁵ Read सं. Prof. Krishnaswami Aiyangar has the wrong reading सप्त. (*Pallava Antiquities*, p. 14, note 1.)

⁶ This word is also wrongly read as सदा by Prof. Krishnaswami Aiyangar.

⁷ Read म.

⁸ Read मो.

⁹ As the verse is in *Sragdhari* metre, seven syllables are missing here : two *gurus* and five *laghus* like — —

○ ○ ○ ○ ○

¹⁰ Five syllables — — — ○ — are wanting.

¹¹ Read म.

¹² Read °ताम्बो.

¹³ Four letters, viz. — — — —, are probably missing to make up this *pāda*.

¹⁴ The late Mr. H. K. Sastri thought that म was the more probable reading.

¹⁵ Read °मोपि. If the reading जयति is taken instead of जयति, then it is unnecessary to correct ने.

¹⁶ Notice the singular account which the **Pallava** inscription at **Amarāvati** (*S. I. I.*, Vol. I, No. 32) gives of **Aśvatthāma**'s origin. It says that **Drōṇa** propitiated **Siva** for obtaining a son who would found a race.

¹⁷ Apte defines it not only as the चक्रवर्त्तु आचरन्नादिशास्त्ररूपा विद्या ज्ञानसाधनं but, according to the *Bṛihat-samhita*, as 'the science of foretelling good or evil from the movements of the limbs.'

¹⁸ The **Ganges** flows from the matted locks of **Siva** amidst which the moon also shines. The **Kailāsanātha** inscription compares 'Pallava' to the first-born **Manu** in regard to his being the founder of a race of kings. See *S. I. I.*, Vol. I, p. 12, verse 3. The composers of the **Pallava** eulogies seem to have been very fond of calling them the *vallabha* or the beloved (of the world). Cf. **Kūram** plates, **Sanskrit** portion, line 11.

- 36 रविक्[ले]नचिन्मनुः । [त्रीवक्षराज]तनयः खलु धर्मराजो जडे(हे)रनाथ रड
तामनि(मि)दं लिलिख ॥
- 37 १२३॥ संवत् ८१[२] अश्वयुज(आवय) व(व)दि ५ सुक्र(युक्र) ॥ ज्योतिषी(धी)
पंडितराघवा(वः) ॥ पुरोधाः ठ नामद(दे)व[*] ॥

No. 35.—A NOTE ON THE VELVIKUDI GRANT OF NEDUNJADAIYAN.

BY A. M. Satakoparamanujacharya, VIDVĀN.

In the interesting article on the Vēlvikuḍi grant of Nedunjadaiyan, that was published in this journal² by the late Rao Bahadur H. Krishna Sastri, I find that some corrections are absolutely necessary in the text and the translation as given by him. These I should like to put down below, together with a few suggestions in regard to one or two points raised by him in that article.

In text line 95, for *Āya°*, I should like to read *Āy*, and in line 132 for *pōr*, *pora*. Again, in line 120 of the text, instead of *Kuḷandaivan-Kūlvandai-śe[y*]kkun*, I would read *kuḷandai-vaṅḡḷ vanda-śaiikkum*, correcting *Kuḷandai* and *vandai-śe* of the text into *kuḷandai* and *vandaśai*. Accordingly, in the translation of this passage, instead of 'to the north of the field (called) Kūlvandai-śey of Kuḷandēvan', I would prefer to have 'waved (gently) by the tender breeze' (*kuḷandai*=tender, *vaṅḡḷ*=breeze, [*vandu*] *śaiikkum*=waving).

According to the Rao Bahadur, the Maṅgalapura of the inscription is identical with Mangalore, the district head-quarters of South Kanara. Mr. K. G. Sankara Ayyar also, I find, holds the same view.³ In my opinion, however, it should be looked for somewhere in the Tamil districts,⁴ north of the Kāvērī, where we find many villages called Mangalam or having names ending in 'Mangalam', because from the Udayēndiram plates⁵ we learn that Paramēś-vasavarman defeated the army of Vallabha in the battle of Peruvaḷanallūr, on the northern bank of the Kāvērī, and from the Gadval grant⁶, that Vikramāditya was encamping at "Uragapuram on the southern bank of the Kāvērī" in 674 A.D. The Kēndūr plates⁷ also say that Vikramāditya fought with the Pāṇḍyas and other Tamil kings.⁸

¹ These strokes are unnecessary. Metre *Sragdharā*.

² Vol. XVII, pp. 291 ff.

³ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. LI, p. 214.

⁴ [The plates do not say where Maṅgalapura was situated. As such, it is not possible to definitely locate it. The identification of it with Mangalore or any place in the Tamil districts is only a conjecture.—K. V. S. Ayyar.]

⁵ *S. I. I.*, Vol. II, p. 371.

⁶ *Above*, Vol. X, p. 101.

⁷ *Ibid.*, Vol. IX, p. 205.

⁸ For further details see Dubreuil's *The Pallavas*, p. 63.

No. 36.—KUMBAKONAM INSCRIPTION OF SEVVAPPA-NAYAKA.

By G. VENKOBÄ RAO.

The subjoined Tamil record¹ is engraved on the door-jamb of the entrance into the inner *prākāra* of the Kumbhēśvara temple at Kumbakonam. It is dated in the cyclic year Vikrama during the reign of Śevvappa-Nāyaka, who was the first ruler of the Nāyaka dynasty of Tanjore. The stone inscription (No. 145 of 1924) which is dated in the same cyclic year and in the reign of Kṛishṇadēvarāya (corresponding to A.D. 1520) calls Śevvappa, a *Daḷavāy* (commander) only. Possibly, therefore, the present record has to be assigned to A.D. 1580, especially, because a copperplate record belonging to him and dated in Śaka 1502 (=A.D. 1580) was also issued from Kumbakonam².

The history of the Nāyakas of Tanjore remains yet to be written in detail,³ although an excellent preliminary attempt has been made in *A Short History of the Tanjore Nayakas in Tamil* by Mr. T. S. Kuppusvami Sastri of Tanjore. How and when the Nāyaka dynasty of Tanjore arose is obscure. An unpublished Sanskrit poem *Sāhityaratnākara* by the eldest son of Gōvinda-Dīkshita, the Brahman prime-minister of the second and third Nāyaka kings, says that Śevvappa obtained the Tanjore kingdom by his own valour. The Telugu poem *Vijayavilāsamu* by Chēmākūra Vēṅkaṭa-Kavi would show that Śevvappa married the sister of the queen of the Vijayanagara king Achyutarāya, and got the Tanjore principality, perhaps, as a dowry.

Like other old kings, Śevvappa was a tolerant ruler, though his leaning was specially towards Vaishṇavism. Inscription No. 425 of 1924 relates to some gifts of land made by Śevvappa to the mosque at Tanjore in the year Sādhārāṇa corresponding to A.D. 1549, and the record under publication is interesting in that it mentions a temple of Buddha at Tiruvilanduṛai. It registers the gift of 2½ (*vēli* ?) of land as the charity of the king Śevvappa-Nāyaka in the Brahman village (*agaram*) of Tirumalairājapuram for the repairs or the worshipping service in the temple (?), when a channel was dug through the lands belonging to a certain individual (name not very clearly made out) attached to the Buddha temple. The two villages Tiruvilanduṛai and Tirumalairājapuram cannot be definitely identified. Tiruvāṇṇūḷi, which is 4 miles away from Kumbakonam, and was one of its wards⁴, has a standing image of Buddha placed near the *gōpura* of its Śiva temple. Tiruvilanduṛai of this inscription has, perhaps, to be identified with Elandurāi, a village about 9 miles distant from Kumbakonam which has a Śiva temple with an inscription dated in Śaka 1493 (A.D. 1571) of the time of Achyutappa-Nāyaka (No. 239 of 1927). It may also be noted that Ilanturāi has been mentioned in No. 222 of 1927 as one of the *saptasthānas* or seven sacred places round about Kumbakonam. I cannot say whether the Tirumalairājapuram of this record has to be identified with Tirumalairājapuram *alias* Śūṅgam-tavirttaśōḷanallūr which is mentioned in an inscription published in *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. II, p. 119, as adjacent to Karuntittaiḱkuḍi in Tañjāvūr-paṛru. There is one seated image in the temple at Paṭṭiśvaram near Kumbakonam, and another, now popularly called Bhagavarishi, lying outside the Gaṇēśa shrine in the Āṇaiyaḍi street at Kumbakonam, both of which appear to be Buddhist. From these facts, it appears that Buddhism continued to survive in the Tanjore district till the 16th century. This would be natural when Negapatam in the Tanjore district was a stronghold of Buddhism. The large Leyden plates record the grant of the village

¹ No. 292 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1927.

² *Mysore Archaeological Report* for 1917, p. 55, para. 135.

³ A paper on the detailed history of the Tanjore Nāyakas by the author is almost ready, and will appear very soon in this journal.

⁴ In Tamil it is sometimes loosely applied to a Jaina temple also.

⁵ Nos. 629 and 633 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1902.

of Ānaimaṅgalam to a Buddha temple at Negapatam during the time of the Chōla king Rājaraṣa I (A.D. 985-1010). The smaller Leyden grant dated in the 20th year of Kulōttuṅga I (A.D. 1090) records gifts to two Buddhist temples. An ancient tower known as 'Puduvēḷigōpuram' or 'Jaina Pagoda' was demolished by the Jesuits when they built the St. Joseph's College at Negapatam.¹ This tower might have belonged to one of these two Buddha temples. It is interesting to note that a number of metallic Buddhist images were unearthed at this place recently.

Though Jain families are living in Tanjore, Kumbakonam and Mannārgudi even now, and we see Jain temples at Kumbakonam and Mannārgudi, yet traces of Buddhism are no longer visible there.

The record bears at the end the expression "(the) Gurukkaḷ, (i.e., teachers) of the Convention", perhaps of Buddha.

TEXT.²

| | |
|---------------------------------|--|
| 1 Vikkiṛa- | 15 ndā-Nāyakar- |
| 2 ma-varuṣham | 16 nilatti[l]ē |
| 3 [Ā]ḍi-mādam ³ 2- | 17 Tirumalai- |
| 4 2 ⁴ ௨ ⁵ | 18 rāṣapura[ttu] |
| 5 Śevuvap- ⁶ | 19 'aśāham-ā- |
| 6 pa-Nāyak- | 20 ga śapaṅga] |
| 7 kar-ayya- | 21 vākkāl ve- |
| 8 ṇ-damma- | 22 [tṭi] pōgaiyil Ti- |
| 9 m-āga Ti- | 23 rumalairāṣapurattil- |
| 10 ruvilan- | 24 agarattil tirup- |
| 11 duṛai- | 25 paṇi-śērvai- |
| 12 Buddar- | 26 āga vi[tṭa] nilam ⁸ 2 ⁹ |
| 13 kōyil- | 27 [sa]mayattār Guru- |
| 14 Titta-Mā[ma]ru- | 28 kka] ௨ |

TRANSLATION.

(Lines 1 to 26) (On) the 22nd day of the month of Āḍi in the year Vikrama, all the people of Tirumalairāṣapuram assigned 2½ (vēḷi of) land in the brahman village (agaram) of Tirumalairāṣa-

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VII, pp. 224-27 and *Annual Report on South-Indian Epigraphy* for 1925-26, p. 2.

² From an inked stampage.

³ Expressed by an abbreviated symbol.

⁴ The figure 22 is expressed in the Tamil text by three digits, the numerical figure for ten intervening between the two figures.

⁵ This symbol stands for the word *tṭi* meaning day.

⁶ Read *Śevvap*.

⁷ It may be read also as *aśāha-māgapaṅgaḷ* (*malājanagaḷ*).

⁸ Expressed by an abbreviated symbol.

⁹ Expressed by a Tamil numeral.

(V. 10.) He (Mālāda), whose deeds were wondrous, purchased (*everything of*) his own here (*at Nālandā*) from the revered *Saigha* and gave it back (*to the bhikshus*) according to rites, barring the monk's robe. He also gave away to the sons of the Śākya, *i.e.*, Buddhist monks, a common dwelling place (*wherein*) to spend time happily, up to and beyond Narddarikā, excepting a place for himself.¹

(V. 11.) This stainless gift has been made by him who is the brother of Nirmalā² whose face resembled the autumnal moon. His fame is spread over the world and he has been awakened by the words of the monk Pūrṇendrasēna, who shines by his excellence.

(V. 12.) All this gift has been given with great devotion for the sake of the welfare and longevity of the parents, brother, wife, sister, son and friends of him (*i.e.*, Mālāda) who is the sole repository of virtue. May it be approved so that the living beings might cross the fearful ocean of the world and attain the great fruit of the Wishing Tree in the form of the sacred Enlightenment (*Bōdhi*).

(V. 13.) As long as the Moon shines and the Sun, the lamp of the world, with his lustrous and extensive rays (*sheds light*), as long as this earth together with the encompassing ocean endures and the sky, which gives space, lasts, and as long as these great mountains, bearing the yoke of the world, remain, so long let this *kirti*, which is pure like the Moon, whiten the circle of (*all*) the quarters.

(V. 14.) Whoever interferes with this gift, which has to last as long as the world endures, will, void of virtue as he is, have the dire fate of one who commits the five sins—(*let him know*) that the Lord Jina (the Buddha) is here ever present within, occupying the adamant seat and that the great king Bālāditya has established this command (or the image of the Buddha).³

(V. 15.) Thus, Śilachandra and the well-known *Karaṇika* Svāmidatta, having placed the order of the *Saigha* on their head, without considering the weight (*of responsibility*), composed at once this beautiful and sublime, though simple, *praśasti*, although the wealth of their knowledge is small, for, will not even the cripples⁴ wish to get the fruits from the tree on the mountain by raising (*their*) hand?

No. 3.—THREE TAMIL INSCRIPTIONS OF LALGUDI.

By K. V. SUBRAHMANYA AIYER, B.A., M.R.A.S., OOTACAMUND.

The three inscriptions which form the subject of this article are incised on the north wall of the Saptarishīśvara temple at Lalgudi in the Trichinopoly district. For the sake of convenience, I call them A, B and C. Inscription A is dated in the year opposite to the fourth (*i.e.*, the fifth year) of some king whose name is not given in it. It registers a gift of money made by the Pallava king Nandippōttaraiyar who fought the battle of Tellāru and gained victory in it, for burning a perpetual lamp in the temple of Mahādēva at Tiruttavattur in Idaiyārru-nādu. The amount was received by the members of the assembly of Nallimaṅgalam who bound themselves to bring to the temple and measure out daily (*one*) *nāli* of ghee.

¹ Does all this mean that Mālāda became a Buddhist monk for some time and again became a *grihastha* as the Burmese do even now-a-days?

² See above, page 41.

³ See foot-note 1 on page 30 above. The construction of this verse is not quite clear. Dr. Vogel thinks that the stanza might be referring to two images of the Buddha—the Buddha of the Vajrāsana, being the Bōdhi image enshrined in the principal temple, and second, of the Teacher, perhaps an image of the Buddha shown in the act of teaching, which had been consecrated by Bālāditya.

⁴ The word *prāgū* is put in the dual number because the *praśasti* was composed by two authors.

Inscription B is dated on the day of Sadaiyam (Śatabhishaj) corresponding to a Tuesday in the month of Dhanu falling in the ninth year opposite to the fourth (i.e. the thirteenth year) of the reign of king Mārañjaḍaiyaṇ. In the body of the record the king is called Pāṇḍyakulapati Varaguṇa-Mahārāya. The inscription states that the king gave 120 *kāṇ* to a certain Aṇḍaḍiṭṭu-Vēḷāṇ. This amount was finally received by the members of the assembly of Ḥamperunkūy-irukkai in Iḍaiyāṇṇu-nāḍu who bound themselves to supply towards interest, the capital remaining intact, one *nūḷi* of ghee daily for burning a perpetual lamp in the temple. In case of default the assembly further agreed to pay a fine of 500 *kāṇam* (of gold). Inscription C is dated in the thirteenth year of the reign of the Chōḷa king Rājakēsarivarman. It states that the king's uterine sister Naṅgai-Varaguṇa-Perumāṇār gave 30 *kaḷaṇṇu* of gold for a perpetual lamp to be burnt in the temple with one *uri* of ghee daily. The assembly of Maṇalkāl, a *brahmādēya* of Kalāra-kūṇṇam which was a subdivision of Vaḍagarai-Maḷa-nāḍu, received the amount given and sold a piece of land in exchange to the temple.

Before taking up the question of the date of these three inscriptions, I may point out straightway that they are written in the same hand and script and must consequently have been inscribed simultaneously. I may here add that there is another inscription in this very temple which is coeval with these records and is, apparently, written by the same hand though it refers itself to the Pallava king Nripataṅgavarman. It has already been published in the *South-Indian Inscriptions (Texts)*, Volume IV.¹ Inscriptions of the three kings mentioned in these records are also found in several other places. But they are all written in varying types of the Tamil script not resembling the one in which the three inscriptions under notice are incised. As these kings flourished at different periods, the records belonging to their respective reigns could not have been written in the same hand. Consequently, the Lalgudi inscriptions under examination, written as they are in the same hand, must be treated as later copies of older records made probably at the time when the temple where they are found was renovated or repaired. Palaeographically they can be assigned to the 10th century of the Christian era.

The inscription which I call C purports to belong to a ruler who is the latest among the kings mentioned in these three inscriptions. The princess referred to in it figures as the queen of Parāntaka Iḷaṅgōvēḷār² in another inscription of Rājakēsarivarman which was found at Tillaisthānam in the district of Tanjore. She is also mentioned in a somewhat later record belonging to the third year of Parakēsarivarman.³ The Tillaisthānam inscription of Rājakēsarivarman, unlike the Lalgudi inscription, marks the *puḷḷi* or *virāma* as do the Takkōḷam and other inscriptions of Rājakēsarivarman, i.e., Āditya I, and ought to be assigned to the same ruler. Two other epigraphs found at Tiruppalāttur⁴ refer to Teṇṇavaṇ Iḷaṅgōvēḷār which is another name for Parāntaka Iḷaṅgōvēḷār. They tell us that he was also called Maṇavaṇ Pūdiyār. One of them mentions his queen Kaṇṇalippirāṭṭiyār also. The name Pūdiyār given to Iḷaṅgōvēḷār and the mention of his queen would show that he is identical with the Koḍumbāḷūr chief Bhūti-Vikramakēsari who is reported in the Mūvarkōvil inscription to have married Kaṇṇal and Varaguṇa.⁵ From a Tiruchendurai inscription we learn that he had a daughter named Pūdi-Ādichchapiḍāriyār who was the queen of Arikulakēsari, i.e., Ariṇjaya⁶ the son of the Chōḷa king Parāntaka I. I have shown

¹ See plate (VII) opposite to p. 173.

² *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. III, No. 113.

³ *Ibid.* No. 127.

⁴ Nos. 258 and 273 of Appendix A to the *Annual Report on South-Indian Epigraphy* for 1903-04, and para. 90 of part II of the *Annual Report on South-Indian Epigraphy* for 1907-08.

⁵ *Annual Report on South-Indian Epigraphy* for 1907-08, para. 90 of Part II.

⁶ Nos. 316, 317 and 319 of Appendix A to the *Annual Report on South-Indian Epigraphy* for 1903-04.

elsewhere¹ that Āditya I must have ascended the throne in A.D. 871. Accordingly, the Lalgudi inscription, which also belongs to him, must be assigned to A.D. 883-4, for it is dated in the 13th year of his reign.

To settle the dates of the inscriptions A and B we have to consider the way in which they are dated. We find that they give some year opposite to the fourth. This mode of dating was adopted by the Pāṇḍya king Mārañjadaiyaṇ *alias* Varaguṇa-Mahārāja, as is evidenced by several inscriptions of his reign which have already been brought to light.² Consequently, these two records also should be ascribed to the same ruler.

We have now to establish the date of the accession of Tellārreinda-Nandippōttavarman and of his contemporary Varaguṇa-Mahārāja I, who was the grandfather of Varaguṇavarman II and father of Śrīmāra Śrīvallabha Parachakrakōlāhala, the conqueror of Ceylon. The *Mahāvamsa* tells us that there was a Pāṇḍya invasion of Ceylon during the reign of Silāmōgha Sēna I (A.D. 846 to 866), in which the Pāṇḍya king came off completely victorious and took possession of the capital and carried away a large amount of booty, though he eventually restored the Singhalese kingdom to its rightful king. The only early Pāṇḍya king who is known from the Śiṅgaṇaṇ plates to have invaded and conquered Ceylon is Śrīmāra. From the facts recorded in the *Mahāvamsa* it can be gathered that his reign covered the last 3 years of the rule of Dappula and probably commenced in the year 840 and ended in 862 A.D. when his eldest son Varaguṇavarman II succeeded him. Śrīmāra's predecessor, namely, Varaguṇa-Mahārāja I, must have reigned prior to 840 A.D. His latest regnal year so far known from inscriptions is the seventeenth and we can reasonably state that his rule over the Pāṇḍya country may have extended from 823 to 840 A.D. though it is not impossible that it might have commenced a few years earlier. The date of Varaguṇa I can approximately be ascertained from the chronology of the Pallava kings from Nandivarman Pallavamalla to Aparājita. The Vēlūrpalaiyam plates give us the genealogy of the latter Pallavas for three generations commencing from Nandivarman II Pallavamalla.³ They state that Pallavamalla's son was Dantivarman and that the latter's son was Nandivarman III. This information is supplemented by the Bāhūr plates which tell us that Dantivarman's son was Nandivarman III, who had for his queen the Rāshtrakūṭa princess Śaikhā, and that the latter's son was Nripatuṅga.⁴ It is to be noted that in these plates no mention is made of Kampavarman and the name Kampavarman was not borne by any one of the above mentioned kings. If Kampavarman was a lineal descendant of Nandivarman Pallavamalla, we might tentatively assume that he was another, and, perhaps, the younger son of Nandivarman III. The name Nandi-Kampēśvara given to the temple at Śōlapuram may have been called after Kampavarman, the son of Nandivarman.⁵ It may be pointed out here that both the palaeographical peculiarities of Kampavarman's epigraphs and the genealogy furnished by the Vēlūrpalaiyam as well as the Bāhūr plates do not admit of any place for him before Nripatuṅga. It will be shown presently that he cannot be made the immediate successor of Nripatuṅga. Therefore the only inference that could be drawn regarding Kampavarman is that he must have been a joint ruler with either Nripatuṅga or Aparājita.

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIX, pp. 81 ff.

² See *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, pp. 84 ff., and No. 13 of Appendix C of the *Annual Report on South-Indian Epigraphy* for 1907-08, Nos. 90 and 137 of Appendix B of the *Annual Report on South-Indian Epigraphy* for 1908-09, Nos. 358 and 364 of Appendix B of the *Annual Report on South-Indian Epigraphy* for 1907-08 and No. 84 of Appendix C of the *Annual Report on South-Indian Epigraphy* for 1909-10.

³ *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. II, pp. 501 ff.

⁴ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 5 ff.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol. VII, p. 196. The name Kampavarman, just like Nripatuṅga, also suggests that he might have been so called after Kambha (Stambha), the eldest son of the Rāshtrakūṭa king Dhārāvasha Dhruva. In that case Nandivarman might have married a daughter of Kambha (or Stambha).

or with both.¹ Therefore, it is needless to take his reign into consideration to determine the period when the later Pallavas ruled. From the Āmbūr inscription dated in the 26th year of the reign of Nripatuṅga, we learn that the Gaṅga king Prithvīpati I was a subordinate of that Pallava king.² And since it is recorded in the Udayēndiram plates that this very Gaṅga king was an ally of the Pallava king Aparājita and fought under his standard and secured victory for him in the battle of Śrīpurambiyam against Varaguṇa (II),³ it might be said that Aparājita⁴ was the immediate successor of Nripatuṅga. That he was the last Pallava ruler of Kāñchi is known from the Tiruvālaṅgādu plates which report that the Chōḷa king Āditya I killed him and took possession of his kingdom.⁵ This event, we have reasons to believe, must have taken place before A.D. 891, for it is stated in an inscription at Tirumālpuram near Conjeeveram that the village of Śīrriyāṇṇūr in Maṇaiyil-nādu was granted as a *dēvadāna* and as a *brahmadēya* in the 21st year of Toṇḍaimāṇ-Āṇṇūr-tuṇjiṇa-uḍaiyār i.e., Āditya I.⁶ If we allow at least two years for his settlement in the newly conquered country, it may be said that Āditya I killed Aparājita in about A.D. 888. The latest dates furnished by the stone inscriptions for Nandivarman Pallavamalla, Dantivarman, Nandivarman, the victor of Tellāru, i.e., Nandivarman III, Nripatuṅga and Aparājita are 65, 52, 22, 26 and 18, respectively. With the help of these, supplemented to a certain extent by the light of contemporary history, we shall try to settle the chronology of the later Pallava sovereigns. Keeping A.D. 888 as the last year of Aparājita and deducting from it 18, which is the highest regnal year known for him,⁷ we get A.D. 870 for his accession. This date must, therefore, be the year when his predecessor Nripatuṅga ceased to rule. Since the latest regnal year so far found for him is 26,⁸ we get A.D. 844 for his accession. It may be noted here that the initial year of Nripatuṅga's reign cannot be earlier than this date because in a record of his 18th year the Pāṇḍya king Varaguṇa-Mahārāja (II) figures as donor⁹ and we know for certain that that king's accession took place in A.D. 862.¹⁰ We have to take A.D. 844 as the last year of Nripatuṅga's father Nandivarman III, the victor of Tellāru. The latest regnal year found for him in the inscriptions mentioning the victory of Tellāru is 22.¹¹ But there is a possibility of his having reigned longer.¹² If he had a reign of 22 years, his accession would have to be placed in A.D. 822. This cannot be the case for, we learn from the Western-Gaṅga grants that the Rāshtrakūṭa king Gōvinda III and the Pallava king Nandivarman—both crowned kings themselves—fastened the fillet of royalty on the forehead of Śivamāra II Saigotṭa.¹³ The last year of Gōvinda

¹ In a Tamil inscription of Uttaramallūr of the time of Kampavarman dated in his 15th year whose text (No. 325) is published in the *S. I. I. (Texts)*, Vol. VI, the donor is Śeyya-Aparājita, and he is called Perumāṇadigaḷ-adiyāṇ.

² *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, p. 182.

³ *S. I. I.*, Vol. II, p. 384.

⁴ It is learnt from No. 360 of Vol. VI of *S. I. I. (Texts)*, that Aparājita bore the title Rājamārttāpā.

⁵ *S. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 419, v. 49. This statement is confirmed by a stone inscription found at Tillasthānam which styles Āditya I as "Rājakōsarivarman who extended his territory into Toṇḍai-nādu" (*Ibid.*, p. 221, No. 89).

⁶ *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1907, Part II, paras. 29 and 30.

⁷ No. 435 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1905.

⁸ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, p. 182.

⁹ No. 360 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1921.

¹⁰ No. 705 of the same collection for 1905.

¹¹ No. 180 of the same collection for 1907.

¹² In the numerous epigraphs dated simply in the reign of Nandivarman without the distinguishing epithets 'Pallavamalla' or 'Tellārrerinda' there must be some belonging to Nandivarman III, while the others may be of Pallavamalla.

¹³ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. V, pp. 158 and 161.

III being A.D. 814¹ this event should have occurred before that date, say about A.D. 812. Accordingly, we have to take back the year of accession of Nandivarman III by ten years. Looking at the fact that Nandivarman Pallavamalla and his son Dantivarman had unusually long reigns, extending to 65 and 51 years,² it seems improbable that Nandivarman III, who succeeded Dantivarman, could have ruled long and, since the last year of his reign cannot be taken earlier than A.D. 844, it will be safe to assume that his rule lasted from A.D. 812 to 844. Deducting 51 from 812 and 65 from the balance we get the initial dates of Dantivarman and Nandivarman Pallavamalla. Their reigns should, therefore, have extended from A.D. 761 to 812 and A.D. 696 to 761. The chronology as worked out from these facts and others noted later on is shown below :—

| Pāṇḍya kings. | Pallava kings. | Rāshtrakūṭas. | Western Gaṅgas. | Chólas. |
|---------------|--------------------------------|----------------|-----------------|----------|
| Māraṇvarman | Nandivarman II Pallavamalla | | | |
| Neḍuñjaḍaiyaṇ | | | | |
| Rājasimha | Dantivarman | Gōvinda III | Śivamūra II | |
| Varaṅga I | Nandivarman III | | | |
| Śrīmāra | Nripatuṅga | Amōghavarsha I | Prithvīpati I | |
| Varaṅga II | Aparājita | | | |
| | | | | Āditya I |

Since Nandivarman, the victor of Tellāru, figures as donor in the Lalgudi inscription A dated in the 5th year, evidently of the reign of Mārañjaḍaiyaṇ *alias* Varaṅga-Mahārāja I, that record cannot be placed earlier than A.D. 812 or later than A.D. 844 which are the initial and closing years of Nandivarman III. From this, it is clear that the date of accession of Varaṅga I cannot be taken to an earlier date than A.D. 807. We have already shown that it cannot be later than A.D. 823. In order to arrive at the actual year of accession of Varaṅga I, the astronomical details furnished in two inscriptions, which are both dated in 4+9th (*i.e.*, the 13th) year of Mārañjaḍaiyaṇ (*i.e.*, Varaṅga-Mahārāja I), may be considered here. One of them is the inscription B edited below and the other is from Tiruveḷḷarai.³ While the former gives the astronomical combination (a) **Dhanus, Tuesday and the nakṣatra Śatabhishaj**, the latter furnishes another set of combinations, *viz.*, (b) **Vṛiśchika, Monday and the nakṣatra Aśvinī** in the same year, *i.e.*, 13th. Between A.D. 800 and 852, though there are several years in which each set of combinations occurred separately, the following table gives such of those years only as con-

¹ *Ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 54.

² No. 666 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1922 and No. 262 of the same collection for 1924.

³ The details of date furnished in this record have been calculated by the late Mr. R. Sewell for Varaṅga II in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XI, p. 233. But as it is dated in the 9th year opposite to the fourth it is clearly a record of Varaṅga I.

tained both sets of details, the days corresponding to the combinations (a) and (b), the initial and fifth years of the king :—

| No. | Year. | Equivalents of (a) and (b). | Initial year. | 5th year. |
|-----|-------|---|---------------|-----------|
| 1 | 814 | (a) Tuesday, 19th Dec. (b) Monday, 30th Novr. | 801 A.D. . | 806 A.D. |
| 2 | 817 | (a) Tuesday, 15th Dec. (b) Monday, 26th Octr. | 804 . . | 809 |
| 3 | 824 | (a) Tuesday, 29th Novr. (b) Monday, 7th Novr. f.d.n. 71 | 811 . . | 816 |
| 4 | 831 | (a) Tuesday, 12th Dec. f.d.n. 38 (b) Monday, 20th Novr. f.d.n. 01 | 818 . . | 823 |
| 5 | 834 | (a) Tuesday, 8th Dec. f.d.n. 56 (b) Monday, 16th Novr. f.d.n. 70 | 821 . . | 826 |
| 6 | 841 | (a) Tuesday, 22nd Novr. f.d.n. 23 (b) Monday, 31st Octr. f.d.n. 94 | 828 . . | 833 |
| 7 | 851 | (a) Tuesday, 1st Dec. (b) Monday, 9th Novr. | 838 . . | 843 |

Since the first two give the fifth year equivalents A.D. 806 and 809 they have to be rejected for the reason that Tellāṟṟeṇḍa Nandivarman cannot figure in them. Similarly, Nos. 6 and 7 have to be abandoned because, according to them, the 17th year would work out to be A.D. 845 and 855, both of which are later than the lower limit fixed for Varaguna I. The only three that could be adopted are Nos. 3, 4 and 5 which would give us, for the king's succession, the years A.D. 811, 818 and 821. Even out of these, Nos. 4 and 5 may be given up as their adoption would narrow the possible longer range of reigns of both Varaguna I and Śrīmāra. It seems that the only probable date for Varaguna's accession is A.D. 811. This conclusion is not entirely without grounds. The internal evidence furnished in the Āṇamalai inscription, Madras Museum Plates and the Vūlvikuḍi grant shows that A.D. 770 must fall somewhere between the 3rd and 17th years of the reign of Parāntaka Neḍuñjaḍaiyaṇ to whose time they all belong¹. After Parāntaka and before Varaguna I, only a single king intervened, i.e., Rājasimha and his reign, as at present known, was an eventless one. Therefore, the period of forty-one years from A.D. 770 to A.D. 811 is more than sufficient to cover the rest of the reign of Parāntaka Neḍuñjaḍaiyaṇ from the time of the Āṇamalai record and the eventless rule of Rājasimha. For these reasons, therefore, adopting A.D. 811 as the date of accession of Varaguna I, we may assign A.D. 816 to inscription A and A.D. 824 to B.


Of the places mentioned in these inscriptions, many can be easily identified. Tiruttavattur² must be Lalgudi itself because, the inscriptions are found there. Maṇakkāl³ is the homonymous village in the Trichinopoly district and Eḍayattimaṅalam, not far from Lalgudi, might have been the principal place in Iḍaiyāṟṟu-nāḍu in which Tiruttavattur is said to have been situated. I am not able to trace Nallimaṅalam and Iḷamperuṅāy-irukkai. Tellāṟu, where Nandivarman gained a victory, is in the Wandiwash taluq of the North Arcot district.

¹ See *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXII, pp. 57 ff.; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVII, pp. 291 ff., and *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, pp. 317 ff.

² There is also a village, called Tiruttavatturaikattalai in the Trichinopoly District.

³ A village of this name is in Uḍaiyārpālaiyam taluk, but this cannot be the one referred to in these inscriptions.

TEXT OF A.

- 1 Svasti śrī [||*] Yāṇḍu 4-vadiṇ edirām-āṇḍu Idaiyāṇṇu-nāṭṭu-tTiruttavatturai-Māhādēvark ku¹ Teḷḷēṇṇu-erinduvera Nandippōtta[r]ai-
- 2 yar kuḍutta paḷaṇ-kāsu 60-du [||*] ivv-aṇupadu kāsum i-ññāṭṭu Nallimaṇḡalattu sabhaiyōm ivv-aṇupadu kāsum(m) Tiruttavatturai-Mahādēvar-
- 3 idai koṇḍu nārāya-nāḷiyāl nīśadī nāḷi ney oru nondā-viḷakku śāndir-ādittaval irav[um] pagalum eriya-kkoṇḍu-ṣeṇṇu aḷappōmā[nō]-
- 4 m[||*] Nallimaṇḡalattu sabhaiyōm Tiruttavatturai-Mahē(hā)dēvarkku aḷavōmāyil muṭṭil muṭṭ-irāṭṭiyum mūlappaṭṭa paṇ-mahēśvara[rē]
- 5 sabhaiy-āgavum tanitt-āgavum nilaikkaḷam-uḷḷiṭṭa tāṇ vēṇḍu kōviṇukku pukka  iru-ṇūṇṇu-ppadiṇ-āṇu kāṇam daṇḍam-iḍa [v]e-
- 6 ṭṭinōm Nallimaṇḡalattu sabhaiyōm [||*] idu paṇ-māhēśvarar nāṇṇappatt-ēṇṇāyiravarum I(i)rakshai ||.

TRANSLATION.

Hail! Prosperity! In the year opposite to 4, Nandippōttaraiyar, who fought the battle of Teḷḷēṇṇu and gained victory (*in it*), gave 60 old *kāsu* to (*the temple of*) Mahādēva at Tiruttavatturai in Idaiyāṇṇu-nāḍu. Having received from the temple of the Mahādēva of Tiruttavatturai these sixty *kāsu*,² we, (*the members of*) the assembly of Nallimaṇḡalam in this *nāḍu*, bound ourselves to take (*to the temple*) and measure out daily (*one*) *nāḷi* of ghee by the measure called *nārāya-nāḷi*, for burning one perpetual lamp as long as the sun and moon last. If we, (*the members of*) the assembly of Nallimaṇḡalam, fail (*in our undertaking*) and do not measure out (*the ghee*) to the temple of the Mahādēva of Tiruttavatturai, all the Māhēśvaras attached to the central shrine⁴ shall levy on (*us, the members of*) the assembly, as a body or individually, a fine of two hundred and sixteen *kāṇam* and this shall be paid to the royal officers⁵ inclusive of the *nilaikkaḷam*⁶ whichever they desire. Thus we, (*the members of*) the assembly of Nallimaṇḡalam, had this (*edict*) incised. This (*charity*) shall be under the protection of all the Forty-Eight Thousand Māhēśvaras.

TEXT OF B.

- 1 Svasti śrī [||*] Kō-Māraṇḡaḍaiyarkku yāṇḍu 4-vadiṇ edir 9-ām-āṇḍu Dhanu-nāyirru Śevvā[y*]-kkaḷamai perṇa Śadaiya(m)ttu [nā] I]-
- 2 ḍaiyāṇṇu-nāṭṭu Tiruttavatturai-Māhādēvarkku¹ iravum pagalum śāndir-ādittaval iraṇḍu no[nḍā-ttiru-viḷakku]
- 3 erippadāga kō-Māraṇḡaḍaiyaṇ(a)yiṇa Pāṇḍya-kulapati Varaguna-Māhārāyar⁷ Aṇḍa-nāṭṭu-Vēḷāṇ [k]aiy[il]-kkuḍutta paḷaḷa[n]-

¹ Read *Mahādēvarkku*.

² The symbols can be read as *vūḷa* (mistake for *vūḷa*) which with the preceding *pukka* becomes *pukkav-uḷa*.

³ The words '*ivv-aṇupadu kāsum*' are repeated twice in the record.

⁴ The words '*mūlappaṭṭa paṇ-māhēśvara*' here used stand in the place of '*mūlappaṭṭudai paṇ-māhēśvara*' occurring in other inscriptions. The body meant by the term appears to have been constituted into an assembly for managing the affairs of the temple and was called '*uṇṇāḷigai-vēriya*' or '*uṇṇāḷigai-sabhai*'.

⁵ '*Kō*' literally means '*a king*'.

⁶ *Nilai*=stationary and *kaḷam*=field or body. As such, the expression may mean '*a standing committee*'.

⁷ Read *Mahārāyar*.

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- 4 kāsū 120 [*]pūrr-irupadu kāsū(m) muda[l] ke[ḍā]m[ai]y poli[y-ū]ṭṭipāl nisadi
nā¹
- 5 aḷappōm-āyinōm ippaḍi oṭ[ṭ]i i-kkāsū koṇḍō[m] Iḍaiyārru-nāṭṭu ḷamperuṅkāy-
iruk[k]ai [sabhaiyō]-
- 6 m [*] i-ññey nisadi iru-nāḷiyum muṭṭil muṭṭ-irattiyum mūlap[pa]ṭṭa pan-
māhēśvararē sabhaiy-āgavum tanitt-āgavum ni²
- 7 ḷiṭṭa tāṇ vēṇḍu kōviṇukku pukka ³ aṇṇūru kāṇam daṇḍam-iḍa oṭṭi-
kkuḍuttōm Tiruttavatturai-Mahādēvarkku [!]*

TRANSLATION.

Hail! Prosperity! In the 9th year opposite to the 4th year of (the reign of) king Māraṇjaḍaiyaṇ corresponding to the day of Śadaiyam, i.e., Śatabhishaj (falling) on a Tuesday in the month of Dhanu; king Māraṇjaḍaiyaṇ alias Pāṇḍyakulapati Varaguna-Mahārāya gave into the hands of Aṇḍa-nāṭṭu-Vēḷāṇ 120 old kāsū for burning day and night, till the sun and the moon last, two perpetual lamps in the temple of the Mahādēva at Tiruttavatturai in Iḍaiyārru-nāḍu. As interest on these one hundred and twenty kāsū—the capital remaining un-affected—we bound ourselves to measure out daily [two nāḷi of ghee by the nārāya-nāḷi measure]. Thus agreeing, we, (the members of) the assembly of ḷamperuṅkāy-irukkai in Iḍaiyārru-nāḍu, received these kāsū. If (any) default occurs in (giving) these two nāḷi of ghee daily, we agreed on behalf of the Mahādēva of Tiruttavatturai to pay, either in a body or individually, double the (quantity at) default and a fine of five hundred kāṇam (of gold) to the royal (officers) inclusive of [nilaikkaḷam] as the Māhēśvaras attached to the central shrine desire.

TEXT OF C.

- 1 Svasti śrī [!]* Kō-Rājakēsaripanma[r]*kku yāṇḍu 13-āvadu Iḍaiyārru-
nāṭṭu-tTiruttavatturai I.
- 2 śvara-baṭṭāra[k]arkku Śōḷapperumāṇ-aḍigaḷ tiru-uḍappuraṇḍār Naṅgai-
Varaguna-perumāṇār śandir-ā-
- 3 dittavaṇ iravum pagalum oru noṇḍā-viḷakku nisadi uriy ne[y]yāl⁴ erivadaṅk-
ku kuḍutta po[ṇ]
- 4 30 muppadiṇ kaḷaṇḍu poṇṇum Vaḍakarai-Maḷa-nāṭṭu Kalāra-kku(kū)ṛrattu
mēl-kūṛru pirama-
- 5 dēyam Maṇalkāl sabhaiyōm koṇḍu i-ppoṇ 30 kaḷaṇḍu-koṇḍu Tiruṭ[ta]-
vatturai Perumāṇ-aḍigaḷukku tiruviḷakkiṇukku viṛru-kkuḍutta nilammāvadu⁵ Mē[r]-
- 6 ppulattu Maṇamuṭṭi-ttiḍaliṇ-kīlai eṇḡaḷ nāṇḡ-mā-kkāṇiyum pōyum viṛkkiṇ[ra]
- 7 nilattukku ellai Śirugavūr veṭṭappēṛṇṇi vaḍavāy mūṇṇu mā-kkāṇiyum pō-
[yu]-
- 9 m viṛkkiṇṇa nilattukku ellai Śirugavūr ellai va[y*]kkāḷiṇ-kkīlai⁶ iraṇḍu-
māvum
- 10 pōyum viṛkkiṇṇa nilattukk-ellai nāṇḡaḷē Talaivāyaṇukku kuḍutta ve-
ṭṭa[p]pēṛṇṇi-kīlai arai-māvum āḡa-ttaḍi nāṇḡiṇāl nilam araiyum u-
- 11 ṇṇilam oḷiviṇṇi i-ppoṇ 30 [ka*]ḷaṇḍu-koṇḍu i-ūḷam pattu=chcheyum iraiy-
iliyāḡa viṛru vilaiy-āvaṇaṇ-cheyidu⁷ śn.

¹ This gap may be filled up with the words "rāya nāḷiyāl iru-nāḷi ney".

² The letters laikkaḷam-u are damaged.

³ The first y in neyyāl is corrected from yi.

⁴ Read *kīlai.

⁵ See note 2 on p. 52.

⁶ Read nilammāvadu.

⁷ Read *cheydu.

- 13 nnir vet̥ti ut̥pada maṭṭum eppērp̥paṭṭa vet̥tiyum inaiyum echchōrum ved-
paiyum eppērp̥paṭṭadum-iṭadadāga vir̥ru vi-
14 laiy-āvaṇaṇ-che[y*]du kuṭuttōm Tiruttavatturai-Mahādēvarkku Maṇaṭkai sabhai-
yōm i-ñilattukku pugunda
15 kuttukkāl tirttu-kuṭuppōmānōm tirttu-[kkuṭōmāgil kuṭtukkāl pugunda(pugunda)-
pōdu mur̥paṭṭa panm[ā]-
16 hēsvararē nilaikkalam-uḷḷiṭṭa t̥an [vēp̥du] kō[viṇu]kku kkaṇam
sabhaiyaiy-āgavum tanitt-āgavum day-
17 ḍam-iḍa oṭṭi i-ñilam pattu-checheyum vir̥ru vilaiy-āvaṇam seydu kuṭuttōm
Tiruttavatturai-[Ma]hādēvarkku Maṇa-
18 r̥kkāl sabhaiyōm [||*] idu pan-Māhēsvarar nārp̥patt-annāyiravarum rakshai || || || ||

TRANSLATION.

Hail ! Prosperity ! In the 13th year of (the reign of) king Rājakesarivarman, Naṅgai-Varaṇa-perumāṇār, the illustrious uterine sister of the Chōla king (Sōlapperumāṇ-āḍigaḷ), gave 30 (*kaḷaṇṇu* of) gold for burning a perpetual lamp daily with (one) *uri* of ghee as long as the sun and the moon last, in the temple of *Īsvara-bhaṭṭāraka* at Tiruttavatturai. The (members of the) assembly of Maṇaṭkāl, a *brahmāḍya* on the western portion of Kalāra-kku(kū)ṭṭam which was a sub-division of Vaḍakarai-Maḷa-nāḍu received these thirty *kaḷaṇṇu* of gold. The following are the lands which they sold for the 30 *kaḷaṇṇu* of gold to the temple of Perumāṇaḍigaḷ at Tiruttavatturai for (burning) a sacred lamp :-

Four *mā* and (one) *kāṇi* of our land, situated to the east of the mound called Maṇamuttittīḍaḷ; three *mā* and (one) *kāṇi* (of land) to the north of the *vet̥tappēru* in *Śirugavūr*; two *mā* of land to the east of the canal at the boundary of *Śirugavūr*; and half a *mā* (of land) to the east of the *vet̥tappēru* which we ourselves presented to *Talaivāyan*¹—in all, half a *reṭi* comprised in four *taḍi*. Having received the 30 *kaḷaṇṇu* of gold, we, (the members of) Maṇaṭkāl, sold these ten *sey* of land, free from taxes, and drew up the sale-deed expressing therein that all kinds of *vet̥ti*, *irai*, *echchōru*, *vedinai* and other (taxes) inclusive of *ṣannirvet̥ti*, shall not be paid (on these lands), and conveyed the same to (the temple of) the *Mahādēva* at Tiruttavatturai. If there arises any trouble in respect of these lands, we bind ourselves to rectify the same. In case of our failure to rectify, we agree to pay, either as a body or individually, a fine of *kāṇam* of gold to the royal officers inclusive of the *nilaikkalam* as may be desired by the several *Māhēsvaras* existing at the time of default. Thus (agreeing), we, (the members of) the assembly of Maṇaṭkāl, sold the said ten *sey* of land, drew up the sale-deed and handed over (possession) to (the temple of) the *Mahādēva* at Tiruttavatturai. This (charity) shall be under the protection of all the *Māhēsvaras* (viz.,) the Forty-Eight Thousand.

No. 4.—A SUNGA INSCRIPTION FROM AYODHYA.

By RAI BARADUR DAYA RAM SAHNI, M.A.

This inscription was first brought to the notice of scholars by Babu Jagannath Das Ratnakara of Ayōdhya. It is inscribed on a flat stone slab at the foot of the eastern entrance of the *Samādhi* of Bābā Sangat Bakhsh, which is reputed to have been built in the time of Nawāb Shujā'-ud-daula. This shrine with the connected buildings is situated in the western portion of a large walled enclosure known as Rānopāli, about a mile distant from the town of Ayōdhya on the road leading to Fyzābād.

¹ May also mean 'for the head-slucice'.

TRANSLATION.

In the 104th year, the 8. Śrāvaṇa, at this [instant, by . .] was set up this bridge, for the sake of heavy

No. 7.—CONJEEVERAM INSCRIPTION OF RAJARAJA I.

By K. V. SUBRAHMANYA AIYER, B.A., M.R.A.S.

The late Dr. Hultzsch noticed this inscription long ago¹ but did not give the text nor a critical analysis of its contents. In consideration of its historical importance I am editing it below. It seems that the record is not in its original position, for the different portions of it lie in different places, though in the same sanctuary, viz., the Kailāsanātha temple at Conjeeveram. One piece is found in the floor of the *mukha-maṇḍapa* and the other is built in the roof of the said temple. Both these pieces, in my opinion, go to make up section I of the record though some portions of it, especially at the middle and at the end, are not forthcoming. Similarly, the third fragment is found in the floor and the other fragment marked B-1 is to be found in the roof. These fragments put together would make up section II of the record, though here too, some portions have not been secured as yet. Each of the fragments A and A-1 contain an equal number of lines incised on them. The portion of the record giving the date (l. 8) which is found on the fragment A, seems to continue on the fragment marked A-1. Of the other section, 49 lines are engraved on the fragment marked B and 30 on the slab called B-1. I think that lines 16 to 45 of B continue on B-1 for, when put together, they read continuously.

The section marked I gives the genealogy of the Eastern Chālukyas. Among the kings mentioned in it we find the names of Vijayāditya-Guṇakāṅga, i.e., Vijayāditya III, Chālukya. Bhīma I, Kollavigaṇḍa, i.e., Vijayāditya IV and Chālukya-Bhīma II (ll. 3-4). This Bhīma is compared to the Pāṇḍava Bhīma and is described as a warrior distinguished in many battles. After him comes Dānārṇava whose foot-stool, we are told, was made lustrous by the diadems of potentates like the Vaidumba and who was a worshipper of the God Paramēśvara. Parama-bhaṭṭāraka Bhīmēśvara. After this, the inscription gives the date in the following words:—

[Śa*]ka-nṛpa-nava-śata-saṁkhyā-vi shu yātēshu tribhūr-adhikēshu etc.

The letter *vi* which follows the words *nava-śata* and is clearly visible on the stone would indicate that the mutilated word is *viṁśa*. This being the case, the date of the inscription must be Śaka 923 expired (or 924 current) which corresponds to the year 1001-2 of the Christian era. The palæography of the inscription would support this surmise.

Section II introduces Dānārṇava-Nṛpakāma (l. 17) stating that by defeating the armies of his enemies and despatching Kāmārṇava to heaven he accomplished all his desires. It then speaks of a chief called Jaṭāchōḷa-Bhīma-nṛpati, giving a number of his epithets, like the following:—*Samgrāma-vijaya*, *Arasar-ābharaṇa*, *Sukavi-chintāmaṇi*, *Kirtti-Dilīpa*, *Saty-āvatāra*, *Samar-aikavīra*, *Paragaṇḍa-rākshasa*, *Dina-kalpadruma*, *Bhūpāla-Mēru*, *Achalita-vīrya*, *Vikrama*, *Dhana-nījaya*, *Saujanya-dhavalā*, *Dushṭa-kāl-ānala*, *Asahāya-Vikrama*, *Bhuvan-aikadīpaka*, *Āchāra-Bhagīratha*, *Kārmuka-Rāma*, *Apurāṇa-Dadhichi*, *Vanit-ābhīrāma*, *Abhinav-Āntaka*, *Sūrya-kulavāsa*, *Rāja-Makaradhvaja*, *Vikrānta-Chakrāyudha*, *Samasta-rāj-āgrēya*, *Gōṇḍala-sāhasa*, *Māna-sampūrṇa*, *Raṅga-mṛigēndra*, *Vīra-Narasimha*, *Karikāla-Chōḷa*, *Arirāja-bhīṣaṇa*, *Tyāga-mahārṇava*, and *Nara-lōka-Rudra*. Thereafter comes a mutilated passage in Telugu (ll. 40 to 47) which describes some achievements of this chief, namely, Jaṭāchōḷa-Bhīma. The

¹ S. I. I., Vol. I, p. 139, No. 144.

inscription ends by saying that "such a distinguished person was captured by king Rājarāja". It is true that only the initial letter of this name is now preserved, but there is no doubt that it should be read as Rājarāja. We know that it was Rājarāja who was ruling over these parts in the Śaka year 923-4.

The fact that the chief who was captured by Rājarāja is herein called Karikāla-Chōla and that he claims descent from the Solar dynasty (*Sūrya-kula-vāsa*), would show that he was of Telugu-Chōla origin and that he was in possession of the Eastern Chālukya territory during the period of confusion which followed the reign of Dānārṇava.

Though fragmentary, this inscription is very helpful for settling some of the doubtful points in the history of the Chōlas and of the Eastern Chālukyas. We know that Rājarāja I conquered the Vēṅgi country about the 14th year of his reign (A.D. 999) and the Kalinga country in the next year (A.D. 1000). The Tiruvālaṅgaḍu plates of Rājendra-Chōla I report that he defeated an Āndhra chief named Bhīma¹. We also know that Rājarāja invaded the Vēṅgi and Kalinga countries about A.D. 999-1000. We have to see who this Bhīma, whom he had routed, was. That he was the Eastern Chālukya king Vimalāditya who bore the surname Mummudi-Bhīma and Birudaṅka-Bhīma² seems to be unlikely, for his dates do not go so far back as A.D. 999-1000³. Here it may be noted that the so-called *interregnum* in the Vēṅgi country had just then come to an end and that no Chōla king prior to the time of Rājarāja I had anything to do with the political situation in the Vēṅgi or Kalinga countries. Among the Eastern Chālukyas, we know of no king of the name of Bhīma who came after Dānārṇava and whom Rājarāja I had defeated in A.D. 999. The present inscription enables us to settle the question of his identification definitely, for while revealing his name it states that he was captured by Rājarāja I. Evidently, this chief got possession of a part of the Eastern Chālukya dominions in the confusion caused by the deposition of Dānārṇava. Though Dānārṇava was dispossessed of his kingdom about A.D. 973, he appears to have lived till A.D. 1000.

The second point of interest in the inscription is contained in the statement that Dānārṇava slew or defeated king Kāmārṇava, who, to judge from the name, must have been a member of the Eastern Gaṅga line. In this connection, it may be said, that the Vēṅgi and the Kalinga countries were fighting each other for some generations prior to the time of Dānārṇava. King Guṇaga-Vijayāditya III (A.D. 844-888) claims to have conquered the Gaṅgas and to have received a tribute of elephants from the king of Kalinga⁴. Kollavigaṇḍa-Vijayāditya IV also claims to have conquered the ruler of Kalinga in A.D. 918 and to have ruled over the forests of Trikaṇḍa⁵. Vikramāditya II (A.D. 925) is said to have held sway over the countries of Vēṅgi and Trikaṇḍa⁶. The fact that Dānārṇava-Nripakāma despatched to heaven or defeated Kāmārṇava, which the inscription under notice has brought to light, is not only new to history but it also proves for certain that the Eastern Chālukyas of Vēṅgi and the Eastern Gaṅgas of Kalinga were inimical towards one another. That the Kāmārṇava who was defeated by Dānārṇava must be identified with Kāmārṇava IV, i.e., the father of Vajrahasta IV, may be shown by working backward the period of rule of the Eastern Gaṅga kings from the date of accession of Vajrahasta V which fell in A.D. 1038⁷. Since Madhukāmārṇava, Guṇḍama II,

¹ S. I. I., Vol. III, p. 421, v. 82.

² *Annual Report on South-Indian Epigraphy*, 1906, p. 68.

³ According to the Ranastipundi grant Vimalāditya's accession to the throne took place in A.D. 1011, May 10, Thursday. (Above, Vol. VI, p. 349).

⁴ Above, Vol. IV, p. 226.

⁵ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XX, p. 104.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 269.

⁷ Above, Vol. IV, p. 195.

Kāmārṇava V and Vajrahasta IV are reported to have reigned for 19 years, 3 years, 6 months, and 35 years respectively, before the accession of Vajrahasta V, we get A.D. 980 or thereabouts for the end of the reign of Kāmārṇava IV. And since that king is said to have ruled for a period of 25 or 30 years his reign must have lasted from A.D. 950 or 955 to 980. These dates fall within the rule of Dānārṇava which commenced¹ in A.D. 970. It is very likely that the Eastern Gaṅgas made a counter invasion on Vēṅgī which must have eventually resulted in the deposition of the aggressive Dānārṇava and given occasion also to the Telugu Chōla chief Bhīma-nṛipa to acquire possession of a part of the Eastern Chālukya dominions. Perhaps Dānārṇava continued to live after his deposition, for the Chellūr² plates of Kulōttuṅga-Chōḍa II attribute to him a reign of 30 years, a period that exactly covers his actual reign of three years and the so-called *interregnum* of 27 years which immediately followed it, as reported in other Eastern Chālukya charters. What favoured these events seem to be the internal dissensions that were prevailing in the country for a long time as is clearly disclosed by the rule of kings Yuddhamalla, Bādapa and Tāla of the collateral branch of the Eastern Chālukyas. It would not be wrong, therefore, to surmise that the deposed king Dānārṇava applied for help to the Chōlas against his enemies. In this connection, the following facts revealed by the Chōla and the Eastern Chālukya records are worthy of note. Vimalāditya's coronation is stated, in his Raṇastipūṇḍi grant³, dated in the 8th year of reign⁴, to have taken place in Śaka 933 (A. D. 1011). Since his predecessor Chālukya-chandra Śaktivarman is said to have reigned for 12 years before this date⁵, his accession must be placed in A.D. 999, which is very near the date when the Chōla king Rājarāja I invaded the Vēṅgī country. The invasion of Rājarāja I resulted in placing over the Vēṅgī country a member of the direct line of the Eastern Chālukyas, namely, Śaktivarman, whose brother Vimalāditya was married to Kundavā, the daughter of the invading Chōla king⁶. In view of these facts it may safely be surmised that the Chōlas must have helped Dānārṇava at the time of his difficulties. This inference is further supported by the fact that the Chōla invader Rājarāja I captured Bhīma-nṛipa, who was then in possession of the Eastern Chālukya dominions, and proceeded straightway against the Kalinga country and subdued it.

The date of the accession of Śaktivarman to the Eastern Chālukya throne being A.D. 999, as shown above, the period of the so-called *interregnum* of 27 years in the Vēṅgī country and the rule of Dānārṇava for 3 years before it, must fall in A.D. 972-3 to 999 and A.D. 970 to 972-3. Dānārṇava's fight with Kāmārṇava and his deposition will have to be placed in A.D. 972-3. It may be observed here, in passing, that the Rāshtrakūṭa power in the Deccan became practically ruined about this time when Siyaka Harsha, the Paramāra king of Mālwa, pillaged their very capital, namely, Mānyakhēṭa, and Taila II, the first member of the revived Chālukya line, ousting the Rāshtrakūṭas, extended his rule right up to the borders of the Eastern Chālukya and the Eastern Gaṅga kingdoms. Possibly it was about this period when there was so much of confusion in the Deccan that the Telugu-Chōla chief Bhīma-nṛipa, also called Karikāla-Chōla and Jaṭā-Chōla, of the solar race, found it possible to capture a portion of the Eastern Chālukya dominion.

¹ [See *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XX, p. 272.—Ed.]

² *Ibid.*, Vol. XIV, pp. 56 ff.

³ Above, Vol. VI, p. 351.

⁴ As copper-plates attribute only a reign of 7 years to this king the 8th year must be counted from the date of his nomination to succession.

⁵ Above, Vol. VI, p. 351.

⁶ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XX, p. 277.

The Telugu portion of the inscription under publication, though very much mutilated, would inform us that this chief engaged himself in fighting the rulers of Aṅga as well as Kāliṅga, took possession of a fort which could not, perhaps, be seized by Bēta-Vijayāditya and that he constructed tanks and made gifts to the temple of Bhīmēśvara¹.

TEXT.²

I

- 1yaksh-ēśvara-prabhṛiti.....m-ēśvarāya dadatā vadataḥ ka ēva
Chōla-Triṇētra-vasudhā-patinā samānaḥ l- S[va]sti Śrīma-tarm(tām)=maku
.....
- 2jānām Mahēśvara-vara-pra[s].....dhān-āmara-Durgā-prasād-āsūrita³- simha-
[ma]hā-laūjhanānām⁴ antaka-Śiv-ālaya-taṭ-ārāma-pravarttana-prabhṛi.....
- 3pari(i)tānām Chōlānām ku.....[v]āditya-Guṇakāṁga-Chālukya-Bhīma-nṛipa-
rann⁵-ālamkṛita-Chālukya-vaṁśa-pradīpāyamāna-Kōllavi-gaṇḍa-pri.....
- 4dēvyām Gyau(Gau)ryyām Kumāra.....m Bhīm-āpar-āvatāraḥ Bhīma-
parākramaḥ pravarttana-mah-āhavaḥ dig-antam-āntan-darpp-āntaṅ-jha⁶ yathā
yōga.....
- 5Dāna-par-ārṇava⁷ tat bhṛi.....V[ai]dumba-prabhṛiti-rāja-rājanya-rāji
rājata⁸-pīthastham=anēka-sahasra-sātakumbha-sambhūta-prabhṛi-
- 6kaṭi-sūtra-prabhṛiti-vichitra.....nēk-ālamkār-ālamkṛitam=ānma⁹-rūpam=amūly-
ānēka-ranna⁵-dyuti-pāṭala-virachit-ēndra-chāpam=a¹⁰kṛi.....
- 7lōkanārtham=avanim=ava.....[bha]kti-nammram rachit-āñjali-putam Bhaga-
vataḥ Paramēśvarasya Paramabhāṭṭarakasya śrīmat-Bhīmē[śva].....
- 8kanṛipa-nava-śata-samkhyā-vi.....shu yātēshu tribhir-adhikēshu cha-
turtthanyayāt=purastān=nirasta saśīti Bhīmēśvarasya dēvasya Bhī.....
- 9sya rūpēṇa janma-janm-ē[ti].....[dha]raṇipatiḥ Kṛita-yugē Trētā-yugē
Rāvaṇaḥ Bhīmaḥ Pāṇḍu-Prith-ātmajaḥ Kurukula-dhvamsi yugē nva.....
- 10li-yugē Śauryyādi-dharmmā.....rttum-ēsha nṛipatiḥ Chōla¹¹-Triṇētrō-
bhavat l- Bhūtō-bhavan-bhaviṣyan=vā bhūpatir=ddāna-śatryyataḥ.....

II

- 1 nāpi bhaviṣyati l- chintyaṅ-chintā.....
- 2 lē dhāvan syandana-yādasi sapura.....
- 3 tūrṇ-ōttirṇa-mahārṇavān=a[pu].....
- 4 patasyat Parachakra-bhīma-ripav[ō].....
- 5 traiya-viśāla-maṇḍapa-visa.....
- 6 jēshu Bhagadatta ēva turagē.....

¹ I am indebted to Mr. N. Lakshminarayan Rao, M.A., the Kanarese Assistant in the office of the Government Epigraphist for India, for this information.

² From the ink-impressions prepared by Mr. V. Venkatasubba Ayyar, B.A.

³ Read -āsūḍita.

⁴ Read -lāūchanānām.

⁵ Read -ratna-.

⁶ Read -cha.

⁷ [The reading is -parāvārṇava which might stand for -parāyaṇ-ārṇava.—Ed.]

⁸ Read -rājita-.

⁹ Read -ātma-.

¹⁰ Can the symbol between °m=a° and °kṛi° be taken as °dhaḥ°?

¹¹ Read nṛipatiḥ=Chōla.

I

2
4
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8
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2
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HIRANANDA SASTRI.
Rec. No. 2969 E. 33-480.

SCALE: ONE-EIGHTH.

SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.

18

20

22

| | | | | | | | | | | | |
|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|
| 24 | 26 | 28 | 30 | 32 | 34 | 36 | 38 | 40 | 42 | 44 | 46 |
|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|

- 7 tatañ Śatakra[tu]r=api svarggan¹=tanō.....
- 8 masu sthēyāt(d)=bhuvī yāvad-arkka.....
- 9 shu bahushv=ath=āsīt Karikāla.....
- 10 śaiśavē Kṛishṇa-nṛipasya vā[chā].....
- 11 bhihatya mad-ōddhatān apa.....
- 12 chukō[pa] sañjāta-samagra-manyuh.....
- 13 ntyai sumukhat-prachanḍa²nyayūyu.....
- 14 śchalam sva-bhagani³-padam-Andhrama.....
- 15 naḥ prāk sāmanta-māny-āṭavika-dri.....
- 16 na durnnikhō-dhāt da-jvāla-māruta-vaśād.....ya.....
- 17 Dānārṇava-Nṛipakāmō yō yudhi sat-sakala-sainyam=abhihatya-dēśam.....
- 18 m=avinōt parinētum=īśaḥ chitram su-dūram=api chāru. rmmantam Kāmār-
ṇavan-divam=ani.....
- 19 bhūt vyaktam vyasismapatatsv=iti vaiparītyā Kāmārṇavam bhuvī nayan.....
- 20 t vinayād=anya-bhūpatih⁴ Tyāgēna Karṇam=api rūpatayā Manōjam tējō.....
- 21 si samad-ān(t)makam yaḥ Sa śrīmān-Jaṭāchōḷa-Bhīma-nṛipatih sat-Gaṇḍa⁵-
Bhūriśravā.....
- 22 tha yōgataḥ Sasy-āpānya chatu. sya bhūshaṇa-chayam Bhī.....
- 23 maṇḍali-śikhāmaṇih Gaṇḍabhūriśravaḥ Saṁgrāma-vijayaḥ |.....
- 24 ga-dhavaḥ Arasar-ābharaṇaḥ Sukavi-chintāmaṇih Śau.....
- 25 kirti-Dilīpaḥ [Sa]ty-āvatāraḥ Samar-aika-vīraḥ Virabhaṭa.....
- 26 ..raṁga-mallaḥ Paragaṇḍa-rākshasaḥ Dīna-kalpadrumaḥ |.....
- 27 ndraḥ Bhūpāla-Mēruḥ Achalita-vīryaḥ Chaturāṁga-Rā.....
- 28 Vidyādharāḥ Vikrama-Dhanañjayaḥ Saujanya-dhavaḥ |.....
- 29 nanaḥ Dusṭa-kāl-ānalaḥ Asa[hāya]-Vikramaḥ Kara.....
- 30 ..yug-āchāraḥ nagēvāya-Bṛihaspatih Satya-Ma.....
- 31 rāṇanaḥ Bhuvan-aika-dīpi(pa)ka[h] Āchāra-Bhagīrathaḥ |.....
- 32 Kārmuka-Rāmāḥ Atithādityan Apurāṇa-Dadhīchiḥ |.....
- 33 ṇaḥ Vanit-ābhīrāmāḥ Abhinā(na)v-Āntakaḥ Sūryakula-vāsaḥ |.....
- 34 Sundaraḥ Rāja-Makaradhvaḥ Budha-janaupāraḥ⁶ Samvyakta-Bhā.....
- 35 Vikrānta-Chakrāyudhaḥ Samasta-rāj-āgrēyaḥ Rāja-kula.....
- 36 raḥ Gōṇḍaḷa-Sāhasaḥ Māna-sampūrṇaḥ Kshatriya-kula.....
- 37 [ā]raḥ Chalarāṁga-Rāmāḥ Raṇāṁga⁷-mṛigēndraḥ Vīra-Narasimhaḥ |.....
- 38 hadēvaḥ Karikāla-Chōḷaḥ Arirāja-bhīshaṇaḥ Su.....
- 39 ḥ Tyāga-mahārṇavaḥ Naralōka-Rudraḥ [I*] Sakala-bhū.....
- 40 sthira-sanniya-ghaṭanadh(y)-Aṁga-Kālimka-patilu nāḷa.....
- 41 larallōṭi parikōṭi-Rōḍḍalair-antu māroḍḍa ē.....
- 42 liyure kōṭuku Bētunḍu Guṇaka-vijayitunḍu.....
- 43 krambu sādhiñchi sōdhiñchi gunakoni Bhīmēśva.....
- 44 ma-ḍḍiyalu gāluktambu diggayalu kaṭi-sūtra-bahu.....

¹Read svarggam tanō....

²Read su-mahā-prachanḍaḥ.

³Read sva-bhagini°.

⁴Read bhūpatih.

⁵Read sat-gaṇḍa°.

⁶Read Budha-jan-ōḍaraḥ.

⁷Read Raṇa-raṁga°.

- 45 trōpulu gulliyalun-dutti..mbulu saḍḍulu rachi.....
 46 rāyillana tana rūpu bhaṇḍa ni[rva]ṣiṇḍiṁ gāyamabhamba.....
 47 davikrāyakudayya Dākarambi.....
 48 parita||a [*] Ivaṇai śrī-kō-Rā.....
 49 k[o]ṇḍār

No. 8.—NIVINA COPPER-PLATE GRANT OF DHARMARAJADEVA.

By N. P. CHAKRAVARTI, M.A., PH D., OOTACAMUND.

The charter under examination consists of **three copper-plates** which were found in 1929 in a field in the Nimmina village of the Kudala *taluk* in the Ganjām district of the Madras Presidency. The plates were sent by the Collector of Ganjām to the Government Museum, Madras, where they are now deposited. They are held together by a ring the ends of which are fastened into a circular **seal**. Each plate measures $7\frac{1}{2}$ " by $4\frac{3}{8}$ " while the diameter of the ring is about $3\frac{1}{2}$ " and that of the seal $1\frac{1}{2}$ ". The rims are slightly raised and the plates are rounded at the corners. Including the ring and the seal, they weigh $77\frac{1}{2}$ *tōlās*, approximately. The first plate is engraved on one side only but the remaining two are incised on both the sides. The inscription which they bear consists of 52 lines of writing. The first plate has 11 lines, the second 22, each face of it having 11 lines; but the third plate has 13 lines on the obverse and 6 on the reverse side of it. Owing to corrosion, which has caused holes in the plates, the inscription is badly damaged in several places, though practically the whole of it can be made out with the help of the other known records of the Śailōdbhava family to which it belongs. The seal is marked with the crescent, below which is found a couchant bull in relief. The sign-manual of the king was possibly written below the bull but the letters of the legend are much worn out and the name cannot be read with certainty. The first two letters are *śrī* and *mā* and the last letter is *śya*. There are traces of three letters between them.

The **characters** belong to an early type of the Nāgarī script and bear much resemblance to those employed in the Ganjām plates of Nēṭṭribhāṇḍadēva.¹ As Kielhorn² has already made a detailed study of the script employed in these records, I shall make here only a few additional remarks. The initial *a* and *ā* are denoted in the present record by two different signs though they seem to have been mixed up; e.g., *āsi(sī)d* (l. 12), *anē(nyē)* (l. 25), *Alatā'aṅgha* (l. 34) and *asmī(smin)* (l. 35). For medial *u*, also, there are two signs, one is the ordinary sign for *u* with a rounded curve to the left, as, e.g., in *pāntu* (l. 21) and *bhāsvat(d)-ushṇāmśu-* (l. 21), while the other is indistinguishable from the sign of *ū*. The sign for *Avagraha* has also been used, though only once, in *pratiprā(pā)ditah(ṭi)-smat* (l. 42). The *Anusvāra* is marked in two ways: (1) by the usual dot on the top of the letter as in *bhinam(nnam)* (l. 4), or in *ithvam(ttham)* (l. 8) and (2), occasionally, with a dot and a hook below it both added to the right of the letter as in *a[ja*]srām* (l. 19) and *Phāsikāyām* (l. 31). It may be noted that the latter sign has been used only at the end of a *pāda* or a verse.

The grant is written in incorrect **Sanskrit** prose and verse and has been very carelessly incised, so much so that, not only have many words been wrongly spelt but letters and even words have been left out in several places. Words like *vēṣaika* (l. 40) (for *vaishayika*), *Dikhida* (l. 39) (for *Dikshita*), *Vachchha* (l. 40) (for *Vatsa*), *rishi* (l. 40) (for *rishi*), *tāmra*³ (l. 42) (for *tāmra*³), found

¹ Above, Vol. XVIII. pp. 293 ff.² Above, Vol. VII. pp. 101 ff.

No. 16.] TIRUCHCHENDUR INSCRIPTION OF VARAGUNA-MAHARAJA (II). 101

a court and a tank, and further effected the renovation of the inner and outer parts of four cells¹,—(a work) in which alone the eyes of the world found repose.

(Verse 9). He offered a charming gold ornament to the Buddha with the object of keeping men in (the path of) Enlightenment, and there (i.e., at Sōmapura) (engaged) in such meritorious deeds, he lived like an ascetic for a long time.

(Verse 10). That meritorious person having made this monastery an ornament of the world, which manifests itself, surpassing in a wonderful manner the palace of Indra, made it over to the Mitras.² The Teacher, the lord of the three worlds, who has a special taste for (good) residences, forgot while here, (even) the abode in Śuddhāvāsa heaven, whose interior is difficult of access owing to the multitude of seekers.

(Verse 11). (His) fame, by which the earth was decorated, arose in various places as if to deprive Hari of his (exalted) position. May that flowing nectar of the eye (viz., his fame) remain triumphant so long as the vow of Mañjurava (i.e., Mañjughōṣa or Mañjuśrī) is not fulfilled.³

(Verse 12). May the pure merit, the (only) measure of comparison (with which is) the etherial space, that may accrue to me⁴ out of these famous achievements, even as the receptacle of nectar that came out of the ocean, eternally contribute to the attainment by the denizens of the three worlds of the unique place⁵ from which the Jinās (i.e., Buddhas) can visualize the whole universe (as distinctly) as an object under discussion placed on the palm.

(Verse 13). Kanakaśrī and Vaśiṣṭha who, (respectively) in the matter of dialectics and arts, purify the hearts of men, have given expression to (this) eulogy (one by composing and the other by engraving it).

[P. S.—Recent excavations at the Satyapir Bhīṭā at Pāhārpur outside the great monastic quadrangle have brought to light a Buddhist shrine of about the 11th-12th century A.D. in the courtyard of which several circular sealings impressed with the effigy of eight-handed Tārā and the Buddhist creed have been found. This is very likely to be the temple of Tārā built by Vipulaśrimitra referred to in verse 8 of the present inscription. The courtyard has a number of small votive stupas.—Ed.]

No. 17.—TIRUCHCHENDUR INSCRIPTION OF VARAGUNA-MAHARAJA (II)

By K. V. SUBRAHMANYA AIYAR, B.A., M.R.A.S., COIMBATORE.

The inscription edited below comes from Tīruchchēndūr in the Tinnevely District. Only a few lines of it contained on the first face of the first slab were copied in 1903 and the inscription was registered as No. 155 of that year's collection and as being engraved on a slab, set up in the

¹ [I should prefer to take *chaturshu layanēshu* in the sense of 'on the four groups of cells (forming the monastery).' Actually there are about 45 cells on each side of the monastic quadrangle at Pāhārpur and we have clear evidence of a wholesale renovation taking place about the commencement of the 12th century A.D., both in the inner and outer sides of the monastery. It is some such work carried out on a magnificent scale that must have been 'a singular feast to the eyes of the world'.—Ed.]

² The line of ascetics to which Vipulaśrimitra belonged.

³ In a work called the *Mañjuśrī-Buddha-kṣētra-guṇa-vyūha*, Mañjuśrī is supposed to have taken his 'Bodhi-sattva vow': "I do not wish to become a Buddha quickly, because I wish to remain to the last in this world to save its beings."—Poussin, *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics* (Art. 'Mañjuśrī'), Vol. 8, p. 405 and n. 2. The idea which, therefore, the writer seems to convey in the above verse is that the donor's fame should last as long as the world endures. Cf. *Kāraṇavyūha*:—*Y(T)āvat Avalokiteśvarasya dṛḍha-pratijñā na paripūrītā bhavati, sarva, sattvāḥ sarva-duḥkṛtēbhyāḥ parimokṣhītāḥ yāvat anuttarāyāṁ samyak-sambōdhau na pratishṭhāpitā bhavanti*, etc.

⁴ The speaker is evidently Vipulaśrimitra himself.

⁵ This is Sukhāvati. Cf. *Sragdhara-stōtra*, verse 37.

second *prākāra* of the Subrahmanya temple in the village. During the field season of 1912, when I happened to inspect the village, I examined this inscription carefully and found that it was an extensive record incised on two sides of two large stone-slabs. On this occasion I took the impressions of the entire record and transcribed it *in situ*, satisfying myself that it was complete. The inscription was again registered as No. 26 of the year's collection for 1912 and an abstract of its contents given on pages 48 and 70 of the *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy* for that year. The written faces of the slabs measure 4' 7" by 2' 6" and 4' by 2' 3".

The left top corner of the first slab is broken and the commencing portion of the first three lines has suffered some damage. But for this, the record is well preserved.¹

The inscription is engraved in the **Vatṭeḷuttu** alphabet of the 9th century A.D. and is in the **Tamiḷ language**. The only **Grantha** letters found used in it are *Śrī* (ll. 1, 111, 135, 160 and 169) and *saī* in *upāsaiyār* (l. 3). The following **palæographical** peculiarities are worth noticing:—The rare letter *āyḷam* (equivalent to a *visarga*), which is indicated in modern Tamiḷ by three dots, is represented in this record by a horizontal line with a dot marked above and below, like the division-sign (see *aḷḷam-āga*, l. 35). Two forms of *ya* occur, one with an inward and the other with an outward loop: for the former see the *ya*'s of *yūḷḷu* (l. 1), *upāsaiyā* (l. 3) and *yār-aḷiyā* (l. 5); and for the latter see *ya* in *Mārāya* (l. 1). Long *ū* is generally distinguished from the short *u* as in *nū* of *nūru* (l. 8), or *ū* of *tonṇūṇ-āru* (l. 10) and *nū* in *nūru* (ll. 12 and 21); but in the case of *ku* and *kū*, no such distinction is made. One and the same symbol is employed to represent *po* and *pō* except in l. 43. In line 51, short *p* gets the length stroke. The vowel *u* is hardly distinguishable from *nū*. The cross stroke of *ka* is generally indistinct (see *mūv-aḷukk-āga* in l. 61 and *paḷai-kāsu* in l. 71) and there are several instances where it is completely absent, as in *ṣiṇ-kaḍuḡ-amidu* in l. 42. *Nā* is written as a wavy horizontal line, as in *nāli* at the beginning of ll. 25 and 93. In a large number of words found in this inscription, vowels have been used in the middle ignoring the rules of *sandhi* as is the case in the early epigraphs like the Vēlvikkudī plates of Neḍuñjaḍaiyan. In all places where the word *ivargaḷ* occurs the *r* is elided and this elision is quite common in epigraphs from the Malabar Coast.

The document under notice contains some words of **etymological** interest. One of them is *kāyam*. I think it may be derived from the Sanskrit word *kṣhāra* (pungent) which becomes *khāra* in Prakrit and *kāram* in Tamiḷ. As *ya* is often substituted for *ra*, *kāram* becomes *kāyam*; cf. *veṅgāram* and *veṅgāyam*, *peruṅgāram* and *peruṅgāyam*. The change of *ra* into *ya* is illustrated by the Tamiḷ adaptation of the Sanskrit words *deār* and *vārikulyā* which change into *vāy* and *vāykkāl* in Tamiḷ. The word *kāyam* has hitherto been taken to mean exclusively 'asafoetida', but our inscription clearly says that the five spices, pepper, turmeric, cumin, small mustard, and coriander formed the five *kāyams*² and thereby proves that the popular meaning of *kāyam* as 'asafoetida' does not cover the full connotation of the word. The word *kāyam* has to be derived from *kārshāpaṇa* through its Prakrit form *kahāpaṇa*. *Poli* is the contracted form of *polisai* (interest) which occurs in modern Malayāḷam as *poliśa*: these words are derived from the root *poli*, "to increase". Another somewhat puzzling word is *pōttara* (l. 6). It seems to me to be a compound formed from the roots *pō* and *tā* and a contraction from "*pōgumbaḷi tara*" meaning

¹ [The three blanks to be seen in the accompanying plate (i) at the close of ll. 41 to 45, (ii) at the close of l. 96, (iii) at the commencement of ll. 102-105 seem to have been accidentally caused by the falling off of small pieces of the inked estampage.—Ed.]

² The phrase *nitta-niraḍu-pala-kāyattakku* occurs in No. 148 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1894. Here the phrase "*pala-kāyattakku*" shows that the word *kāyam* was used as a general name for "more than one" article and not for 'asafoetida' alone. Compare the use of the word in "*upp-oḍu ney-pā-rayir kāyam peyḍ aḍiṇṇum kaipp-aṇā pēy-chchurayiyiṇ-kūy*".

"having given to be taken". This mode of forming compounds would seem to be rather rare in Tamil. The word *ahgam* (ll. 35, 58, etc.) is seldom met with in inscriptions; but it may be noted that it has been correctly employed to denote the exchange value of money in grain. Another noteworthy form of a word is *ēri* used in place of *āga*, "in all : together". In this sense the word is rarely used though its significance is quite clear in the common expression *ēri-kuraittu*, "adding together or subtracting". *Nāru* of *nāru-amidu* occurring in line 64 along with the items betel leaves (*veṇṇilai*) and areca-nuts (*aḍaiikkāy*) is another unusual word. It may be considered a *disaichchol* ("a dialectical word") in Tamil taken from Malayalam where it is still used in the sense of 'slaked lime'. A variant of this word is *nīru* which means "powder, ash" (cf. *nīru-pūttā-neruppu*, "fire covered over with ash"). *Nārāyam* is still another word of etymological interest. It is used in this and many other Tamil epigraphs in the sense of 'a grain measure,' generally made of iron and is akin to Tamil *nārāsam*¹ denoting an iron nail, used for stringing together leaves of palm leaf manuscripts, an iron style or an arrow made entirely of iron (cf. Sanskrit *Nārācha*=an arrow). Another similar word is *nārāṅgi*, generally spelt as *nārāṅgi*=the iron bolt'. The restriction of the terms *nārāsam* and *nārāṅgi* in Tamil to articles made of iron and a subsidiary use of *nārāsam* in the sense of 'molten lead or iron' indicate that all these words must have a common old Tamil stem *nārā* meaning "iron" or "metal". The commentary on *nārācha* in the Sanskrit lexicon *Amara* explains it as 'lōhamayō bāṇah' (=an iron arrow). Childers explains *nārācha* as "an iron weapon of some sort, an arrow or light javelin". Apparently we have here one of the loan-words for which Sanskrit is indebted to the parent Dravidian tongue. The words *nīḍi* and *nīḍi* used in this inscription are analogous to the forms *nīḍam*, *nīḍam* and *nīḍam* in other inscriptions, all of which seem to be derived from Sanskrit *nīḍam*. Still another rare word, also occurring in the Ambāsamudram epigraph of Varaguṇa-Mahārāja, is *tunī* of which the meaning can be ascertained from certain references in the Tamil *Saṅgam* works. In line 266 of *Perambānāruppāḍi* occurs the phrase *punṇai tuniṭtu*, which has been rendered by the commentator as "cutting the branch of the *punṇai* (tree)". It also occurs in l. 72 of *Mullaippāṭi* in the same sense. As such, the phrase *kari tunikkavum porikkavum* (l. 26) may be taken to mean "vegetable to be cut into pieces and fried".

The object of the inscription is thus stated : in order to meet the annual requirements of the temple of Subrahmanya-Bhaṭāra, which was the deity in the central shrine (*Tirumūlattāsam*) at Tiruchchendūr, Varaguṇa-Mahārāja made a grant of 1,100 *kāṣu* and entrusted the amount to three of his officers, viz. Iruppaikkūḍi-kīlavan, Sāttamperumān and Aḷarrūnāṭṭukkōn, with the stipulation that the money should be lent out and with the interest accruing therefrom, the annual requirements of the temple should be met, the capital always remaining intact.

The items of expenditure included rice for offerings to the god and for *bali*; plantains, sugar, vegetables (the last according to this inscription were sold by weight), *kūyam* for seasoning articles; green gram required for the special kind of preparation called *kummāyam* and for *pori*; betel leaves and areca-nuts (which were priced), and lime (not priced); ghee required for perpetual lamps, chain of lights, for seasoning curries and for the anointment of the god; milk, curd and the water of the tender coconut including tender kernel which were necessary for the bathing of the god; honey, unguent and barks of certain trees and crude camphor used as incense; turmeric, *pachchai-karpūram* and sandal required for the smearing of the deity; cloth required for covering images and for use in the kitchen (as towels); and flowers, etc. The preparation called *kummāyam*, for which the chief requirement is stated to be green pulse, is not in present use. On the other hand, the word is now used to denote a mixture of slaked lime and sand.

¹ In some of the Tamil inscriptions, this word seems also to be employed to denote "a channel" or "lane". Cf. *Subrahmanya-nārāṣaṭiṅ vaḍakkum* (No. 155 of the *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. III, p. 32c).

Even in literature it occurs but rarely. The early Tamil commentator Nachchinārkkīyār annotating text-line 195 of *Perumbāṇāruppaḍai* states that the preparation called *puḷukku* is "what is boiled well" and notes "that it may also mean *kummāyam*". From this statement of the commentator as well as from the requirement of *kummāyam* detailed in this and other inscriptions, it may be inferred that the preparation consisted of well-boiled green pulse, perhaps with the addition of a little sugar. At present it is called *puḷukku* in Malabar.

On special occasions, which are said to be three, viz. ¹*Mārgaḷi-Tiruvādirai*, *Māsi-Makham* and *Vaiyāsi-Viśākham*, some of the items of expenditure have to be doubled.

The inscription is highly important for determining the relative values of money, weights and measures prevalent in South India and furnishes excellent data for reconstructing the economic conditions of the period. The amount of 1,400 *kāṣu* given by the king to the temple at Tiruchchendūr was divided into 16 unequal portions and invested with different bodies. The attached table at the end of this paper shows how the capital was to be distributed, what amount of interest had to be paid in paddy accrued annually from each investment at the rate of 2 *kalam* per year and what expenses were to be met from the interest thus realised. The recipients of the amounts were (1) the *ūrār* of Ālambattam included in Gaṅgamaṅgalam and the *nagarattār* of Mānavirapattinam, both situated in Vaḷudi-vaḷanāḍu; (2) the *sabhā* of Kaṭṭāraimaṅgalam in Śrīvallabha-vaḷanāḍu; (3) the *sabhās* of Tiṇṇi included in Paraśumaṅgalam, Māramaṅgalam and Teṇṇakku... llur, all situated in Parāntaka-vaḷanāḍu; (4) as well as the *sabhās* of Avanipaśēkhramaṅgalam, in Amitagaṇa-vaḷanāḍu and Puliyidai, Kīraṇūr, Śaḍaṅgavikūricchi and Kaḍuṅgōmaṅgalam, all situated in Kuḍanāḍu. These bodies were required to pay annually interest in grain calculated at 2 *kalam* for one *kāṣu* per year to be brought and measured in the premises of the temple. Further, it will be observed that among the bodies of men with whom the amounts were invested there were the *nagarattār*, the *ūrār* and the *sabhaiyār*. "Nagarattār" is used only in the case of a single place, whose name ended with the termination *pattinam*; it is not unlikely that it represents a commercial guild in a town, as distinguished from "ūrār" and "sabhā" which must be taken to be non-Brahmanical and Brahmanical assemblies in villages entrusted with certain powers in the administration of the country. In cases of default it was enjoined that a fine, which varied according to the amounts lent out, together with double the quantity of default should be realised (apparently by the bodies) and paid to the temple. The prohibitive rates of fine amounting in some cases to nearly 20 per cent of the capital plus the payment of double the quantity of paddy agreed upon to be given must have been intended to safeguard the regular performance of the various functions in the temple. It is expressly stated that the interest in grain should be paid in heaped measures according to a standard metal measure specially used for this purpose. This is the sense that can be given to the phrase *poli nīrai-madi-nārāyam*. Apparently the ordinary measures differed widely from these special measures; thus while a *kuṟuṇi* of interest paddy contained 6 *nāli* and a *kalam* 15 *kuṟuṇi*, the ordinary *kuṟuṇi* measure had the capacity of 8 *nāli* and a *kalam* of 12 *kuṟuṇi*. A *kalam* of interest paddy fell short of the ordinary *kalam* by 6 *nāli*. That the measure (*kāl*) used for measuring interest paddy had the capacity of 6 *nāli* is made clear by another inscription which has the phrase *paḷisai kuḍuppadāna aru-nāli-kkālāl*.²

Throughout the inscription, the rate of interest is stated to be two *kalam* of paddy per year per *kāṣu*. Since it is also stated that the purchasing power of a *kāṣu* was 10 *kalam* of paddy, the annual interest on money lent amounted to as much as 20 per cent which seems to indicate the

¹ [These festivities occur on or about the full-moon days of the months of Mārgaśīrṣa, Māgha and Vaiśākha respectively, when the moon would be in conjunction with the constellations of Ārdra, Maghā and Viśākhā respectively.—Ed.]

² No. 185 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1895 published in *S. I. I.*, Vol. V.

scarcity of gold bullion or coin at the time of the record. It is worth noting that our inscription states that 3 measures of paddy yielded one measure of rice, while in other inscriptions it is stated that 5 measures of paddy gave 2 measures of rice. As the actual yield of rice from paddy is nearly a half, it must be considered that ample provision had been made in these epigraphs for meeting incidental charges such as wages for the different operations like husking, pounding, etc. The prices of some of the commodities are worthy of note. One *kāṣu* could fetch the following quantities of the various articles, viz. 10 *kalam* of paddy, 1,000 plantains, 7 *tulām* and 65 *palam* of sugar, 20 *tulām* of vegetables, 60 *nāli* of *kāyam*, 1,220 *parṇu* of betel leaves, 10,100 areca-nuts, 150 *nāli* of flowers, 15 *kaḷañju* of *karpūram* or 112 *nāli* and 1 *uri* of turmeric.¹

Ancient Tamil works of the *Saṅgam* period mention *kāṣu*, *kāṇam* and *poṇ* among the coins current in South India; but it has nowhere been stated what fraction of a *kāṣu* was represented by a *poṇ* or *kāṇam*. Nachchinārkkiniyār in his commentary on *Jivakachintāmaṇi* states, however, that *kāṇam* means a *poṇ-kāṣu*. The latter word might mean either the coin called *poṇ* or a gold *kāṣu*. As such, it is of interest to observe from this inscription that both *kāṇam* and *poṇ* were gold coins equal in value, each being one-tenth of a *kāṣu*. This ratio between a *poṇ* and a *kāṣu* is obtained from item 8, where we find that 94 *kāṣu* and 5 *poṇ* yielded an interest of 189 *kalam* at the rate of two *kalam* per *kāṣu*. Now applying this value of a *poṇ* in item 1, we find that a *kalam* consisted of 15 *kuṟuṇi*; and from item 2 we obtain that a *kuṟuṇi* contained 6 *nāli*, and that a *nāli* was equal to 2 *uri*. Item 7 states that for meeting the daily requirements of ten *nāli* of flowers, which were sold at 150 *nāli* of flowers for one *kāṣu*, or its equivalent 10 *kalam* of paddy, 240 *kalam* of paddy were required annually, from which we gather that a year was treated as consisting of 360 days for purposes of calculation. From the expenditure detailed in items 4 and 8, it is clear that 1 *uri* was equal to 2 *uḷakku* and that 1 *uḷakku* was made up of 2 *ālākku*. Item 9 makes a provision of 50 *kalam* of paddy for meeting the annual expenses of (1) rice required for *bali*-offerings at 2 *nāli* per day, (2) 4 *aṇai* of cloth at 2½ *aṇai* per *kāṣu* and (3) 8 *aṇai* of cloth at 2 *aṇai* per *kāṣu*. For (1), 24 *kalam* of paddy were required, and for (2) and (3), 26 *kāṇam* were necessary and this was met from the balance of 26 *kalam* of paddy the money equivalent of which was 26/10 *kāṣu* (10 *kalam* being the value of 1 *kāṣu*). Since 26/10 *kāṣu* = 26 *kāṇam*, 1 *kāṣu* was equal to 10 *kāṇam*. From items 14 and 15 we learn that 1 *tulām* was equivalent to 100 *palam* and that 1 *kaḷañju* equalled 10 *kāṇam* by weight. From this inscription we thus obtain the following tables of money, weights, measures, etc. :—

Money.

10 *poṇ* or 10 *kāṇam* = 1 *kāṣu*.

Weight.

10 *kāṇam* = 1 *kaḷañju*.
100 *palam* = 1 *tulām*.

Measure.

10 *śeviḍu* or 2 *ālākku* = 1 *uḷakku*.
2 *uḷakku* = 1 *uri*.
2 *uri* = 1 *nāli*.
6 *nāli* = 1 *kuṟuṇi*.
15 *kuṟuṇi* = 1 *kalam*.

Number.

4 *aḍukku* = 1 *parṇu*.

¹ See lines 39 f., 59 f., 110 f., 122 and 197 of the Text given below.

The inscription belongs to the reign of the Pāṇḍya king Varaguṇa-Mahārāja (II). The date portion occurring in the second line of the record is lost, but so much of it is seen that the year opposite is found to be thirteen. In the seventh line, the day of the regnal year of the king is given as 5001 in words which yields 13 years of 365 days and 256 days. We may take the days as referring to "the year opposite" and not to the entire regnal year. Examples of similar dating are found in a few inscriptions. No. 502 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1916 is dated in the 13th year and 3090th day as well as in the 8th year opposite to the 13th. Similarly also No. 534 of the same collection is dated in the 4th year and 1745th day as well as in the 4th year opposite to the 4th. Again in No. 509, the year given at the commencement of the record is "13th year and 1445th day" while in the body the same is indicated by "3rd year opposite to the 13th". These instances are sufficient to make it clear that the days given refer only to the number of years and days passed after the first mentioned year and not to the entire regnal year.

The inscription is silent regarding the ancestry of the king, as stone records in the Tamil country generally are. There is nothing in the name of the king to enable us to say to which of the two Pāṇḍya sovereigns, who bore the name Varaguṇa, this record must be ascribed. The Vaṭṭeḷuttu script employed in the record shows that it must belong to the ninth century A.D. and since both the Varaguṇas lived in this century and were separated only by a single reign, palaeographical indications are not of much value. There are, however, internal indications to prove that the record belongs to Varaguṇa II.

Among the places mentioned in the inscription and the divisions to which they belonged, occur Vaḷudi-vaḷanāḍu, Kaḍuṅgōmaṅgalam, Māramaṅgalam, Parāntaka-vaḷanāḍu, Varaguṇa-maṅgalam, and Śrīvallabha-vaḷanāḍu which at once indicate that they must have been called after the Pāṇḍya kings Palyāga-śālai-Mudukuḍumi-Peru-Vaḷudi,¹ Kaḍuṅgōn, Māravarman (of which name there were more kings than one), Parāntaka (also called Neḍuṇḍajaiyaṇ and Śrivarā), Varaguṇa-Mahārāja (I) and Śrīvallabha respectively, all of these being reputed names in the genealogy of the Pāṇḍya kings furnished by copper-plates. The inscription also mentions a village Avanipaśēkharamaṅgalam which must have been called after the name or title of a king and as I have shown in the *Annual Report on S. I. Epigraphy* for 1929-30 (p. 72), this Avanipaśēkhara is identical with Śrīvallabha, the son and successor of Varaguṇa-Mahārāja I. The mention of the names Śrīvallabha-vaḷanāḍu and Avanipaśēkhara-maṅgalam precludes the possibility of the inscription being one of Varaguṇa I. We can, therefore, definitely assign the present inscription to the reign of Varaguṇa II. The Aivarmalai rock inscription places this king's accession in A.D. 862. The date of this record must be a little later than A.D. 874, that being the equivalent of the 13th year of his reign.

A word may now be said about Iruppaikkūḍi-kiḷavaṇ, one of the trusted servants of king Varaguṇa-Mārāya through whom the gift amount of 1,400 (gold) *kāṣu* was sent. His proper name appears to be Eṭṭi Śāttan from a stone epigraph recently secured from Erukkaṅḍi (No. 334 of 1929-30). He is stated to have been honoured with the title of Iruppaikkūḍi-kiḷavaṇ by king Śrīvallabha. The inscription gives a long and interesting account about him, mentioning several acts of charity including the construction, repair and improvement of several palaces, temples, tanks, embankments, water-channels, sluices, etc. It is clear that he must have been a great and energetic administrator and the programme of his charities and public works testify alike to his catholicity and tolerance, as to his solicitude for the rural population in an arid tract.

We know of no other Vaḷudi in inscriptions except this king. It is, however, possible that there was more than one king of this name, e.g., Ugra-Peru-vaḷudi.

The present inscription resembles in many respects the Ambāsamudram¹ record of Varaguna-Mahārāja. Both grants were made with the express object of defraying all the expenses that have to be incurred from day to day and year to year in connection with the religious services in a temple and go into minute details about these. There is a striking similarity in the phraseology of the two. Both state that the principal should remain undiminished and that only the interest should be utilised for meeting the expenses. The annual rate of interest in both cases is identical, viz. two *kalam* of paddy for one *kāṣu*. From the Ambāsamudram inscription, just as in the Tiruchchendūr epigraph, it can be gathered that a *kalam* of interest paddy consisted of 90 *nāli* and a *kuṟuṇi* was equivalent to 6 *nāli*. But the prices of articles varied considerably during the interval between the two grants, some of which have been noted below for easy reference. It is noteworthy that whereas the prices of certain commodities obtaining at the time of the Ambāsamudram inscription had fallen by a third at the time of the Tiruchchendūr record, in certain others (e.g. vegetables) there was a sharp rise of 350 per cent. And since it cannot be said that these fluctuations were due to difference of locality (the two localities not being far removed from each other) the inference is inevitable that the difference is to be attributed to the difference in time between the two records which cannot be less than 40 years.

Prices of articles (A=Ambāsamudram. T=Tiruchchendūr).

| | | |
|----|--|---|
| 1. | 1 <i>nāli</i> of paddy for 2 plantain fruits | A |
| | 1,000 plantains for 10 <i>kalam</i> | T |
| 2. | 30 <i>nāli</i> of paddy for 1 <i>nāli</i> of ghee | A |
| | 20 Ditto | T |
| 3. | 3 <i>nāli</i> of paddy for 1 <i>nāli</i> of curd | A |
| | 2 Ditto | T |
| 4. | 1 <i>palam</i> of sugar was obtained for 1 <i>nāli</i> and 1 <i>uri</i> of paddy | A |
| | 7 <i>tulām</i> and 65 <i>palam</i> for 10 <i>kalam</i> | T |
| 5. | 10 <i>palam</i> of vegetables cost 1 <i>nāli</i> of paddy | A |
| | 20 <i>tulām</i> of vegetables cost 10 <i>kalam</i> of paddy | T |
| 6. | 6 <i>nāli</i> of paddy for 1 <i>uḷakku</i> of <i>kāyam</i> | A |
| | 1 <i>kāṣu</i> (10 <i>kalam</i>) fetched 60 <i>nāli</i> of <i>kāyam</i> | T |

We may now note a few facts concerning the geographical terms that occur in the inscription. At the outset it may be said that all the villages and divisions mentioned are situated in the Tinnevely District. Tiruchchendūr is 18 miles east-south-east of Śrīvaikunṭham on the sea.² Koṟkai and Māramaṅgalaṁ are in the Śrīvaikunṭham taluk and Nallūr and Kaṭṭāraimaṅgalaṁ are in the Tiruchchendūr taluk. Of these, Koṟkai was an important place in the Pāṇḍya kingdom noted for its pearl fishery. Both the author of the *Periplus*³ and Ptolemy⁴ mention it, the former under the name of Kolchi or Korkoy. Mr. R. Sewell states⁵ that Māramaṅgalaṁ is the

¹ Above, Vol. IX, p. 90.

² Sewell's *List of Antiquities*, Vol. I, p. 313.

³ Schoff's edition, pp. 46 and 237-8.

⁴ Majumdar: *McCrimble's Ancient India of Ptolemy*, pp. 57-8, 78.

⁵ *Ibid*, p. 312. No. 474 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1916 agrees with this inscription in stating that Korkai was in Kuḍa-nāḍu. From an inscription at Akkāśālai (No. 165 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1903) we learn that it formed part of Koṟkai and had in it Akkāśālai-Isvaramuḍaiyār. It is further stated that Koṟkai was surnamed Madhurāntakanallūr and that it was in Kuḍa-nāḍu, a sub-division of Uṭṭa maśōḷa-vaḷanāḍu which was a district of Rājaraṅga-Pāṇḍināḍu.

site of ancient Korkai and that Akkāśālai is a place not far from it. From the inscriptions of the former place it is seen that it was situated in Parāntaka-vaṇaṇḍu.¹ As such, it must be identical with the place mentioned in our inscription as being located in the same division. The division Parāntaka-vaṇaṇḍu itself must have been called after Māraṇḍaiyaṇ *alias* Neḍuṇḍaiyaṇ Parāntaka (circa A.D. 770). It is a point worthy of note that while Korkai belonged to the sub-division Kuḍa-nāḍu, Māramaṅgalam, a place quite in the vicinity of it, belonged to a different sub-division. Both Māranēri and Māramaṅgalam in the Tinnevely District were called in ancient times Māramaṅgalam. While the former was situated in Tiruvaḷudi-vaṇaṇḍu, the latter was in Parāntaka-vaṇaṇḍu.² Since Māramaṅgalam of our record is stated to have been a place in Parāntaka-vaṇaṇḍu, we have to identify it with the one near Korkai, and not with Māranēri. Vaḷudai-vaṇaṇḍu in which were situated Varaguṇamaṅgalam, Iraṇavālimāṅgalam, Tiyaṁbakamaṅgalam, Gaṅgamaṅgalam and Mānavīrapaṭṭinam, was also called Tiruvaḷudi-vaṇaṇḍu or Vaḷudi-vaṇaṇḍu or Vaḷudi-nāḍu and had in it Ālvār-Tirunagari, the birthplace of the Vaishṇava saint Nammālvār, and Śrīvaikuṇṭham.³ Varaguṇamaṅgalam is one of the 18 sacred places of the Vaishṇavas in the Pāṇḍya country.⁴ It is celebrated in the hymn of Nammālvār⁵ and is known from his days as Varaguṇamaṅgai,⁶ that being a shortened form of Varaguṇamaṅgalam. It is 18 miles north-east of Tinnevely. We have already shown that this place must have been called after Varaguṇa I. Another place mentioned in the inscription is Kīraṇḍūr. It was the headquarters of a division in later times.⁷ The sub-division Amitaṅga-vaṇaṇḍu occurs in another inscription of Tiruchchendūr⁸ under the name Amudaguṇa-vaṇaṇḍu.

¹ Nos. 157 to 161 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1903. These inscriptions state that Māramaṅgalam was called Dēvendraṇḍaḥḥa-chaturvēdimangalam and that it was a *brahmadvēya* in Parāntaka-vaṇaṇḍu, a sub-division of Muḍikōṇḍaśōḷa-vaṇaṇḍu which was a district of Rājarāja-Pāṇḍināḍu.

² See No. 467 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1909, and Nos. 483 and 487 of the same collection for 1916.

³ Nos. 174 of 1895 and 480 of 1909.

⁴ The 18 places are :—(1) Tirumālirūṇḍōḷai, *i.e.* Alagarmalai, 12 miles north-east of Madura; (2) Tirukkoṭṭiyūr, 27 miles north-east of Mānā-Madura; (3) Tirumayyam, 45 miles to the south of Trichinopoly in the Pudukkottai State; (4) T. uppullāṇi, 6 miles to the south of Ramnad; (5) Tiruttankal, 13 miles west of Śārtūr; (6) Tirukkūdal, half a mile east of Madura; (7) Śrīvilliputtūr, 22 miles west of Sārtūr; (8) Tirumōgūr, 7 miles north-east of Madura; (9) Tirukkuruḍūr, *i.e.* Ālvār-Tirunagari, 19 miles east of Tinnevely; (10) Tulaivilmaṅgalam, *i.e.* Irattaittiruppati, 25 miles north of Tinnevely; (11) Śrīvaramaṅgai, *i.e.* Vānamāmalai, 18 miles south of Tinnevely; (12) Tiruppuḷingudi, 7 miles east of Tinnevely; (13) Tiruppērai, 24 miles east of Tinnevely; (14) Śrīvaikuṇṭham, 16 miles east of Tinnevely; (15) Varaguṇamaṅgai, 18 miles north-east of Tinnevely; (16) Tirukkuḷandai, *i.e.* Peruṅguḷam, 26 miles north-east of Tinnevely; (17) Tirukkuruṅguḍi, 26 miles south of Tinnevely; and (18) Tirukkōḷūr, 26 miles east of Tinnevely.

⁵ This is the 4th stanza of the second ten of the 9th hundred commencing with the words *Puḷingudi-kki-dandu Varaguṇamaṅgai-ṇḍu Vāikundam nāṅgu*, etc. The date of birth of Nammālvār as calculated by the late L. D. Swamikannu Pillai is 4th May, A.D. 798, corresponding to Pramāthi, Vāigāsi, śu. 15, Viśākhā, Friday (See his *Indian Ephemeris*). He must thus have been a contemporary of Varaguṇa I, after whom the place was named.

⁶ In the case of Varaguṇamaṅgai and Śrīvaramaṅgai (Nos. 15 and 11 of the above list) it is obviously out of place to take *maṅgai* as a feminine suffix like *vall* and to derive them from deities bearing the names Varaguṇa and Śrīvara. They are undoubtedly named after the Pāṇḍya kings Varaguṇa and Śrīvara.

⁷ No. 470 of the same collection for the year 1916.

⁸ No. 156 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1903.

TEXT.

First slab ; First face.

- 1 Śrī Kō Varaguṇa-Mārāyarku yāṇḍu
- 2 daṇ-edir paḍiṇ-mūṇṇu ivv-āṇḍu Tiru-
- 3 Suppiramaṇ(ṇ)iya-Baṭārar-upāsaivā-
- 4 . iṇa Tirumūlattāṇattu=ppat[ā]rarkku mudal-keḍāmai=ppoliūtṭ¹ ā-
- 5 ga koṇḍu śeluttuvad-āga uḍaiyār-aḍiyār-āiṇa² Varaguṇa-Mārāyar pō-
- 6 ttara Iruppaikkudī-kilavaṇum Śāttamperumaṇum Alarṇū[r*]-[nā]-
- 7 ṭṭu-kkōṇum aiyāiratt³-oṇṇā-nālār=koṇḍu-vanda niṇai-kuṇaiyā-ppa-
- 8 laṇ-kāsu āirattu⁴-nā-nūru [i*] i-kkāṣir=Kuḍa-nāṭṭu=kKoṇkai-ūrār kaiiṇ⁵
- 9 mudal-keḍāmai=ppoliūtṭu=kkoṇḍu śeluttuvad-āga vaitta niṇai-
- 10 kuṇaiyā=ppalaṇ-kāsu tonṇūrr-ā[ru] poṇṇ-eṭṭu [i*] i-kkāśāl oru-kā-
- 11 ūkku āṇḍuvarai poli niṇai-madi-nārāyattāl iru-kala-nell-āga va-
- 12 nda nellu nūṇṇu-ttonṇūṇṇu-mukkalanēy oṇbadiṇ kuruṇi [i*] i-n-
- 13 nellāl niyadippaḍi iva[r*]gaḷ koṇḍu-vandu śelutta-kkaḍavaṇa [i*] nāli
- 14 ariśikku mu-nnāli nell-āga=ttiruv-amidiṇukku ariś[i*] senneṇ-ṇiṭ-
- 15 ṭal oru-pōḍaikkku nā-pāliy-āga nāṇḍu pōḍaikkku ariśi senneṇ-ṇiṭṭa-
- 16 l paḍiṇ-aṇu-nāli [i*] Mārgali-tTiruvādiraiu⁶=Māsi-Makamum Vaiyyāsi-
- 17 Viyākamum paḍi iratṭi śeluttuvadu [i*] i-ppariśu śeluttādu ku-
- 18 ttukkārpaḍil i-ttēvarkkēy irubatt-aiṇḍu kāsū daṇḍamum pa-
- 19 ṭṭu=chcheluttādu viṭṭa mudal=irattiyuṇ=kuḍuppadu [i*] i-nnāṭṭu Na[l]-
- 20 lūr-ūrār kaii⁷ mēṇpaḍi pōliūtṭ-āga vaitta niṇai-kuṇaiyā=ppala-
- 21 ṇ-kāsu nūṇṇu-aṇubatt-eṭṭum poṇ[ṇ-āṇṇēy]-kāl [i*] i-kkāśāl=āṇḍuvarai po[li]-
- 22 nellu niṇai-madi-nārāyattāl mu-nnūṇṇu-muppatt-eḷu-kalanēy mu-[kku]-
- 23 ruṇi nā-pāli uri [i*] i-nnellāl niḡadippaḍi tiruv-amidiṇukku iva[r*][ga]-
- 24 l koṇḍu-vandu śelutta-kkaḍavaṇa nāli neyy-amidiṇukku irupadi-
- 25 [ṇā]li nell-āga=ttiruv-amidu nivēdikka=ppaśuviṇ=ṇaṇu-ney oru-
- 26 pōḍaikkku uḷakk-āgavum [i*] kaṇi tumikkavum porikkavum oru-pōḍaikkku ā-
- 27 ḷakk-āgavum [i*] nāṇḍu-pōḍaikkku neyv-amidu nāli uri [i*] nāli-ttair⁸ -a
- 28 miduṇukku iru-nāli nell-āga=ttiruv-amidu nivēdikka=ttair⁸-amidu
- 29 oru-pōḍaikkku nāliy-āgavum kīṭṭukku=ttair⁸-amidu oru-pōḍaikkku u-
- 30 ri-y-āgavum nāṇḍu-pōḍaikkku=ppaśuviṇ=ṇōy-tair⁸ aṇu-nāli [i*] oru-kāsu-
- 31 kku niṇai-madi-nārāyattār=paḍiṇ-kala-nell-aḡam-āga [i*] āiram⁹
- 32 vālai-ppaḷattiṇukku oru-kās-āgavum [i*] eḷu-tulātt-aṇubait-aimba-
- 33 la-chchaṇkaraikkku oru-kās-āgavum [i*] irupadiṇ-tulām kaṇi-amidiṇukku
- 34 oru-kās-āgavum [i*] aṇupadi-nāli kāyattiṇukku oru-kās-āgavum
- 35 aḡam-āga [i*] =ttiruv-amidu nivēdikka vālai-ppaḷa-amidu o-
- 36 ru-pōḍaikkku nāṇḍu-āga nāṇḍu-pōḍaikkku=kkaru-vālai-ppaḷa-amidu pa-
- 37 diṇ-aṇu [i*] śaṇkarai-amidu oru-pōḍaikkku oru-palam-āga nāṇḍu-pōḍai-
- 38 kku=chchaṇkarai-amidu nār-palam [i*] kaṇi-amidu kāy-kkaṇi oṇṇu pu-
- 39 liṇ-gaṇi oṇṇu puḷukku-kkaṇi oṇṇu pori-kkaṇi oṇṇu ēṇṇi¹⁰=
- 40 kkaṇi-amidu nāṇḍuṇukku oru-pōḍaikkku [p]aḷiṇ-[palam-ā]ga¹¹ nāṇ-

¹ Read *poliyūtṭ*.

² Read *āyīṇa*.

³ Read *aiy-āyiratt*.

⁴ Read *āyirattu*.

⁵ Read *kaiyīṇ*.

⁶ Read *raiyum*.

⁷ Read *kaiyīl*.

⁸ Read *tayir*.

⁹ Read *āyiram*.

¹⁰ After *ēṇṇi*, the letters *kka* seem to have been engraved and erased.

¹¹ The phrase *paḷiṇ-palam-āga* is a correction from *kkaṇiy-amidu*.

41 gu-pōdaikku=kkarī-amidu nārpadiṇ-palam [*] kāyam mīla[g-amidu]
42 mañja[-]amidu śiraka-amidu śiru-kaḍuḡ-amidu kottamba[ri- amidu]
43 ērri=kkāyam aindu [*] ivai oru-pōdaikku mu-checheviṭṭ-āga nā[ngu-pō]-
44 daikku=kkāyam ulakkē iru-śevittu¹ [*] Mār[ga]li-tTiruvādiraiu² Māsi-Maka-
45 mum Vaiyyāsi-Viyākamum pādi iratti śeluttuvadu [*] i-p[pa]-
46 riśu śeluttādu kuttukkārpa[di] i-ttēvarkkēy aimbaḍu
47 kāśu daṇḍamum paṭṭu=cheheluttādu viṭṭa mudal-irattiūn³=ku-
48 ḍuppadu [[*] i-nnāṭṭu=chChāliyattu-ūrār kaiiḡ⁴ mērpādi
49 poliūṭṭ-āga⁵ vaiṭṭa nīrai-kurāiyā-p[pa]lān-kāśu irubattu-nā-
50 ngu poṇ aindēy-mukkāl [*] i-kkāsāl oru-kāśukku āṇḍuva-
51 rai poli nīrai-madi-nārāyattāl iru-kala-nell-āga vanda nellu

First slab ; Second face.

52 nārpatt-onbadiṇ-kalanēy iru-kuṇṇi nāli
53 uri [*] i-nnellāl niyadippaḍi [ti]ruv-amidiṇukku iva[r*]ga-
54 lē koṇḍu-vandu śelutta-kkaḍavaṇa [*] nāli=pparuppukku nā-
55 li-ulakku=ppayaṇ-āgavum nāli=ppayaṇukku iru-nāli nell-āga-
56 vum kummāyattiṇukku=ppayaṇru-pparuppu oru-pōdaikku u-
57 ri-y-āga nāngu-pōdaikku=chchiru-payaṇru-pparuppu iru-nāli [*]
58 oru-kāśukku nīrai-madi-nārāyattāl=padīṇ-kala-nell-aḡgam-ā-
59 ga [*] āiratt⁶ -iru-nūrr-irupadu paṇṇu veṇṇilaikku oru-kās-ā-
60 gavum [*] pa[di]pāiratt⁶ -oru-nūr-aḍaikkāy-amidiṇukku oru-kās-āgavu-
61 m aḡgam-āga [*] ilai-amidu oru-pōdaikku mūv-aḷukk-āga nāṇ-
62 gu-pōdaikku veḷḷilai-amidu mūṇṇu paṇṇu aḍaikkāy-a[ni]-
63 du oru-pōdaikku=ppadiṇāḡ-āga nāngu-pōdaikku aḍaikkāy-
64 amidu aimbatt-āru [*] nūrr-amidu vēṇḍuvad-iḍuvadu [*] Mā-
65 rge(a)li-tTiruvādiraiu² Māsi-Makamum Vaiyyāsi-Viyākamu-
66 m pādi iratti śeluttuvadu [*] i-ppariśu śelu-
67 ttādu kuttukkār[pa]di i-ttēva[r*]kkēy aindu kāśu
68 daṇḍamu[m] paṭṭu=cheheluttādu viṭṭa mudal-iratti-
69 un⁷=kuḍu)p[pa]du [[*] Vaḷudi-vaḷanāṭṭu=ppiramadēyam
70 Varaguṇamaṅgalattu=chchavaiyāk(r)-kaiiṇ⁴ mērpādi po-
71 liūṭṭ-āga⁵ vaiṭṭa nīrai-kurāiyā=ppaḷān-kāśu nūrr-oru-
72 padu [*] i-kkāsāl oru-kāśukku āṇḍuvapai poli nīrai-ma-
73 di-nārāyattāl [iru-kala] nell-āga vanda nellu iru-nū-
74 rr-irubadiṇ-kalam [*] i-nnellāl niyadippaḍi iva[r*]-
75 gaḷ koṇḍu-vandu śelutta-kkaḍavaṇa [*] nāli-neykku iru-
76 paḍi-pāli nell-āga=ttiru-nandā-viḷakku oḡṇṇukku [ni]-
77 ya[di] ney uriy-āga=ttiru-nand[ā*]-viḷakku aindiṇukku=ppa-
78 [śu]viṇ-naru-ney niyadi iru-nāli uri [*] andiyampō[du]
79 [ti]ruv-amidu śeygiṇṇu dīpa-mā[lai] kaṭṭa-[p]paśuvip=paṇu-ne-
80 y niyadi ulakku [*] i-[ppa]riśu śeluttādu kuttukkārpa[di]-
81 l i-ttē[va]rk[kē]y panniraṇḍ-arai-kkāśu daṇḍamum paṭṭu=chehelu-
82 tt[ā]du viṭṭa mudal-irattiūn³=kuḍuppadu [[*] i-nnāṭ[ṭu]-

¹ Read *śevittu*.

² Read *kaiyṇ*.

³ Read *ṇuṇ*.

⁴ Read *raiṇum*.

⁵ Read *poliyūṭṭ-āga*.

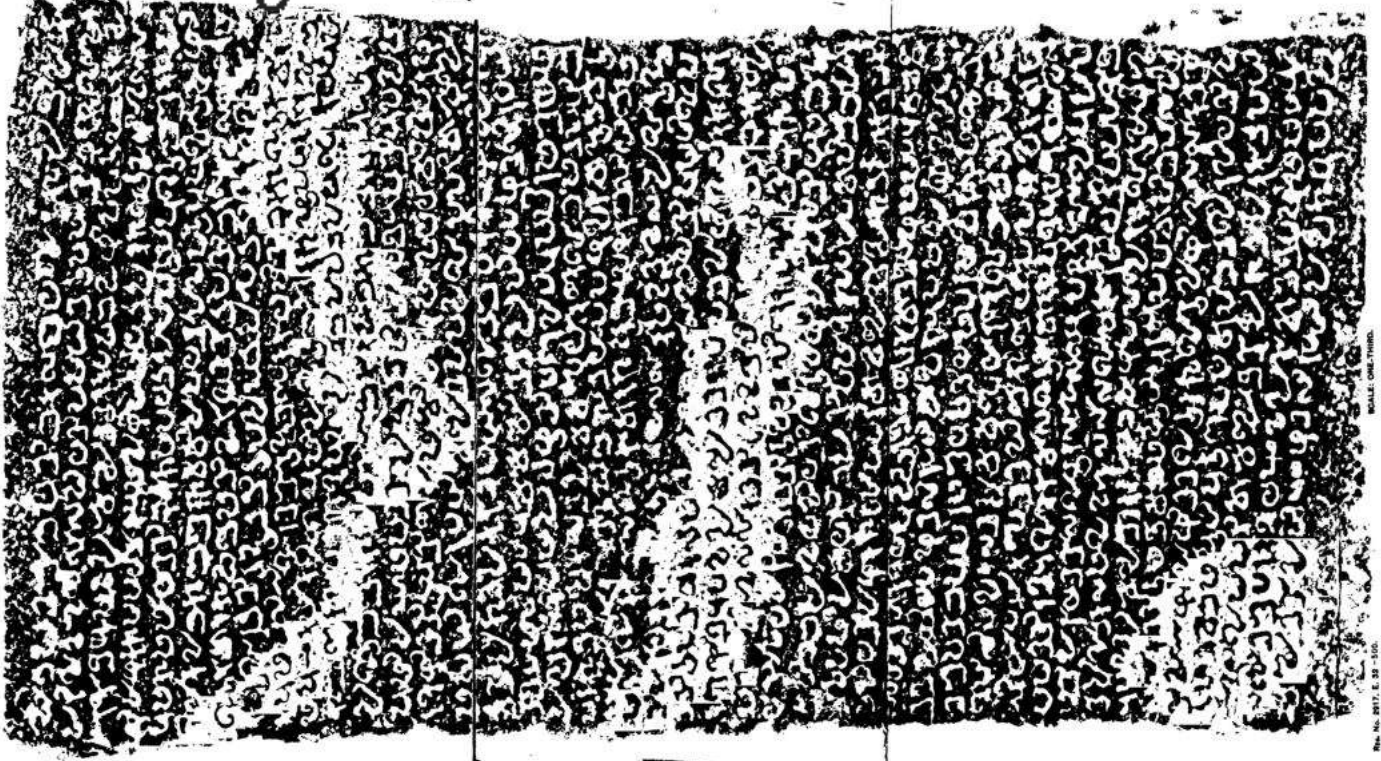
⁶ Read *liyūṭṭāga*.

⁷ Read *ṇuṇ*.

⁸ Read *āyiratt*.

⁹ Read *ṭṭiyuṇ*.

First slab: Second piece.



SCALE: ONE INCH

Ref. No. 1977. 1. 13-1500

TIRUCHCHESUR INSCRIPTION OF VARAGUNAMAHARAJA (II).
First slab: First piece.



K. S. DEDRY.
No. 2017. E. 32-100.

SCALE: THREE FEET.

SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.

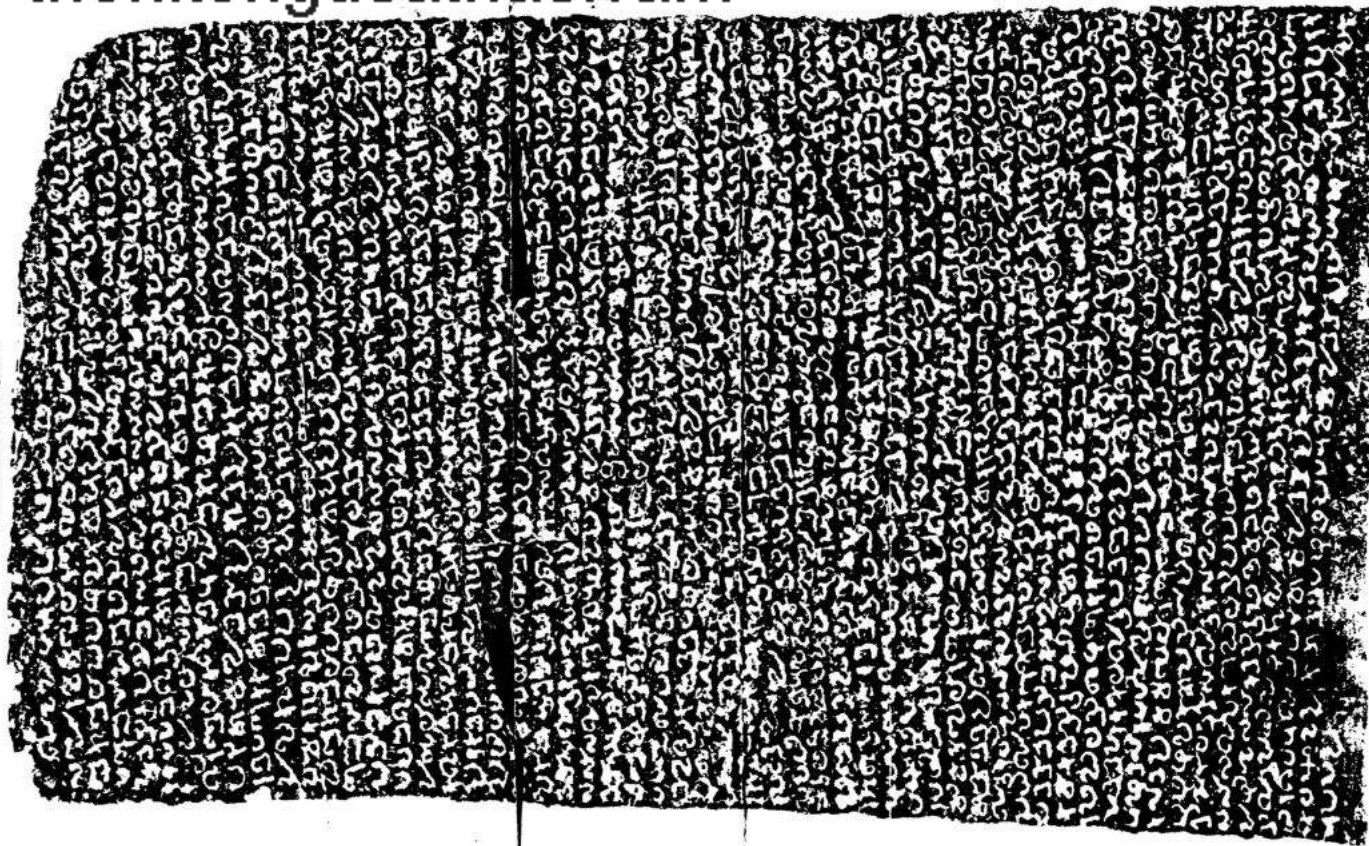
THIRUCHENDUR INSCRIPTION OF VARAGUNAHARAJA (II).
SECOND SLAB: First piece.



SCALE: THREE-FOURTHS.

K. N. DICKHIT.
Rev. No. 2017, E. 37. 500.

SECOND SLAB: Second piece.



SCALE: THREE-ELEVENTH.

REV. NO. 2017, E. 33-100.

83 ttēvadāṇa-ppiramadēyam Tiyaṁbakamaṅgalam Ira-
84 [ṇa]vāliṁaṅgalattu=chchavaiyār kaiṇ¹ mēṇpaḍi po-
85 [li]ūtṭ-āga² vaitta niṇai-kuraiyā=ppalaṇ-kāśu mu-
86 ppatt-iraṇḍu i-kkāśāl oru-kāśukku āṇḍuvarai pol[i] niṇai-
87 madi-nārāyattāl iru-kala-nell-āga vanda nellu aṇupa-
88 ttu-nār-kalam [i*] i-nnellāl iva[r*]gaḷ niyadippaḍi koṇ-
89 ḍu-vandu śelutta-kkaḍavaṇa [i*] nāli³=ppālukku iru-nāli ne-
90 li-āga=ttirumaṇjaṇam āḍi-arula=ppaśuviṇ-pāl niya-
91 di nā-ṇāli [i*] nāli-ttairukku⁴ iru-nāli-nell-āga=tti-
92 rumaṇjaṇam āḍi-arula=ppaśuviṇ-rair⁵ niyadi nā-
93 ṇāli i-ppariśu śeluttādu kuttukkārpaḍi-
94 l i-ttēvarkkēy aindu kāśu daṇḍamum paṭṭu=ch-
95 cheluttādu viṭṭa mudal=iraṭṭiun⁶=kuḍuppadu

Second slab ; First face.

96 i-nnāṭṭu-kKeṅgaimaṅgalattu=ppaḍum Ālampattattu ū-
97 rār kaiṇ¹ mēṇpaḍi poliūtṭ-āga² vaitta niṇai-kuraiyā=ppalaṇ-kāśu pa-
98 di[ṇ-ā]ṇu i-kkāśāl oru-kāśukku āṇḍuvarai poli niṇai-madi-nārāyattāl i-
99 ru-kala-nell-āga vanda nellu muppatt-iru-kalam [i*] i-nnellāl iva[r*]gaḷ
100 [niya]dippaḍi [koṇ]ḍu-vandu śelutta-kkaḍavaṇa [i*] ōr-iḷaṇ[ru]kku nāli nell-ā-
101 ga=ttirumaṇjaṇam āḍi-arula iḷanīr vaḷuvai uṭpaḍa niyadi iru-nāli u-
102 ḷakku [i*] nāli-iḷanīr³ukku nāl-iḷanīr-āga niyadi iḍum iḷanīr eṭṭu [i*] i-
103 ppariśu śeluttādu kuttukkārpaḍil i-ttēvarkkēy aindu-kāśu da-
104 ṇḍamum paṭṭu=chcheluttādu viṭṭa mudal=iraṭṭiun⁶=kuḍuppadu [i*] i-nnā-
105 [t]ṭu Māṇavīrapa[ṭṭi]nattu nagarattār kai[ṇ]u¹ [mē]ṇpaḍi poliūtṭāga² vai-
106 tta niṇai-kuraiyā=ppalaṇ-kāśu nūrr-irupaḍu i-kkāśāl oru-kāśuk-
107 ā[ṇ]ḍuvarai poli niṇai-madi-nārāyattāl iru-kala-nell-āga vanda ne-
108 llu iru-nūrru nāṇpaḍi-kalam [i*] i-nnellāl iva[r*]gaḷ niyadippa-
109 ḍi koṇḍu-vandu śelutta-kkaḍavaṇa [i*] oru-kāśukku niṇai-madi-nārāyattār=
110 paḍiṇ-kala-nell-aḷgam-āga [i*] nūrr-aimbadi-ṇāli naṇum-pūviṇukku oru-
111 kāś-āga [i*] śrī-paḷittāmatṭiṇukku niyadi aḷakka-kkaḍava naṇum-pū=ppaḍi-
112 [nāli] [i*] i-ppariśu śeluttādu kuttukkārpaḍi⁷ i-ttēvarkkēy irubat-
113 t-aindu-kāśu da[ṇ]ḍamum paṭṭu=chcheluttādu viṭṭa mudal=iraṭṭiun⁶=kuḍup-
114 [pa]ḍu [i*] Śirivallabha-vaḷanāṭṭu=ppiramadēyam Kaṭṭāraimaṅgalattu=chchavaiyā-
115 r kaiṇ¹ mēṇpaḍi poliūtṭ-āga² vaitta niṇai-kuraiyā=ppalaṇ-kāśu toṇ[ṇ]ṇu-
116 nāṇgu poṇṇ=aindu [i*] i-kkāśāl oru-kāśukku āṇḍuvarai poli niṇai-madi-nārāyattā-
117 l iru-kala-nell-āga vanda nellu nūrr-ēṇbatt-onpaḍi-kalam [i*] i-n[ne]-
118 llāl iva[r*]gaḷ koṇḍu-vandu śelutta-kkaḍavaṇa [i*] nāli=chohi[ru]-payarṇu-ppo-
119 rikku nāli-uḷakku=ppayaṇ-āgavum [i*] nāli=ppayaṇrukku iru-nāli-nell-ā-
120 ga=ppori iḍa niśadam śīru-[pa]yaṇru-ppori niyadi u[ri]ḷ[ṇu]kku⁴ aḷakka-kkaḍava
121 śīru-payaṇu uri-aḷakku oru-kāśukku niṇai-madi-nārāyattār=paḍiṇ-kala-nel-
122 l-aḷgam-āga [i*] oru-kāṇattukku=ppaḍi[ṇ-o]ru-nāli uḷakku maṇjaḷ-āga=ttiru-
123 mēṇi pūśi-arula mēṇ-rōl śiraitta paṇru-maṇjaḷ niyadi mūḷakku [i*]
124 [o]viya[lu]m pāvāḍaium⁵ ōr-aṇai oru-kāśu perraṇa oru-muṇai mu-ttiṇ-

¹ Read kaiṇiṇ.

⁴ Read -ṭṭayirukku.

⁷ Read -paḍil.

² Read -ṭṭiyūtṭ-āga.

³ Read tayir.

⁵ Read uriyirukku.

³ The *li* of *nāli* looks like *ā*.

⁶ Read -yūn.

⁵ Read -yūm.

- 125 gaḷukku nāl-aṇaiy-āga ōr-āṇḍu nāṅgu-muṇaiḱku veṇ-kūrai paḍiṇ-ār-aṇai [*] i-
126 ppariṣu śeluttādu kuttukkārpaḍil i-ttēvarkkēy irupatt-aindu
127 kāṣu daṇḍamum paṭṭu=chcheluttādu viṭṭa mudal=iraṭṭiun¹=kuḍuppadu [||*]
128 Parāntaka-vaḷanāṭṭu=ppiramadēyam [Parai]sumaṅgalat²tu=tte]u-kilakku Ti-
129 [uṇi]-chchavaiyār kaiṇ² mērpāḍi ³poliūt³-āga vaitta niṇai-kūraiṇā=ppaḷa-
130 n-kāṣu irubatt-aindu [*] i-kkāsāl oru-kāṣukku āṇḍuvarai poli niṇai-madi-nā-
131 rāyattāl iru-kala-nell-āga vanda nellu aimbaḍiṇ-kalam i-nnellā-
132 l iva[r*]gaḷ koṇḍu-vandu śelutta-kkaḍavaṇa [i*] nāli-ariśikku mu-nnāli nel-
133 l-āga=ttiru-ppalikku niyadi ariśi śennar-rīṭṭal oru-pōḍaikkku nāliy-āga i-
134 raṇḍu pōḍaikkku ariśi śennar-rīṭṭal iru-nāli [*] oru-kāṣukku niṇai-madi-nārāyattāl
135 paḍiṇ-kala-nell-aḥgam-āga śrī-maḍaiṇṇaḷi-kkaṭṭu mēṇkaṭṭikkku=ppuḍavai iṇai i-
136 raṇḍ-arai-kkāṇam peṇṇaṇa oru-muṇai āru-tiṅgaḷukku ir-aṇaiy-āga ōr-āṇḍu iraṇḍu-mu-
raik-
137 ku=ppuḍavai nāl-aṇai [*] kal-puṇaiḱku=ppuḍavai iṇai iraṇḍu-kāṇam peṇṇaṇa oru-
muṇai mu-ttiṇ-
138 gaḷukku ir-aṇaiy-āga ōr-āṇḍu nā gu-muṇai[k*]ku=ppuḍavai eṭṭ-aṇai [*] i-ppariṣu
śeluttādu kut-
139 tukkārpāḍil i-ttēvarkkēy aindu-kāṣu daṇḍamum paṭṭu-chcheluttādu viṭṭa muda-
140 l=iraṭṭiun¹=kuḍuppadu i-nnāṭṭu=ppiramadēya[m*] Māṇamaṅgalattu=
141 chchavaiyār kaiṇ² mērpāḍi ³poliūt³-āga vaitta niṇai-kūraiṇā=ppa-
142 [aṇ-kāṣu nūṇr-aimbatt-iraṇḍ-arai [*] i-kkāsāl oru-kāṣukku āṇḍuvarai
143 poli niṇai-madi-nārāyattāl iru-kala-nell-āga vanda nellu mu-nnūṇ-
144 r-aiṇ-kalam [*] i-nnellāl iva[r*]gaḷ koṇḍu-vandu śelutta-kkaḍavaṇa [i*]
145 oru-kāṣukku niṇai-madi-nārāyattāl paḍiṇ-kala-nell-aḥgam-āga [*] śrī-tūpam
146 śidāriṇṇukku⁴ vēṇḍum uṇu[ppu⁵] agil-uṭpaḍa=kkarpūramun=tēnu[m] ni-
147 yadi arai-kkāṇam vilai peṇa iḍuvadu [*] śrī-karpakkira-agattu-kkaṭṭu mēṇkaṭ-
148 ṭikku veṇ-kūrai iṇai ēl-arai-kkāṇam peṇṇaṇa oru-muṇai āru-tiṅgaḷukku
149 nāl-aṇaiy-āga ōr-āṇḍu iraṇḍu muṇaiḱku veṇ-kūrai eṭṭ-aṇai [*] nāli-ttair⁶-amidiguk-
150 ku iru-nāli nell-āga=ttiru-ppalikku=ppaṣuviṇ=ṇōy-tair⁶ niyadi nāli [*]
151 taṭṭaḷi koṭṭigaḷukku=kkorru nellu=ttiṅgaḷ [nā]r-kala[nē]y paḍiṇ⁷-ku-
152 ruṇi nāli uriy-āga ōr-āṇḍu panniraṇḍu tiṅgaḷukku vēṇḍum nellu niṇai-
153 madi-nārāyattāl aimbatt-eḷu-kalam⁸

Second slab ; Second face.

- 154 i-nnāṭṭu=ppiramadēyam Tenṇakku.
155 llūr-chchavaiyār kaiṇ² mērpāḍi ³poliūt³-āga vaitta ni-
156 ṇai-kūraiṇā=ppaḷaṇ-kāṣu aṇṇuḍu [i*] i-kkāsāl oru-kāṣukku āṇḍu-
157 varai poli niṇai-madi-nārāyattāl iru-kala-nell-āga vanda nellu
158 nūṇr-irupaḍiṇ-kalam [i*] i-nnellāl iva[r*]gaḷ koṇḍu-vandu śelutta-
159 kkaḍavaṇa [i*] oru-kāṣukku niṇai-madi-nārāyattāl paḍiṇ-kala-nell-aḥgam-ā-
160 ga [*] śrī-uḍaiy-āḍai iṇai mūṇru-kāṣu peṇṇaṇa oru-muṇai mu-ttiṅgaḷukku

¹ Read *ṇun*.

² Read *kaiyig*.

³ Read *poliyūt-āga*.

⁴ Read *śidāriṇṇukku*.

⁵ The letters in brackets look like *ṭṭu*.

⁶ Read *tayir*.

⁷ To make up the total of 57 *kalam* in this item the word *paḍiṇ* ought to be *paḍiṇ-oru*.

⁸ There is some blank space in this line after *eḷu-kalam* and space for another line below, in which should have been incised the words *i-ppariṣu śeluttādu kuttukkārpaḍil i-ttēvarkkē aimbaḍu kāṣu daṇḍamum paṭṭu chcheluttādu viṭṭa mudal=iraṭṭiṇu=kuḍuppadu*.

161 ōr-āṇaiy-āga ōr-āṇḍu nāngu-muraikku śrī-udaiy-āḍai nāl-āṇai [i*] i-p-
162 pariśu śeluttādu kuttukkārpaḍil i-ttēvarkkēy panni-
163 raṇḍ-arai-kkāśu daṇḍamum paṭṭu=cheheluttādu viṭṭa mudal=irattī-
164 uñ¹=kuḍuppadu [i*] Amitaḡuṇa-vaḷanāṭṭu=ppiramaḍēyam Avam-
165 paśēkaranaḡgalattu=chehavaivār kaiṇ² mērpaḍi ³poliūtṭ-āga vaitta
166 nīrai-kuraivā-ppalaṇ-kāśu aṇupadu [*] i-kkāśāl oru-kāśukku āṇḍuvarai
167 rai poli nīrai-madi-nārāyattāl iru-kala-nell-āga vanda nellu nūrr-iru-
168 paḍiṇ-kalam [*] i-nnellāl iṇa[r*]ḡaḷ koṇḍu-vandu śelutta-kka-
169 ḍavana [*] oru-kāśukku nīrai-madi-nārāyattār=paḍiṇ-kala-nell-aḡgam-āga śrī-
170 uḍaiy-āḍai iṇai mūnru-kāśu peṇṇa oru-muṇai mu-ttiṇḡaḷukka ōr-āṇaiy-ā-
171 ga ōr-āṇḍu nāngu-muraikku śrī-udaiy-āḍai nāl-āṇai i-ppariśu śeluttādu kut-
172 tukkārpaḍil i-ttēvarkkēy panniraṇḍ-arai-kkāśu daṇḍamum paṭṭu=cheheluttā-
173 du viṭṭa mudal=irattīuñ⁴=kuḍuppadu [i*] Kuḍa-nāṭṭu=ppiramaḍēyam Puḷi-
174 ḍai=chehavaivār kaiṇ² mērpaḍi ³poliūtṭ-āga vaitta nīrai-kuraivā-ppalaṇ-
175 ā-kāśu nūrr-irupadu [i*] i-kkāśāl oru-kāśukku āṇḍuvarai poli nīrai-madi-nārāya-
176 ttāl iru-kala-nell-āga vanda nellu iru-nūrru-nārpadiṇ-kalam i-nne-
177 llāl iṇa[r*]ḡaḷ koṇḍu-vandu śelutta-kkaḍavana [*] oru-kāśukku nīrai-madi-nārāya-
178 ttāl paḍiṇ-kala-nell-aḡgam-āga śrī-udaiy-āḍai iṇai mūnru-kāśu peṇṇa oru-
179 muraḷ mu-ttiṇḡaḷukka ir-āṇaiy-āga ōr-āṇḍu nāngu-muraikku śrī-udaiy-āḍai [e]-
180 tt-āṇai [i*] i-ppariśu śeluttādu kuttukkārpaḍil i-ttēvarkkēy irubat-
181 t-aiṇḍu-kāśu daṇḍamum paṭṭu=cheheluttādu viṭṭa mudal=irattīuñ⁴=kuḍuppa-
182 du [i*] i-nnāṭṭu=ppiramaḍēyam Kīraṇur=chehavaivār kaiṇ² mērpaḍi ³poli-
183 ūṭṭ-āga vaitta nīrai-kuraivā-ppalaṇ-kāśu iru-nūrr-ōrubattu-nāṇḡ [i*] i-
184 kkāśāl oru-kāśukku āṇḍuvarai poli nīrai-madi-nārāyattāl iru-kala-nell-ā-
185 ga vanda nellu nā-nūrr-irubatt-eṇ-kalam i-nnellāl iṇa[r*]ḡaḷ niyadi-
186 ppaḍi koṇḍu-vandu śelutta-kkaḍavana nāḷi-neykku irupadi-nāḷi-nell-āga
187 tirumaṇḡjanam āḍi-aruḷa=ppaśuvuṇ ṇaru-ney niyadi nā-nāḷi [i*] oru-kāśukku
188 nīrai-madi-nārāyattār=paḍiṇ-kala-nell-aḡgam-āga-ttūḷa=chehandanattu-
189 kku oru-kāś-āga=ttirumēni pūsum sandana-kkulambu=chehandanam niyadi
190 mu-ppalam [*] i-ppariśu śeluttādu kuttukkārpaḍil i-ttēvarkkē-
191 y aimbadu-kāśu daṇḍamum paṭṭu=cheheluttādu viṭṭa mudal=i-
192 rattīuñ⁴=kuḍuppadu [i*] i-nnāṭṭu=ppiramaḍēyam Śaḷaṇḡavikkarēḷa-
193 chi=chehavaivār kaiṇ² mērpaḍi ³poliūtṭ-āga vaitta nīrai-kuraivā-ppalaṇ-kā-
194 śu toṇṇūru [*] i-kkāśāl oru-kāśukku āṇḍuvarai poli nīrai-madi-nārāyattāl
195 iru-kala-nell-āga vanda nellu nūrr-eṇḡbadiṇ-kalam [*] i-nnellāl nivaḷip-
196 paḍi iṇa[r*]ḡaḷ koṇḍu-vandu śelutta-kkaḍavadu [*] oru-kāśukku nīrai-madi-nāṭṭāl-
197 yattār=paḍiṇ-kala-nell-aḡgam-āga=ppadiṇ-aṇ-kalaṇḡju karpūrattukku oṭru]-
198 kāś-āga=ttirumēni-pūsum=tiruchchandaṇattōḍu kūṭṭi araikkum karpū-
199 ram niyadi ēḷ-arai-kkāṇam [*] i-ppariśu śeluttādu kuttukkārpaḍil
200 i-ttēvarkkēy irubatt-aiṇḍu-kāśu daṇḍamum paṭṭu=cheheluttādu viṭ-
201 ṭa mudal=irattīuñ⁴=kuḍuppadu [i*] i-nnāṭṭu=ppiramaḍēyam Kaḍuṇḡōmaṇ-
202 galattu=chehavaivār kaiṇ² mērpaḍi ³poliūtṭ-āga vaitta nīrai-kuraivā-
203 ppalaṇ-kāśu paḍiṇ-āṇ [i*] i-kkāśāl oru-kāśukku āṇḍuvarai poli nīrai-ma-
204 di-nārāyattāl iru-kala-nell-āga vanda nellu muppatt-iru-kalam [i*] i-nne-
205 llāl iṇa[r*]ḡaḷ niyadippaḍi koṇḍu-vandu śelutta-kkaḍavana ōr-iḷaṇṡrukku

¹ Read *yuñ*.

² Read *kaiyiy*.

³ Read *poliyūtṭ-āga*.

⁴ Read *irattīyūñ*.

⁵ Read *Puḷiy*.

| No. | No. of lines. | Division. | Name of village. | The body of persons with whom money was invested. | AMOUNT INVESTED. | |
|-----|---------------|------------------------|---|---|------------------|------|
| | | | | | Kāśu. | Poz. |
| 1 | 8—19 | Kuṇḍa-nāḍu . . . | Korkai . . . | Ūrār . . . | 96 | 8 |
| 2 | 19—48 | Do. . . . | Nallūr | Do. . . . | 168 | 6½ |
| 3 | 48—69 | Do. . . . | Śāliyam | Do. . . . | 24 | 5½ |
| 4 | 69—82 | Valudi-vaḷanāḍu . | Varaḡuṃamaṅgalaṃ . | Sabhai . . | 110 | 0 |
| 5 | 82—95 | Do. . . . | Iranavāḷimaṅgalaṃ included in Triyambakamaṅgalaṃ. | Do. . . | 32 | 0 |
| 6 | 96—104 | Do. . . . | Ālambattam included in Gangaimaṅgalaṃ. | Ūrār . . . | 16 | 0 |
| 7 | 104—114 | Do. . . . | Mānavirapaṭṭinam . | Nagarattār . | 120 | 0 |
| 8 | 114—127 | Śrīvallaḃha-vaḷanāḍu . | Kaṭṭāraimaṅgalaṃ . | Sabhai . . | 94 | 5 |
| 9 | 128—140 | Parāntaka-vaḷanāḍu . | Tinṇi included in Paraiśu-maṅgalaṃ. | Do. . . | 25 | 0 |
| 10 | 140—153 | Do. . . . | Māramaṅgalaṃ . . . | Do. . . | 152½ | .. |
| 11 | 154—164 | Do. . . . | Teṇṇakka....llūr . . | Do. . . | 60 | 0 |
| 12 | 164—173 | Amṇaḡuṇa-vaḷanāḍu . | Avanipaścākamaṅgalaṃ | Do. . . | 60 | 0 |
| 13 | 173—182 | Kuṇḍa-nāḍu | Puliyṇḍai | Do. . . | 120 | 0 |
| 14 | 182—192 | Do. . . . | Kīraṇūr | Do. . . | 214 | 0 |
| 15 | 192—201 | Do. . . . | Śaḍaṅḡavikurichehi . | Do. . . | 90 | 0 |
| 16 | 201—210 | Do. . . . | Kaḷuṅḡōmaṅgalaṃ . | Do. . . | 16 | 0 |

| INTEREST. | | | | | Object for which the interest was utilised. | Fine in case of default. |
|---------------------------|--------------|---------------|---------------|--------------|--|---|
| Rate per <i>kāṣu</i> . | AMOUNT. | | | | | |
| | <i>Kalam</i> | <i>kuruni</i> | <i>nāli</i> . | <i>uri</i> . | | |
| 2 <i>kalam</i> | 193 | 9 | .. | .. | For supplying daily 16 <i>nāli</i> of rice on ordinary days and 96 <i>nāli</i> for 3 days in the year. | 25 <i>kāṣu</i> and double the quantity at default. |
| Do. | 337 | 3 | 4 | 1 | For supplying daily 1 <i>nāli</i> and 1 <i>uri</i> of ghee, 6 <i>nāli</i> of curd, 16 plantains, 4 <i>palam</i> of sugar, 40 <i>palam</i> of vegetables, 1 <i>uḷakku</i> and 2 <i>śeridu</i> of <i>kāyam</i> and double this quantity for 3 days. | 50 <i>kāṣu</i> and double the quantity at default. |
| Do. | 49 | 2 | 1 | 1 | For supplying daily 2 <i>nāli</i> of <i>payaru-paru</i> for <i>kummāyam</i> , 3 <i>paru</i> of betel leaves and 56 nuts, together with double the above quantity for 3 days. | 5 <i>kāṣu</i> and double the quantity at default. |
| Do. | 220 | .. | .. | .. | For supplying daily 2 <i>nāli</i> and 1 <i>uri</i> of ghee for 5 lamps and 1 <i>uḷakku</i> of ghee for 1 chain of lamps. | 12½ <i>kāṣu</i> and double the quantity at default. |
| Do. | 64 | .. | .. | .. | For supplying daily 4 <i>nāli</i> of cow's milk and 4 <i>nāli</i> of curd. | 5 <i>kāṣu</i> and double the quantity at default. |
| Do. | 32 | .. | .. | .. | For supplying daily 8 tender cocoanuts. | Do. |
| Do. | 240 | .. | .. | .. | For supplying daily 10 <i>nāli</i> of flowers. | 25 <i>kāṣu</i> and double the quantity at default. |
| Do. | 189 | .. | .. | .. | For supplying daily 1 <i>uri</i> of <i>pori</i> and 3 <i>uḷakku</i> of <i>mañ-jal</i> and 16 <i>anai</i> of white cloth for the year. | Do. |
| Do. | 50 | .. | .. | .. | For supplying daily 2 <i>nāli</i> of rice for <i>balu</i> , and for four <i>anai</i> of <i>pudavai</i> at the rate of 2½ <i>kāṇam</i> for 1 <i>anai</i> and 8 <i>anai</i> of <i>pudavai</i> at the rate of 2 <i>kāṇam</i> for 1 <i>anai</i> to be supplied during the year. | 5 <i>kāṣu</i> and double the quantity at default. |
| Do. | 305 | .. | .. | .. | For supplying daily incense at 1½ <i>kāṇam</i> , for 8 <i>anai</i> of white cloth at 7½ <i>kāṇam</i> each <i>anai</i> for 1 year, for curd at 2 <i>nāli</i> of paddy per day and for drummers at 4 <i>kalam</i> 10 <i>kuruni</i> 1 <i>nāli</i> and 1 <i>uri</i> per month or 57 <i>kalam</i> per year. | Omitted. |
| Do. | 120 | .. | .. | .. | For supplying during the year 4 <i>anai</i> of <i>udai-āḍai</i> at 3 <i>kāṣu</i> per <i>anai</i> . | 12½ <i>kāṣu</i> and double the quantity at default. |
| Do. | 120 | .. | .. | .. | Ditto | Do. |
| Do. | 240 | .. | .. | .. | For supplying 8 <i>anai</i> of <i>udai-āḍai</i> at 3 <i>kāṣu</i> per <i>anai</i> . | 25 <i>kāṣu</i> and double the quantity at default. |
| Do. | 428 | .. | .. | .. | For supplying daily 4 <i>nāli</i> of ghee for an ointment, and 3 <i>palam</i> of sandal at 1 <i>tulam</i> of sandal for 1 <i>kāṣu</i> . | 50 <i>kāṣu</i> and double the quantity at default. |
| Do. | 180 | .. | .. | .. | For supplying daily 7½ <i>kāṇam</i> of <i>karṇāram</i> (1 <i>kāṣu</i> fetching 5 <i>kaḷaṇju</i>). | 25 <i>kāṣu</i> and double the quantity at default. |
| Do. | 32 | .. | .. | .. | To supply daily 8 tender cocoanut at 1 <i>nāli</i> of paddy for 1 cocoanut. | 5 <i>kāṣu</i> and double the quantity at default. |

- 206 nāli-nell-āga=ttirumañjaṇam ādi-aruḷa ilanir valuvai utpaḍa niva-
207 di iru-nālinukku¹ nāli-ilanirukku nāl-ilanir-āga niyadi idum iḷa-
208 nīr eṭṭu [*] i-ppariṣu śeluttādu kuttukkārpaḍil i-ttēvark-
209 kēy aindu-kāṣu daṇḍamum paṭṭu=chcheluttādu viṭṭa mudal=irattiṇ²=ku-
210 ḍuppadu [i*]

No. 18.—THE BHADRENIYAKA GRANT OF ŚILADITYA I: G.E. 292.

By the late Mr. R. D. Banerji, M.A.

These two copper plates were purchased along with five others by the Trustees of the Prince of Wales Museum of Western India from the widow of the late Dr. Gerson da Cunha of Bombay. The place where they were found originally is not known.

These plates measure 11½" by 8¼" and are joined together by means of a thick copper wire which passes through them. Only one side of these plates has been used for writing the record which consists of thirty-two lines, nineteen being engraved on the first and thirteen on the second plate. A copper seal which is oval in shape is affixed to the ends of the copper wire and bears the legend "Śrī-Bhaṭṭakkaḥ" which is usually found on the seals of the dynasty to which Śilāditya belonged.

The inscription has not been incised very carefully and consequently it contains many mistakes. Only a portion of it is incised neatly but the engraving of the rest (ll. 13-19) is very thin. It is written in Sanskrit and, with the exception of the three imprecatory verses in the second plate, the whole of it is in prose. The alphabet belongs to the Western variety of the Northern script of the seventh century A.D. As regards orthography, signs for *i* and *ī* have not always been distinguished, probably owing to the carelessness of the writer: *anuvāra* and *visarga* have been omitted in several places, e.g., *sa[m*]akta* (l. 5), *sāmānya[m*]* (l. 28), *atīśayāna[h*]* (l. 6), *-kāryya-phala[h*]* (l. 7), etc. : *ñ* is used for *anuvāra* in *vañśa* (ll. 3, 27) and *n* in *ansa* (l. 14) and *angārś=cha* (l. 18) : *n* takes the place of *ṇ* in *pranāṭ*² (l. 4). In addition to the usual *daṇḍa* a dot has been used in two places to mark the punctuation, *cf.* l. 29 after *Vyāsēna* and l. 33 after *Vatrabhaṭṭanā*. The *upadharmāniya* occurs thrice, in ll. 10, 19 and 23, and the *jihvāmūliya* only once, in l. 17. Usually consonants have been doubled when used in combination with the superscript *r*, e.g., *mārgga-* (l. 5), *-śhairyga-dhairyga-gūnbhīryga* (l. 6), etc. The numerical symbols for 2, 4, 10, 90, and 200 are to be found in the last line.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of king Śilāditya I, who was the son of the illustrious Dharasēna, who was the son of the illustrious Guhasēna, all of whom are mentioned as devout worshippers of Śiva. Like other records of the later kings of Valabhī this inscription also omits the names of the four sons of the *Sēnāpati* Bhaṭārka in the genealogical portion of it. The grant registered in these plates was issued from the victorious camp at *Dēvisaras* on the 14th day of the bright half of Chaitra in 292³ G.E. (circa 610-11 A.D.), and was written

¹ Read *nīly nukku*.

² Read *irattiṇ*.

³ [The late Mr. Banerji read the date as 290 and it has been so included in the *List of Northern Inscriptions* No. 1337 (above, Vol. XX, App. p. 181). I, however, read it as 292. It thus becomes the last known date of Śilāditya I. In the interval between this and the next Valabhī grant dated 304 G.E. issued by Dharasēna (III), at least one ruler, *viz.*, Kharagraha, Śilāditya's younger brother, must have ruled. Recently a copper plate issued by this prince has come to light, and apparently he is the *Dūtaka* of many of Śilāditya I's grants, including the present one.—Ed.]

(This) edict (*śāsana*) was written by Kanakarāma (l. 35 f.). The village granted was divided into 64 shares, of which each of the donees¹ received one share (l. 36). The last line (37) contains the names of two further recipients of shares, of whom the first, whose name is doubtful, received one share, and the other, named Chōḍa-Bōḷ, one-third share.

No. 2.—BAHUR PLATES OF NRIPATUNGAVARMAN.

BY PROFESSOR E. HULTZSCH, PH.D.; HALLE (SAALE).

As stated by M. Julien Vinson, this inscription is engraved on five copper-plates which were discovered by M. Jules Delafon² in 1879 'at a depth of about one metre, in the middle of a structure of bricks, at six metres south of the pagoda of Bāhūr, an important locality on the south of Pondicherry, from which it is 23·5 kilometres distant.' The plates are now preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. They measure about 91·5 millimetres in height, 201·9 mm. in breadth, and 4·1 mm. in thickness, and weigh altogether 3106 grammes. There is the usual ring-hole, 13·5 mm. in diameter, at a distance of 9-10 mm. from the left margin of each plate; but the ring which must have been originally passed through the holes and borne the royal seal, has not been recovered. 'It had surely been broken long ago; for the first side of the third plate and the second side of the second one are in worse condition than the other sides. They were no doubt on the outside of the set. This allows us to conclude that the document has been buried with carelessness or in impatient haste.' I am deriving all these details from M. Vinson's article 'Le collège de Bahour au IX^e siècle,'³ in which he furnished a tentative transcript and translation of the inscription. Years ago I had published a few remarks on it,⁴ based on a transcript which had been prepared by a Tamil pandit and supplied to me by M. Delafon. This transcript has been recently printed in full, with some additional remarks, by Rao Bahadur Krishna Sastri.⁵ The historical importance of the record now induces me to re-edit it from a set of photographs which M. Vinson had been good enough to send me in 1905. The photographs are not quite perfect and distinct, but nearly every detail of the text can be made out from them with certainty.

The languages of the inscription are Sanskrit and Tamil, and the alphabets are Grantha and Tamil, respectively. There are 32 Sanskrit verses (ll. 1-45 and 74-77); the rest of the text is in Tamil prose (ll. 45-74 and 78 f.). Grantha letters are occasionally used also in the Tamil portion (*Nṛi*, l. 45; *rmma*, l. 46; *brahmadēya*, l. 50; *vidyāsthā*, ll. 51, 71; *vidyābhōga*, ll. 52, 71 f.; *hā* and *vyavaste(sthai)*, l. 72; *sarvraparikā*, *brahma*, and *datti*, l. 73; *Uditōdaya* and *dē*, l. 78; *Nripatumga*, l. 78), and the Tamil syllable *rai* occurs in a Sanskrit verse (l. 34), while the purely Tamil name *Nilaitāṅgi* is written in Grantha letters (*Nilaitāṅg=iti*, l. 30). In the Sanskrit portion, the secondary form of *i* is not distinguished from that of *i*, nor that of *ri* from that of *ra*, nor *p* from *v*. In the Tamil portion, the length of initial *ē* and *ō* is not marked in *ēri* (l. 72) and *ōḍai* (l. 69). The secondary forms of *i*, *ē*, *ō* are the same as those of *i*, *e*, *o*. The length of the vowel *ū* is marked in *ūr*, *Vāgūr*, *Urattūr*, *ūr*, *ūr*, and *pūsi*; but the *mū* of *immūṇrūrum* (l. 50) does not differ in shape from *mu*, and from the *lu* of *-pālun=* (l. 68).

¹ The names of the 64 shareholders are not specified, but the latter are alluded to by the pronoun *ētē*, 'these,' which implies that they were assembled in the king's presence when he made the grant. For similar instances of the use of the pronoun *ētaḍ* see above, Vol. IX, p. 59, note 6. The unnamed donees perhaps consisted of the chief donee Cheṇḍiśarman and his relatives, and of the four persons who were mentioned as witnesses of the grant in line 28 f.

² To the same gentleman we owe the discovery of the Kāsākūḍi plates of Nandivarman (S. I. I., Vol. II, No. 73).

³ *Mémoires Orientaux* (Paris, 1905), pp. 211-263.

⁴ Above, Vol. IV, p. 180 f.

⁵ S. I. I., Vol. II, pp. 513-517.

All these defective spellings are well known from many other Tamil inscriptions.¹ They were not intended to imply actual differences of pronunciation, but are only due to the yet imperfect development of the old Tamil alphabet. In my transcript, I have, therefore, substituted the long vowels wherever they are required. In the Sanskrit portion, a final form of *m* is frequently employed (ll. 11, 12, 13, etc.). Virāma is expressed by a vertical dash after *n* (ll. 10, 29 (?), 35 (?), 40, 41), but seems to be omitted generally after final *t* (ll. 4, 5, 26, 29, 30, 45), where I have tacitly supplied it. Superscribed *r* has the same shape as Virāma, but is represented by a point in *nirbhau* (l. 16) and *-pūrvaka[m]* (l. 32). In the Tamil portion, Virāma is expressed only in two instances: by a vertical dash in *tan* (l. 48), and by a point (*puḷḷi*) in *im* (l. 50). In the Sanskrit portion, the end of a verse is marked indiscriminately by various signs of punctuation, consisting of one or more of five different elements (|, ||, —, 0—), but which I have in every case replaced by the usual mark (||). The end of the first half of a verse is marked by a horizontal line (—) only in five instances (ll. 13, 15, 17, 26, 30). At the end of the two Tamil passages, two other signs of punctuation are employed, viz. :||0— (l. 74) and :|n— (l. 79).

The orthography of the Sanskrit portion calls for a few remarks. Tamil pronunciation is responsible for the forms *Tantivarmman* (ll. 14, 18) for *Dantivarmman*, and *rēbha* (l. 33) for *rēpha*, and *agātha* (l. 37) is meant for *agādha*. The group *ksh* is replaced by *tsh* in *raratsha* (l. 9 f.), *tshmāpāla* (l. 14 f.), *-didṛitshayā* (l. 17), and *Latshmir* (l. 20). The Sandhi rules are disregarded in *pālanāt=bhūmim* (l. 15), *kṛitavān=sāstra* (l. 45), *svarggam=vimānēna* (l. 13), and *labdham=vidyā* (l. 35). Visarga is dropped, not only, as optionally permitted, in *=tēja sthiti* (l. 3) and *dāsa sthānasya* (l. 44), but also in *va śriyam* (l. 1) and *rājña śrī* (ll. 21, 42). Consonants are doubled after *r*, with four exceptions (*Śrī-bhartuś*, l. 3, *nirbhau*, l. 16, and *Dhū[r*]jaṭir=jaṭa*, l. 36).² Double *t* is simplified before *v* in *datvā* (l. 39) and *tatva* (l. 45). The Tamil of the grant portion is on the whole correct. The only mistakes in it are °*pākamum* (l. 49) for °*pākkamum*, *naṭṭi* and *viḍutka* (l. 53) for *nāṭṭi* and *viḍukka*, *viḍunda* (l. 56) for *viḍutta*, *ūmam* (l. 67) for *ūrum*, *vyavasteyum* (l. 72 f.) for *vyavasthaiyum*, and a few other slips in the two last lines of the inscription. The genitive affix *in* is joined to *ellai*, 'a boundary,' without Sandhi in *ellaiin* (ll. 58, 63, 64 f., 65, 66), and its final *n* is doubled before the conjunctive affix *um* in *ellaiṇṇum* (ll. 58, 59, 60, 61). Similarly, the past relative participle *āyina* is spelt *āina* (l. 62). For the past gerund *āy* we have *āyi* (l. 72, and twice in l. 73), which is an archaic form; *mēyi* (l. 68) for *mēy*, 'to graze,' and *Nelcāyippākkam* (l. 59 f.) for *Nelcāyppākkam*.

The metres of the Sanskrit portion are: *Drutavilambita* (verses 1, 7), *Vaśantatilakā* (15, 31), *Āryā* (32), and *Anuṣṭubh* (3-6, 8-14, 16-30). The metre of verse 2 is *Praharṣiṇī*; but its fourth Pāda is *Anuṣṭubh*, and in each of the two first Pādas the tenth and eleventh syllables of the *Praharṣiṇī* metre are missing. I am unable to correct and translate this verse in a satisfactory manner.

The Tamil portion of the inscription records a grant of three villages, and the Sanskrit portion preceding it professes to be a eulogy (*prasaśti*, l. 45) celebrating the donor. The Tamil and the Sanskrit versions supplement and corroborate each other, and have both to be considered together. The grant was made in the eighth year (ll. 46, 51) of the reign of king (*kṛ*) *Vijaya-Nripatūṅgavarman* (l. 45 f.), or simply *Nripatūṅgavarman* (l. 74 f.), *Nripatūṅga* (ll. 24, 25, 32), or *Tūṅgavarman* (l. 42), who boasted of the title 'lord of the three worlds' (ll. 22 f., 41 f.). Verses 2-15 contain the following genealogical account of this king: From the lotus-flower arising from Vishnu's navel was produced *Brahmā*; from him, *Aṅgiras*; from him, *Bṛhaspati*; from him, *Saṁyu*; from him, *Bharadvāja*; from him, *Drōṣa*; from him, *Aśvatthāman*; and from him, king *Pallava* (verse 6). The same mythical pedigree is found at the begin-

¹ Cf. S. I. I., Vol. I, Preface, p. v. f.

² In *varṣayāda* (l. 15 f.) the doubling of the sibilant is prohibited by Pāṇini, VIII, 4, 49.

ning of several inscriptions of the Pallava kings of Kāñchī. Next we are told that from the family of Pallava 'arose a group (of kings) commencing with Vimala and Koṅkanika' (verse 7), and that, 'after Vimala, etc., had gone to heaven' (verse 8); there was Dantivarman (verse 9), whose son was Nandivarman (verse 12). As I have suggested on a former occasion,¹ the 'group (of kings) commencing with Vimala and Koṅkanika', which is sandwiched between the mythical king Pallava and the historical king Dantivarman, probably owes its mention to the desire of claiming for the latter connection with the Western Gaṅga kings, whose ancestor is believed to have been Koṅkanika.² The queen of Nandivarman, Śāṅkhā by name, was born in the Rāshtrakūṭa family (verse 13) and bore to him the donor of this grant, Nripatunga (verse 15). Of him verse 16 tells us that he supplied a Pāṇḍya king, whose proper name is not disclosed, with an army, and that he defeated some enemies, who are not specified either, on the further bank of the Arichit river. The name of this river must be a Sanskritized form of Ariśil, a branch of the Kāvēri which enters the sea at Karaikkāl (Karikal).³ It may be concluded from verse 16 that Nripatunga allied himself with a Pāṇḍya king and undertook an expedition into the dominions of the Chōla king. The two names Dantivarman and Nripatunga occur also among the Rāshtrakūṭa kings, with whom Nandivarman became actually connected through his queen Śāṅkhā, and Dantivarman is perhaps identical with Dāntiga, the ruler of Kāñchī who was defeated by the Rāshtrakūṭa king Govinda III in A.D. 804.⁴ Rao Bahadur Krishna Sastri has shown quite recently that the Vēlūrpālayam plates of Vijaya-Nandivarman and the Tanjantōṭṭam plates of Vijaya-Nandivikramavarman probably belong to the reign of Nripatunga's father Nandivarman.⁵

According to the Tamil portion, the grant was made at the request of Vēsāli-pēraraiaṇ (l. 46), i.e. 'the great chief of Vēsāli.' The Sanskrit portion supplies his proper name, Mārtāṇḍa (l. 27 f.), and his surname, Nilaitāṅgi⁶ (l. 30), and calls him, with a play on his name Mārtāṇḍa, 'the sun of the Vēsāli family' (l. 27 f.). From other inscriptions we learn that Vēsā-lippāḍi was the name of a province, of which Vāgūr-nāḍu, i.e. the country round Bāhūr, formed a subdivision.⁷ Evidently Mārtāṇḍa was a hereditary chief of this province. He claimed descent from the family of Kuru (ll. 27, 31 f., 43), the mythical ancestor of the heroes of the Mahābhārata. At his own request (ll. 32, 46 f.), he had received three villages in his own province (rāshṭra) from king Nripatunga (verse 21). This probably means nothing but that his sovereign accorded him permission to give away these three villages, and explains two apparently conflicting statements, viz. that, in verses 23, 26, and 29, Mārtāṇḍa is represented as the actual donor, while, in verse 31, Nripatungavarman claims the merit of having made the grant himself.

The executor (ājñapti in Sanskrit, ll. 32, 39, and 41, or āṇatti in Tamil, l. 47) of the grant was Uttamaśīla (l. 41), the minister (mantrin) of king Tuṅgavarman (l. 42), i.e. of Nripatunga. He had the title Viḍēlviḍugu-Kāḍupaṭṭi-Tamila-pēraraiaṇ (l. 47), i.e. 'the great chief of the Tamilians of Viḍēlviḍugu-Kāḍupaṭṭi.' As Kāḍupaṭṭi is a synonym of Pallava,⁸ Uttamaśīla's title suggests that Viḍēlviḍugu, i.e. 'the crashing thunderbolt,' was a surname of the Pallava king Nripatunga. The same word Viḍēlviḍugu seems to have been a surname of his father Nandivarman. For an inscription of king Vijaya-Nandivikramavarman and of his feudatory, the Bāṇa chief Vikramāditya, at Tiruvallam⁹ records the grant of a village named Viḍēlviḍugu-Vikkiramāditta-chaturvēdimaṅgalam. The first member of this compound word

¹ Above, Vol. IV, p. 131.

² Cf. above, Vol. III, p. 164, n. 3, and S. I. I., Vol. III, p. 98 f.

³ S. I. I., Vol. II, p. 52, n. 8.

⁴ Ind. Ant., Vol. XI, p. 127.

⁵ S. I. I., Vol. II, pp. 506 f., 518.

⁶ This Tamil name is paraphrased in Sanskrit by lōkānām nilayaḥ (l. 29).

⁷ See M. Vinson's article, p. 284 f., and Venkayya's Preface to S. I. I., Vol. II, p. 27.

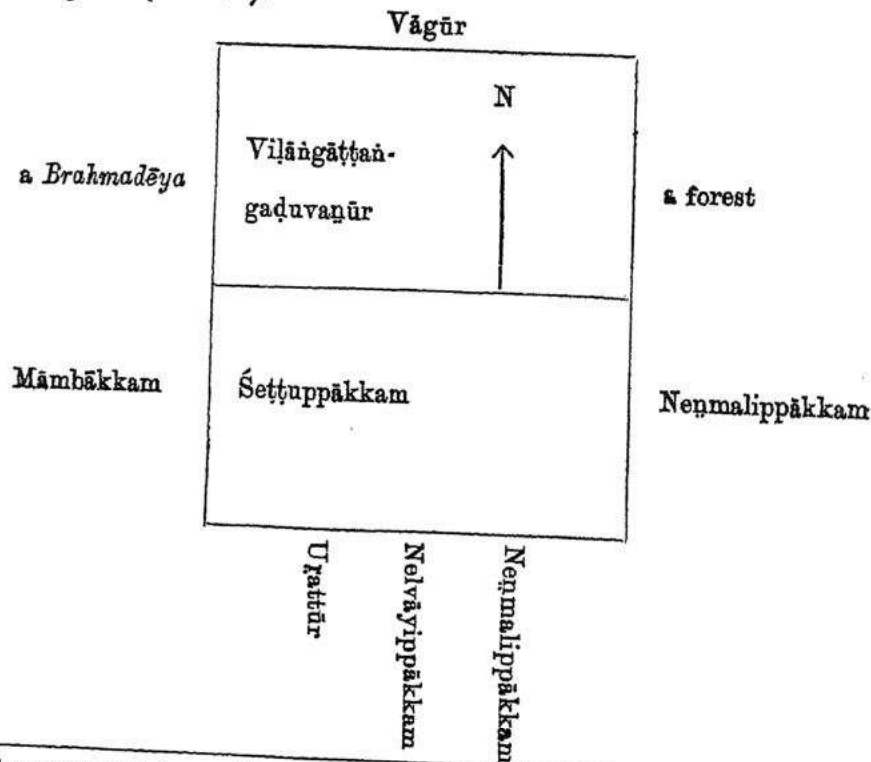
⁸ See above, Vol. VII, p. 25, n. 7, and J. E. A. S., 1915, p. 527.

⁹ S. I. I., Vol. III, No. 48.

must refer to Nripatūṅga's father Nandivarman,¹ and the second one to the Bāṇa chief Vikramāditya. The executor (*āṇatti*) of the Tiruvallam grant was Kāḍupaṭṭi-Tamiḷa-pēra[rai]yan which may be taken as a title either of Uttamaśīla himself, or of another minister who preceded him in office during the reign of Nandivarman.

The recipients of the grant were the residents of a 'seat of learning' (*vidyā-sthāna*), or college, at Vāgūr (ll. 51 f., 71; see also ll. 35, 37 f., 38 f., and 44 of the Sanskrit portion), i.e. Bāhūr, where the plates were discovered by M. Delafon. As M. Vinson remarks,² the modern form looks like a learned corruption, deriving the ancient name Vāgūr from the Sanskrit *bāhu*, 'an arm,' instead of the Tamil *vāgu*, 'beauty.' The grant was to be a *vidyā-bhōga* (ll. 52, 71 f.), i.e. a source of revenue for the promotion of learning. This is perhaps the earliest case on record of a university scholarship or educational endowment.

As in the Leyden plates (a scholarly transcript, translation, and analysis of which still remain a desideratum), the official routine observed in this grant was as follows. The three villages having been granted to the Vāgūr college, an order (*tirumugam*, l. 54) communicating this fact and calling for a report (*araiyolai*, ll. 53, 55, 56) was issued to the headmen of Kīlveḷi-Vāgūr-nāḍu, (a subdivision of the district) of Aruvā-nāḍu³ (l. 48). Having read the order, the headmen of the *nāḍu* reverently placed it on their heads and circumambulated the limits of the villages granted. Line 40 of the Sanskrit portion suggests that, as in the case of the Leyden plates, they were accompanied by an elephant whose hoofprints marked the boundaries, on which they raised stones and planted milk-bush (ll. 53, 55). The names of the three villages were Śeṭṭuppākkam,⁴ Viḷāṅgāṭṭaṅgaḍuvaṇūr, and Iraippuṇaichchēri (ll. 48-50). According to the report submitted by the headmen of the *nāḍu*, their boundaries were as shown in the two subjoined diagrams (ll. 56-66).

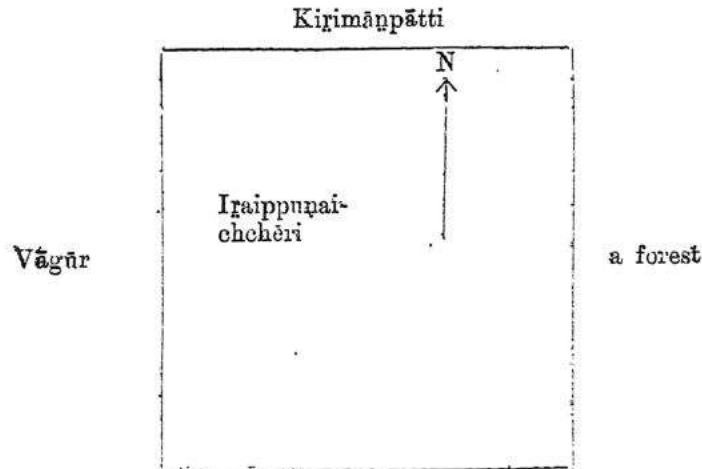


¹ Just as his name is given here and in other inscriptions in the fuller form of *kō Vijaya-Nandivikramavarman*, his son Nripatūṅgavarman calls himself also *kō Vijaya-Nripatūṅgavikramavarman*; see above, Vol. IV, p. 180 and Vol. VII, p. 140.

² Cf. Venkayya's Preface to S. I. I., Vol. II, p. 27. According to the Tamil dictionaries, Aruvā-nāḍu is one of the two districts in which common Tamil (*Koḍun-Tamiḷ*) is spoken, the second being Aruvā-vaḍatalai-nāḍu.

³ Spelt *Cheṭṭuppākkam* in Grantha (l. 32 f.).

⁴ See his article, p. 236.



Neruñjikūṛumbū

M. Vinson¹ has consulted a local map and tells us that, besides Vāgūr (Bāhūr), two of these village-names survive to the present day: Kirimānpātti is now represented by **Kirimāmbakkam**, 6 kilometres north-east of Bāhūr, and Viṭṭāṅgāṭṭaṅgaḍuvaṇūr is perhaps connected with **Kaḍuvaṇūr**, 5 kilometres west of Bāhūr. I hope my Brahmin friends in Madras will find an opportunity for making enquiries on the spot, and will succeed in identifying a few more of the village-names which are registered in the detailed description of the boundaries of the grant.

In verse 30 we are told that the Sanskrit *prāśasti*, which forms the first portion of the inscription, was composed by Nāgaya, a servant of the Vāgūr college. At the end of the whole document, its writer informs us of his name and parentage in a Sanskrit verse (32) and in Tamil prose (l. 78 f.). He was a goldsmith (*suvarṇakṛt* or, in Tamil, *taṭṭāṇ*), named Nṛipatuṅga (ll. 77, 79),—evidently after his sovereign,—a hereditary servant of the Pallava family, the son of Mādēvi-perundattāṇ, and the grandson of Uditōdaya-perund-ṭṭāṇ of Kīl-Paiśāram near Kachchipēḍu (Conjeeveram). The name, or rather the title, of his father means 'the great goldsmith (by appointment) to the chief queen.' Similarly, the name of his grandfather would mean 'the great goldsmith (by appointment) to (king) Uditōdaya,' and Uditōdaya (l. 78) or Uditōdita (l. 76) may have been a surname of one of the immediate predecessors of king Nṛipatuṅgavarman. Uditōdita is actually known to have been one of the numerous *virūdas* of Rājasimha, an earlier Pallava king of Kāñchi.² From this king it may be supposed to have descended to one of the predecessors of Nṛipatuṅgavarman.

TEXT.³

First Plate; First Side.

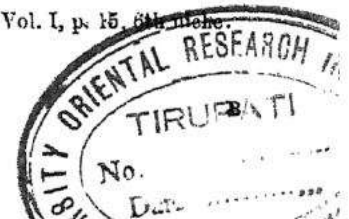
- 1 Svasti śri[h ||*] Diṣatu va[h*] śriyam-ambuḷa-lōchanas-tridaśa-matli-nighṛi-
- 2 śṭa-pad-ambuḷaḥ [h*] sakala-lōka-bhayaṁkara-rākshasa-prāsama-nētur-a-
- 3 jē(jō) Madha(dhu)-sūdanah || [1 ||*] Śri-bhartuś-śayana parasya nētrē yat-
tēja[h*]⁴ sthiti-laya-sū-

¹ See his article, p. 235 f.

² From a set of photographs supplied by M. Julien Vinson.

³ Read perhaps =bhūt-tējaḥ.

⁴ S. I. I., Vol. I, p. 15, 6th line.



- 4 ti-hētuḥ [1*] tan-nābhēr=ajani samasta-bijam=abjam=Ātmayōnis=tatō=bhavat || [2 ||*]
 5 A[m*]girās=tata utpannō loka-nāthāch=chaturmmukhāt [1*] Bṛihaspatis=tatō
 6 mantri Śakrasya Vala-bhēdinaḥ || [3 ||*] Tataś=Śaṁyus=tatō jē(ja)jñē
 Bharadvāja-sa-
 7 māvayah [1*] tatō Drōṇō mah-ēshvāsas=samarē Śakra-vikramah || [4 ||*] Tatō
 8 Drōṇān=mahā-bāhus=sarvva-yu[d*]dha-viśāradaḥ [1*] Āsvatthāmā kil-āṁśēna samba-
 9 bhūva Pinākinaḥ || [5 ||*] Āsvatthāmnas=tatō rājā Pallav-ākhyō babhūva
 u(yah) [1*] ra-

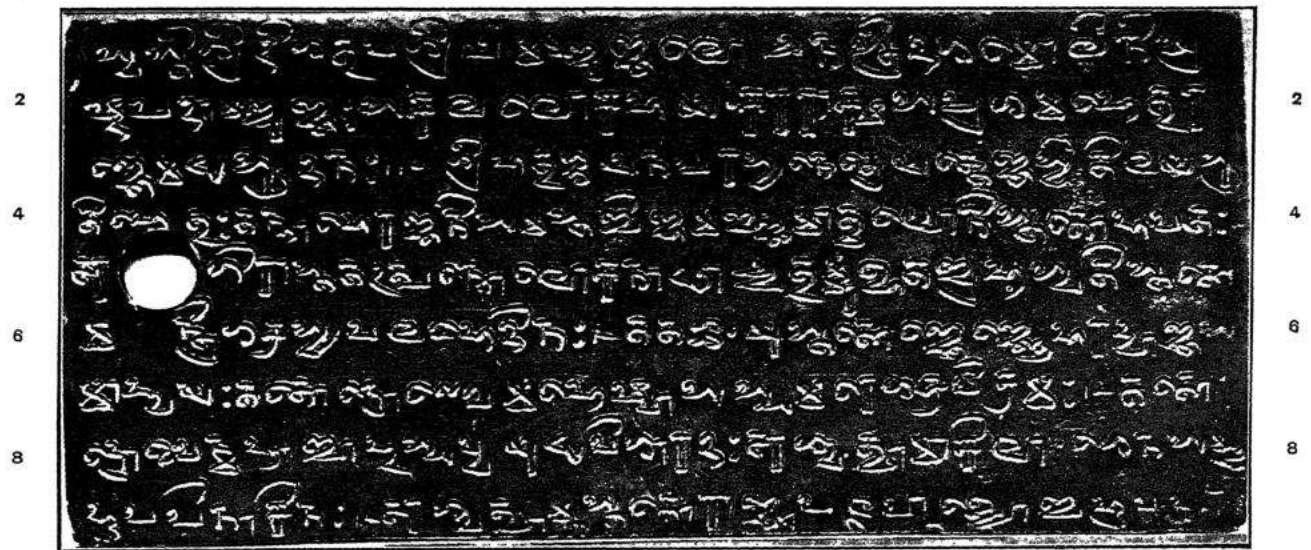
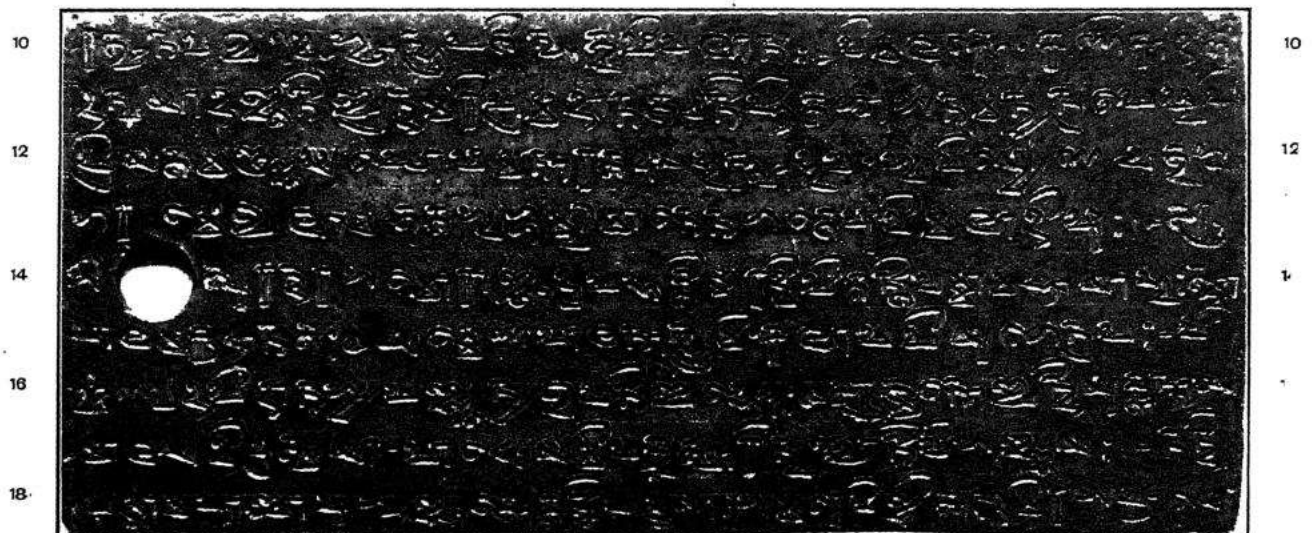
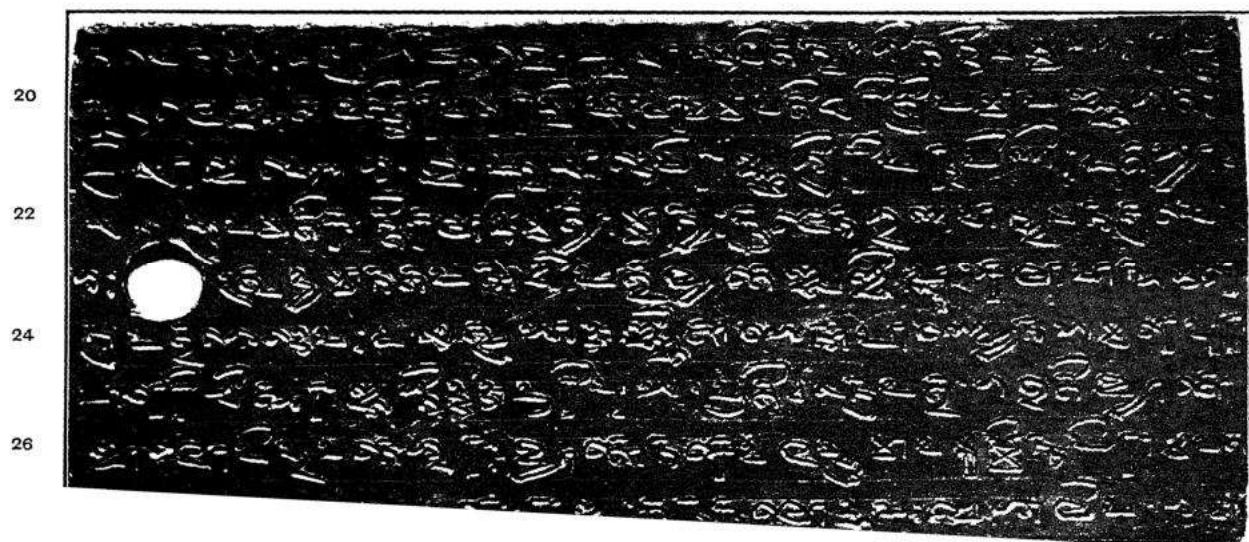
First Plate ; Second Side.

- 10 ratsha(ksha) nava-khaṇḍa-sthān=bhūpatin=sa-kṛishivalān || [6 ||*] Vimala-Komkaṇik-
 ādi ta-
 11 d-anvayād=ajani brīdam=ari-pramad-ānatam [1*] nihita-śāsanam=anya-nṛipēshv=api
 12 priyatamañ=jaya-ghōsham=anāratam || [7 ||*] Bhuktivā bhuvanī sva-vīryyēṇa
 chatus-[sā]-
 13 gara-mēkhalām | tata[h*] svarggam=vimānēna¹ gatēshu Vimal-ādishu || [8 ||*] Ā-
 14 sit=Purandara-samō rājā² dṛipa(dha)-bhaktir=Mmura-dvipi(shi) [1*] Ta(Da)ntivarmmā
 mahā-[b]āhuḥ tshāmā(kshāmā)-
 15 pāla-makut-ānataḥ || [9 ||*] Dharmmēṇa pālanāt(d)=bhūmim Kalāv=api yugō
 nṛipaḥ | va-
 16 rshaṇād=api dānasya parjjanya iva nirbabhau || [10 ||*] Ātmanō bandi-yukt-
 ā[nām]³ Ya-
 17 m-ālaya-didṛitsha(ksha)yā. | pāthēyam=iva kṛitv=ārīn=paṇḍāni⁴ visa[s*]rjja yah
 || [11 ||*] Nandi-
 18 varmmā mahā-bāhus=sa jātō⁵ Ta(Da)ntiva[r*]mmaṇah [1*] samarē vijitā
 bhūmir=asahāyē-

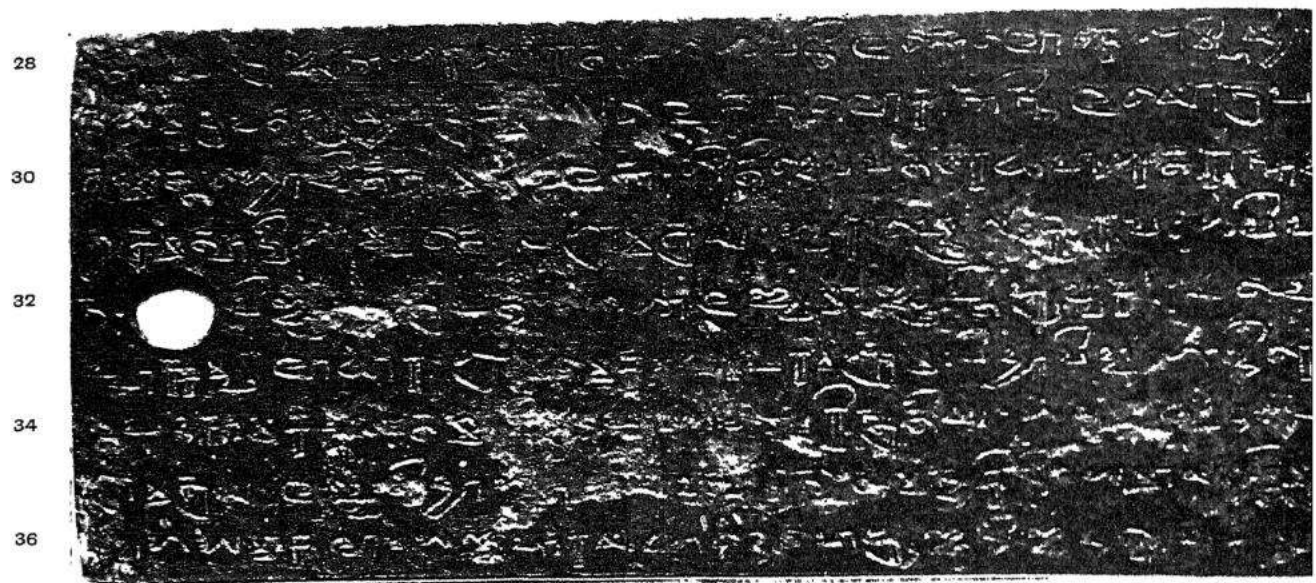
Second Plate ; First Side.

- 19 na yēna saḥ || [12 ||*] Āsich=Chhañkh-āhvayā dēvi tanv-aṁgi Nāṇdivarmmaṇah
 [1*] Rāshṭra-
 20 kūta-[ku*]lē jātā Latshmi(kshmi)r=iva Mura-dvishaḥ || [13 ||*] Kshamāvati
 dharitr=iva mā[tri*]-vaj=jagataḥ
 21 priyā [1*] babhau Śamkh-āhvayā dēvi rājña[h*] śrīr=iva rūpiṇi || [14 ||*]
 Tasyām
 22 [ba]bhūva mati-kānti-kal-ādimatyām=mānyah kulēna guṇavān=bhuvana-tray-ē-
 23 śah [1*] utpadyamāna-tapanādhipa-tulya-tējā jishṇuḥ kalāvān=samarē⁶
 24 Nṛipatumgadēvaḥ || [15 ||*] Yat-prasād-ā[r*]jjitā sēnā Pāṇḍyēna samarē purā [1*]
 25 pārē-Richit=sa rāj-āgnir=ddadāha ripu-samhatim || [16 ||*] Nṛipatumga iti khyātō
 26 bālō=pi bhuvan-ēśvaraḥ | khyātō na kēvalam=bhūmāv=amushminn=api Rāma-vat
 27 || [17 ||*] Tasy=ōpakāra-samyuktō rājñah Kuru-kul-ōdbhavaḥ [1*] Vēśāli-vamśa-Mā-

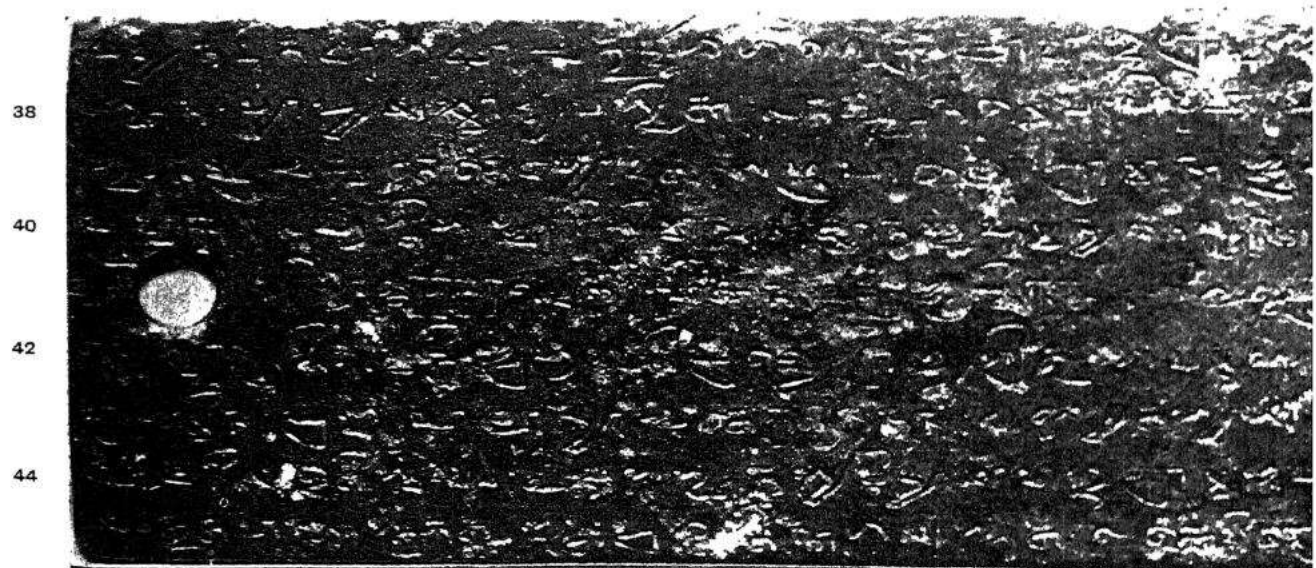
¹ Read *svarggam vimānēna*.² To satisfy the metre, this word must be cancelled.³ Read perhaps *yukt-ānyān*.⁴ Read perhaps *kāṇḍāni*.⁵ Read *samjītō*.⁶ Instead of the last syllable of *kalāvān*, the metre requires a short syllable; read perhaps *kalāpa-samarē*.

ia.*ib.**ii a.*

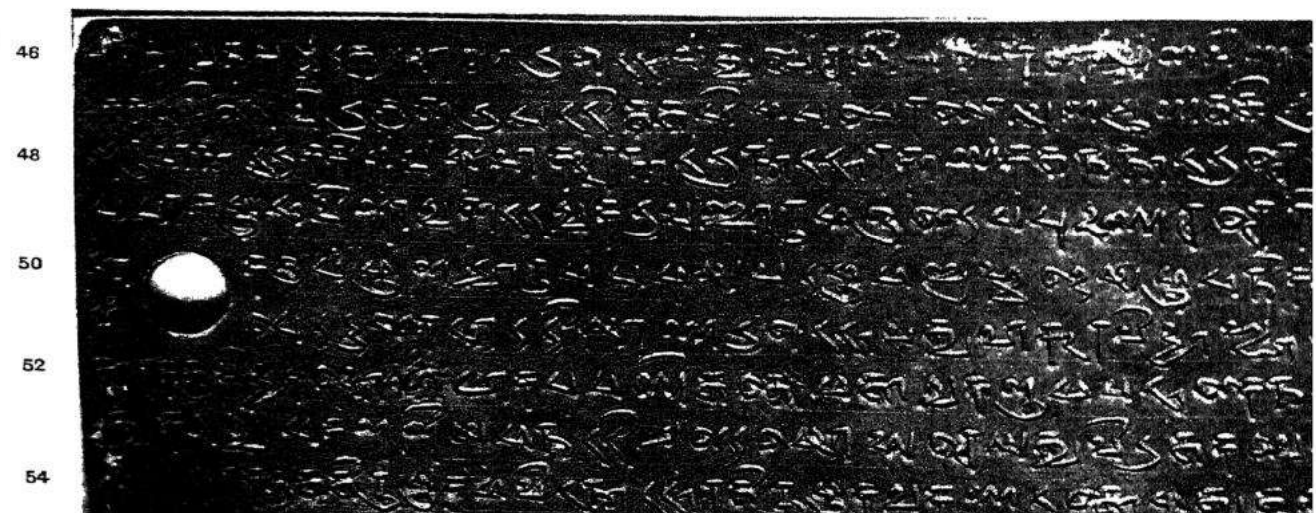
ii b.



iii a.



iii b.



Second Plate; Second Side.

- 28 rttāṇḍaḥ prajānām śaraṇē rataḥ || [18 ||*] Śasi-vat=tilako¹ lokē gāmbhīry-
ādan¹
- 29 samudra-vat [|*] sū[r*]yya-vad=rakṣaṇāl=lōkān² lōkānān=niḷayō nripaḥ || [19 ||*]
- 30 Tasmāt=tasy=ōchitan=nāma Nilaitāṁg=iti dēva-vat | athavā sutarān=nāma-pra-
- 31 tyakṣatvād=viśām=patēḥ || [20 ||*] Grāma-trayaṁ sva-rāṣṭrē saḥ³ Kuru-vamśa-
vivarddha-
- 32 naḥ [|*] vijñā[pya] Nripatūṁg-ēśāl=labdham=ājñapti-pūrvvaka[m] || [21 ||*] Chettu-
- 33 ppākkam=phal-ādhāraṁ grāmam=ēkam=ath=āparam [|*] grāmaḥ(mam) Vidyā-
vilāṁg-ādi-rēbh(ph)-ā-
- 34 nta-pada-nāmaka[m] || [22 ||*] Tasmād=Iraippunaichchērin=tritiyaṁ sarvva-[sampa]dam
[|*] ēvaṁ
- 35 grāma-trayaṁ labdham=vidyā-sthānāya⁴ dattavān || [23 ||*] Mandākinīm
samāyāntīm=ūrmīm-
- 36 vēga-samākulām [|*] sa [ba]bhāra yathā dēvō Dhū[r*]jaṭir=jaṭay=aikayā || [24 ||*]

Third Plate; First Side.

- 37 Vidyā-nadi tath=āg[ā]thā(dhā) ⁵chaturddiśa-gaṇ-ākulā, [|*] Vāgū[r]l-grāma-jush[ām]
sthānam vyāpya yasmād=vyavasthitā || [25 ||*] Tat=sthānam=ēvaṁ viduṣhām vidyā-
sthānam=prachakṣatē [|*] tēbhyaḥ datvā(ttva) sa bhūpālō grāmān=ājñapti-
40 pūrvvakān || [26 ||*] Hasti-saṅchāri-simāntān=ātmānam=bahu-manyatē [|*] yuktān=sa
41 rvva-[pa]rihārair=akarātvenā rakṣitān || [27 ||*] Ājñaptir=Uttamāśīlas=trailō-
42 ky-ēśvara-pūjitaḥ [|*] mantri Brihaspati-prakhyō rājā[h*] śrī-Tuṁg-
va[r*]immaṇaḥ || [28 ||*]
- 43 Āgāminah prajāpālān=yāchatē Kuru-nandanah [|*] dha[rmma*]sy=aitasya sāmānyā
44 t=pālaniya iti svayam || [29 ||*] Dāsa[h*] sthānasya vidyāyā Vāgūr-grāma
jushām=a-
- 45 yam⁶ [|*] kṛitavān(ñ)=śāstra-tatva(ttva)-jñah praśastin=Nāgayas=su[kṛi*]t || [30 ||*]
Kō Viśaiya-Nri-

Third Plate; Second Side.

- 46 patoṅgavarmmarku yāṇḍu eṭṭāvadū Vēśāli-ppēraraiyaṇ vinnap-
47 pattāl Vidēlvidugu-Kāṇpatti-Ttamiḷa-ppēraraiyaṇ ānatti āga
48 Aruvā-nāṭṭa-Kkīlvali-Vāgūr-nāṭṭar nāṭṭar kānga [|*] Tam-nāṭṭu Settu-
49 ppā[k*]kamum Vilāṅgāṭṭaṅgaḍuvaṇūrum Iraippunaichchēriyu-
50 m=āga immūṇrūrum paḷayav-aṇamum brahmadēyaṇuma nikki mu-
51 n perṇarai māṇri yāṇḍu eṭṭāvadū Vāgūr vidyāsthānat-
52 tārkku vidyābhōgam=āga=ppanittōm [|*] Tāngaḷum paḍāgai naḍan-
53 du kallum kaḷliyum n[ā*]tti aṇaiyōlai śeydu ⁷vidutka(kka)v=erū
54 nāṭṭārkku=ttirumugam viḍa [|*] Nāṭṭār tirumugaṇ=gaṇḍu toḷuḍu talai-
55 [k]ku vaittu=ppaḍāgai naḍandu kalluṇ=galliyu=nāṭṭi aṇai[yōlai]

¹ The second part of the *au* of -ādan is engraved at the beginning of the next line.

² Read =lōkāml=.

³ Read sa.

⁴ Read labdham=vidyā.

⁵ [Read chatur°.—Ed.]

⁶ The reading = imām would be more suitable.

⁷ [This word may be read as vidutaga.—Ed.]

Fourth Plate; First Side.

- 56 seydu nāttār viḍunda(tta) aṟaiyolai=ppaḍi nilattukk=ellai [*] Viḷa-
 57 ngāttāṅgaḍuvaṇṟkkuṇ=Jeṭṭuppākkattukkum=āga iraṇḍu ṇṟkkuṇ=gi-
 58 i-pārk=ellai kāttu ellaiṇṇum Neṇmalippākkattu ellaiṇ
 59 mērkun=deṇ-pārk=ellai Neṇmalippākkatt=ellaiṇṇun=Neivā-
 60 yippākkatt=ellaiṇṇum Uṟattūr=ellaikku vaḍakkum mēl-pā-
 61 rk=ellai Māmbākkatt=ellaiṇṇum iv-Viḷāṅgāttāṅgaḍuvaṇṟ-
 62 r-ppār=piramadēyam=āina aṟubadu. seṇuvukku=kkilakkum vaḍa-pārk=ellai Vā-
 63 gūr=ellaiṇṇ=ṟerkum [*] Iraippunaichehērikk=ellai kiḷ-pārk=ellai natta-
 64 m uḷḷiṭṭa kāttukku mērkun=deṇ-pārk=ellai Neruṇjikuṟumbiṇ ellai-
 65 iṇ vaḍakku=mēl-pārk=ellai Vāgūr=ellaiṇṇ kilakkum vaḍa-pārk=ellai

Fourth Plate; Second Side.

- 66 Kiriṁānpātti ellaiṇṇ=ṟerkum=āga. ivv-iṣaitta-peru-nāṅg-ellai-
 67 gaḷilum=agappatta nilaṇ nīr-nilaṇum puṇseyyum ūmam¹ ūr-irukkaḷiyu=
 68 maṇaiyu=maṇai-ppaḍappu=maṇruṇ=gaṇru=mēyi-pāḷuṇ=gulamuṇ=gottagā[ra]-
 69 muṇ=gidaṅguṇ=gēṇiyuṇ=gāḍuṇ=galarum oḍaiyūm uḍaippum uḷḷiṭṭu ni[r]
 70 pūsi neḍum paramb=erindu uḍumb=ōḍi āmai tavaḷndad=e[llā]-
 71 m uṇ-nilaṇ=oliv-iṇṟi Vāgūr vidyāsthāpattārkkū vidyā[bhō]-²
 72 bhōgam=āyi Vāgūrōḍē ēri Vāgūr perṟa parihāramum vyavaste(sthai)[yu]-
 73 m perṟu sarvva-parihāram=āyi brahmadēyam=āyi=pparadatti seṇṟa-
 74 du || Puṇyam samam kṛitavatām parirakshatāṇ=cha tad=rakshat=ēti nṟipatir=Nnṟi-
 75 patuṅgavarṁmā [*] āgāminah kshitipatin=praṇamaty=ajasram mūrddhna
 Mukunda-chara[n-ām]-

Fifth Plate; First Side.

- 76 buja-sēkharēṇa || [31 ||*] Uditōdita-kula-tilaka[h*] suvarṇṇakṛit=sarvva-[śāstra]-
 77 nishpātaḥ [*] alikhan=Nṟipatuṅg-ākhyah Pallava-kula-mūla-bhṛityo=tra || [32 ||*]
 78 Kachchipēṭṭu Kīl-Paiśarattu Uditōdaya-peru[n*]dattā[n*] magan Mādēvi-
 peru[n*]dattā-
 79 n magan(n) Nṟipatuṅga[n*] eluttu ||

TRANSLATION.

(Line 1.) Hail! Prosperity!

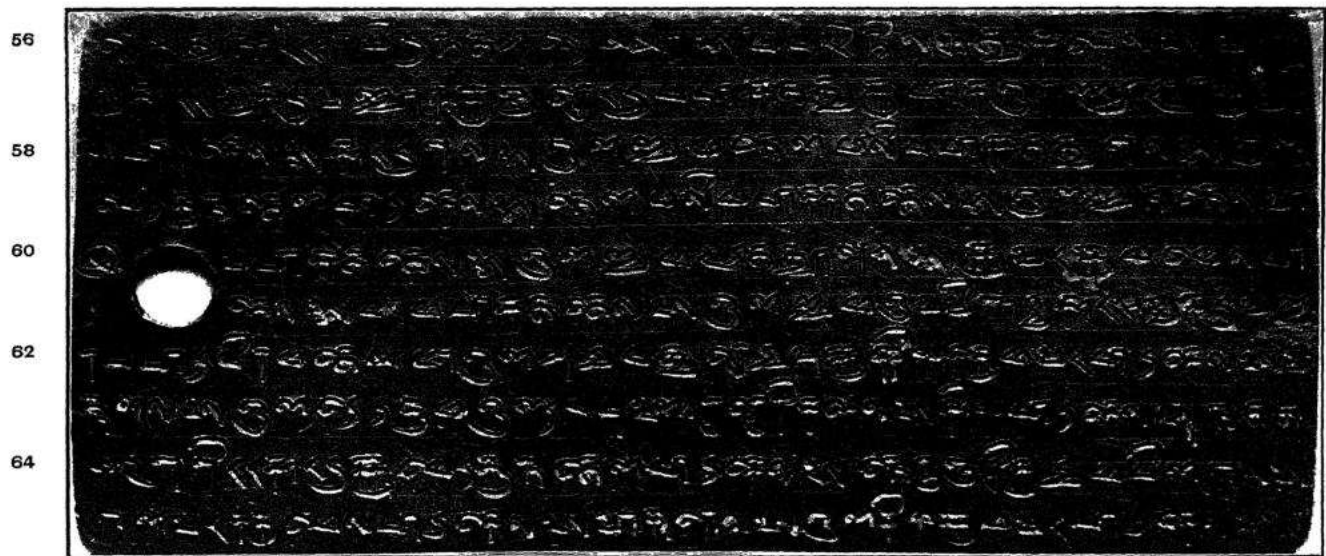
(Verse 1.) Let Madhu's destroyer (Vishṇu) grant you prosperity, the lotus-eyed one, whose lotus-feet are rubbed by the diadems of the gods (bowing to him), the unborn one, (who became) the means of the destruction of demons that terrified the whole world!

(Verse 2.) In the eye of the sleeping husband of Śrī (Vishṇu) was produced the luminary (i.e. the Sun?), (which is) the means of duration, destruction, and production. From his

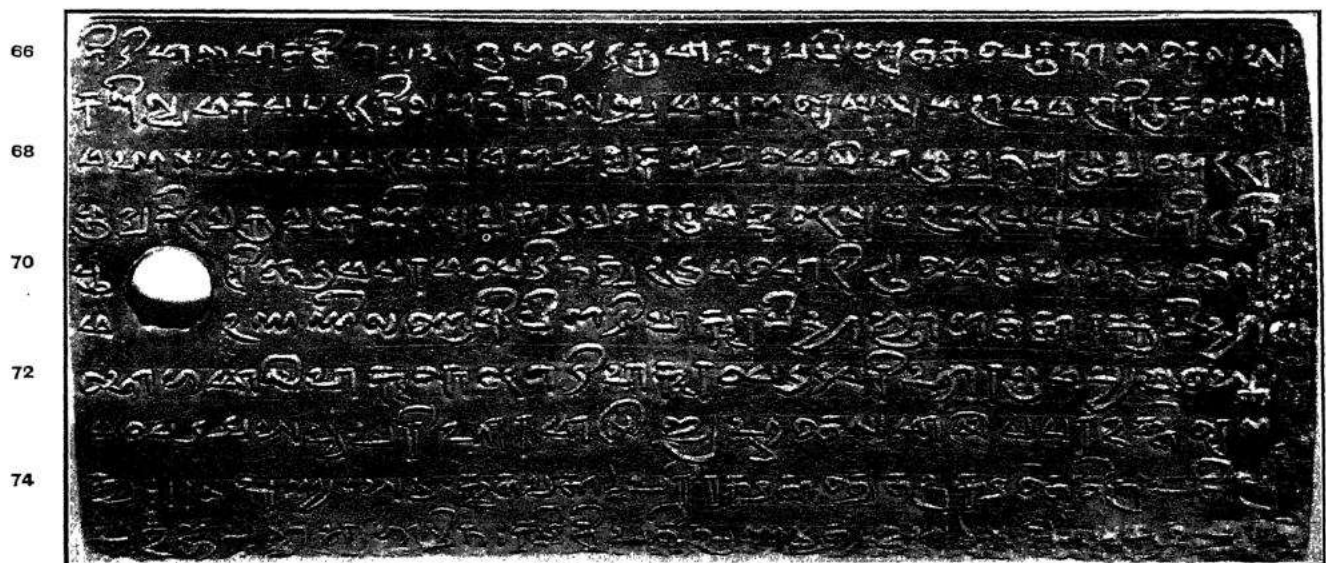
¹ Read *urum*.

² Cancel the bracketted syllable.

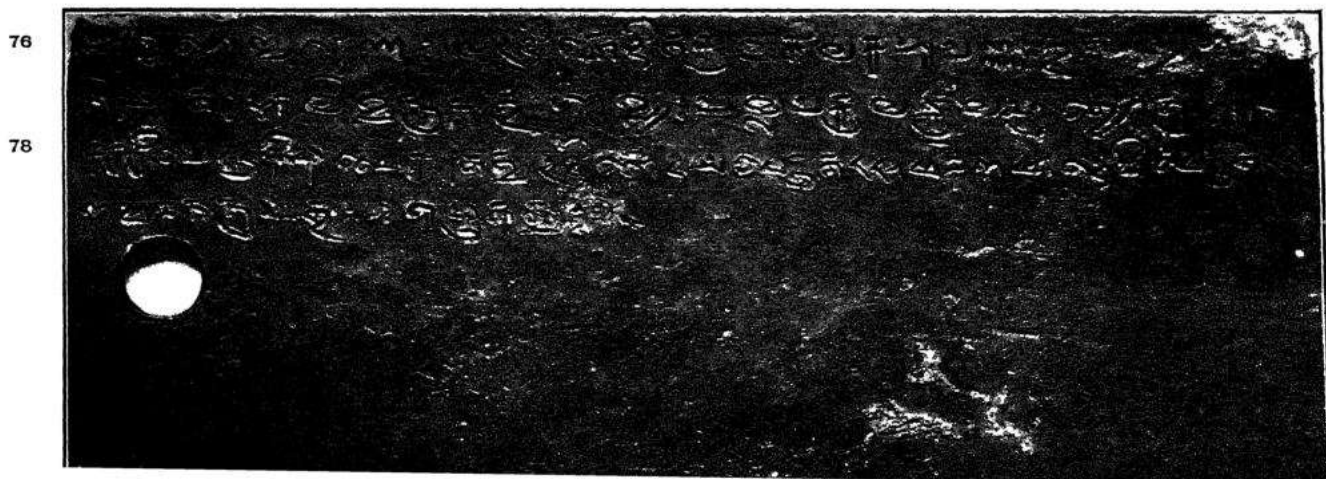
iv a



iv b.



v.



(Vishṇu's) navel arose a lotus-flower, the germ of all. From this (flower) the self-born one (Brahmā) was produced.

(Verse 3.) From this four-mouthed lord of the world, Aṅgiras was born, (and) from the latter, Bṛihaspati, the minister of Śakra (Indra), the splitter of (the demon) Vala.

(Verse 4.) From him was born Śaṁyu; from him, he who was named Bharadvāja; from him, the great archer Drōṇa, whose valour equalled that of Śakra in battle.

(Verse 5.) From this Drōṇa was produced, it is said, by a portion of Pinākin (Śiva) the long-armed Aśvatthāman, who was skilled in all fights.

(Verse 6.) From this Aśvatthāman was born a king named Pallava, who ruled the kings residing in the nine continents, together with the ploughmen.

(Verse 7.) From his family arose a group (of kings) commencing with Vimala and Koṅkaṇika, which was bowed to by the wives of enemies; which imposed commands even on other rulers of men; which was much beloved; (and) which continually shouted 'victory.'

(Verse 8 f.) Then, after Vimala, etc., having enjoyed by their own valour the earth girt by the four oceans, had gone to heaven on aerial cars, there was the long-armed (king) Dantivarman, who resembled Purandara (Indra), showed firm devotion to Mura's foe (Vishṇu), (and) was bowed to by the diadems of the rulers of the earth.

(Verse 10.) By ruling the earth according to right even in the Kali age, and by showering gifts, (this) ruler of men shone like a rain-cloud.

(Verse 11.) He dispatched arrows, furnishing (them) with provisions for (their) visit of the nether world under the guise of (the blood of those of his) enemies who were not (already) confined in his own prisons.¹

(Verse 12.) From Dantivarman was born that long-armed Nandivarman who subdued the earth unaided in battle.

(Verse 13.) Just as Lakshmī (is the consort) of Mura's foe (Vishṇu), (the wife) of Nandivarman was the slender queen named Śaṅkhā, who was born in the Rāṣṭrakūṭa family.

(Verse 14.) Full of patience like the earth, beloved by the people like a mother, the queen named Śaṅkhā shone as if she were the embodied fortune of the king.

(Verse 15.) By her who possessed intelligence, beauty, arts, etc., was born the virtuous Nṛpatuṅgadēva, the lord of the three worlds, noble by birth, resembling the rising sun in splendour, (and) victorious in fights with arrows.

(Verse 16.) Resembling fire, this king, by whose favour the Pāṇḍya had obtained an army formerly, burnt a confederation of enemies in a battle on the further bank of the Arichit (river).

(Verse 17.) Even in his youth (this) lord of the world (was) renowned (by the name) of Nṛpatuṅga (i.e. 'the high one among rulers of men'). (He was) renowned not only on earth; (but) even in the other (world), like Rāma.

(Verse 18.) Provided by this king with benefits (was) Mārtāṇḍa of the family of Vēsālī,² a descendant of the family of Kuru, (and) intent on (affording) refuge to (his) subjects.

(Verse 19.) An ornament to the world like the moon, (and) resembling the ocean in profundity, etc., (this) ruler of men (became) the resort of the people by protecting the people as if (he were) the sun.

¹ i.e. he either imprisoned or shot his enemies.

² Verses 19 and 20 suggest that the word Mārtāṇḍa (i.e. the sun) is not a mere metaphor (*rūpakam*), but has to be taken here as a proper name.

(Verse 20.) Therefore the (sur)name **Nilaitāṅgi** (i.e. 'the support of the world') (was as) suitable to this ruler of men as (unto) a god, or because (his real) name (**Mārtāṇḍa**, i.e. the sun) was quite manifest (to all).

(Verses 21-23.) This promoter of the family of **Kuru** gave to a seat of learning (*vidyāsthāna*) three villages in his own province (*rāshṭra*) which, at (his) request, (he had) received, provided with an executor (*ājñapti*), from that lord **Nṛipatuṅga**, viz. the village of **Čeṭṭup-pākkam**, rich in fruit, then another village whose name (consisted of) a word ending in an *r* and beginning with *Vidyāvilāṅgā*,¹ (and) thirdly the very prosperous (village of) **Iraippunai-chchēri**.

(Verses 24-26.) Just as the god **Dhūrjaṭi** (*Śiva*) carried on the single lock of (his) hair the approaching **Mandākinī** (*Gaṅgā*), agitated by the velocity of waves, thus the deep river of learning, filled with troops (of scholars) from the four directions,² stayed after it had filled the seat of the residents of the village of **Vāgūr**. Therefore they call this seat of scholars a seat of learning.

(Verse 26 f.) This ruler of land thinks highly of himself after he has given to those (scholars) the (three) villages, provided with an executor, their limits having been circumambulated by an elephant,³ accompanied by all immunities, (and) protected by freedom from taxes.

(Verse 28.) The executor (was) **Uttamaśīla**, worshipped by the lord of the three worlds,⁴ the minister, resembling **Bṛhaspati**, of the glorious king **Tuṅgavarman**.

(Verse 29.) The descendant of **Kuru** himself entreats future kings:—'As this charity is common (to all kings), it must be preserved (by you as well) !'

(Verse 30.) The servant of the seat of learning of the residents of the village of **Vāgūr**, the pious **Nāgaya**, who knew the truth of sciences, composed this eulogy (*prasaṣti*).

(Line 45.) In the eighth year (of the reign) of king **Vijaya-Nṛipatuṅgavarman**, at the request of **Vēśali-pēraraiaṇ**; **Vidēlviḍugu-Kaḍupaṭṭi-Tamiḷa-pēraraiaṇ** being the executor (*ānatti*). Let the headmen of **Kiḷvaḷi-Vāgūr-nāḍu**, (a subdivision) of **Aruvā-nāḍu**, see (this order) !⁵

(Line 48.) In the eighth year (of our reign), we have granted three villages of your *nāḍu*, viz. **Čeṭṭup-pākkam**, **Viḷāṅgattāṅgaḍuvaṇūr**, and **Iraippunaichchēri**,—dispossessing the former tenants, (and) excluding ancient charities and *Brahmaḍēyas*,—to the residents of the seat of learning at **Vāgūr** as a source of revenue for the promotion of learning (*vidyā-bhōga*).

(Line 52.) And issued an order (*tirumugam*) to the headmen of the *nāḍu*, telling them to circumambulate the limits,⁶ to plant stones and milk-bush (along the boundaries), and to draw up and submit a report (*araiyōlai*) !

¹ According to the Tamil portion, the full name of this village was **Viḷāṅgattāṅgaḍuvaṇūr**, to which the word *vidyā* is still prefixed here because it was granted for the promotion of learning.

² With *čaturdiṣu-guṇa* cf. the expression *čātudāsasa bhikṣu-sa[m*]gha* at Nāsik, above, Vol. VIII, p. 78, text line 5.

³ The local authorities fixed the boundaries by letting an elephant walk round the limits. Cf. *piḍi naḍappittu* or *piḍi sūḷṇdu* in the Leyden plates, *passim*; *karinī-parikramaṇa-vispaṣṭa-simā-čatusṭṭayam* *grāmaṁ*, *ibid.*, l. 85 f.; *iḍḍi-piṛāta-simāṇaṁ*, above, Vol. XV, p. 63, text line 109 f.; *piḍi sūḷṇdu*, *ibid.*, p. 64, text lines 134-136, and p. 65, text line 165; *piḍi naḍatti*, *Travancore Arch. Series*, Vol. II, p. 70.

⁴ i.e. king **Nṛipatuṅga**; see verse 15.

⁵ Cf. line 105 of the **Kāśākūḍi** plates.

⁶ *Paḍāgai naḍāṇḍu* corresponds to *paḍāgai valaṇ=jeyidu* in line 110 of the **Kāśākūḍi** plates; *piḍāgai valaṇ=jeydu* in a **Thiruvallam** inscription of **Nandivikramavarman**, S. I. I., Vol. III p. 91, l. 11; *piḍāgai naḍāṇḍu* in the Leyden plates, *passim*; and *pradakṣiṇi-kṛitya* in Sanskrit.

(Line 54.) When the headmen of the *nādu* saw the order, they raised (their) joined hands (before it), placed (it) on (their) heads, circumambulated the limits, planted stones and milk-bush, and drew up a report.

(Line 56.) According to the report submitted by the headmen of the *nādu*, the boundaries of the land (granted are as follows):—Of the two villages of *Vilāṅgattāṅgaḍuvāṇūr* and *Seṭṭuppākkam*, the eastern boundary is to the west of the boundary of a forest and of the boundary of *Neṇmalippākkam*; the southern boundary is to the north of the boundary of *Neṇmalippākkam*, of the boundary of *Nekvāyippākkam*, and of the boundary of *Uṭattūr*; the western boundary is to the east of the boundary of *Māmbākkam* and of sixty rice-fields (*ṣeruvu*) which form a *Brahmadēya* near this *Vilāṅgattāṅgaḍuvāṇūr*;¹ and the northern boundary is to the south of the boundary of *Vāgūr*.

(Line 63.) The boundaries of *Iraippuṇaichchēri* (are):—The eastern boundary is to the west of a forest surrounding the village (*nattam*); the southern boundary is to the north of the boundary of *Neruñjikuṇambu*; the western boundary is to the east of the boundary of *Vāgūr*; and the northern boundary is to the south of the boundary of *Kirimānpātti*.

(Line 66.) Altogether, the land enclosed by the four great boundaries specified here, including wet land and dry land, villages and village-buildings, houses and house-gardens, clearings and young trees, waste grounds for grazing,² tanks, store-houses,³ ditches, wells, forests, brackish ground, water-courses and breaches,⁴ wherever water is conducted (?), long harrows are applied,⁵ iguanas run, and tortoises creep, not excluding the cultivated land,⁶ being joined⁷ to *Vāgūr* itself as a source of revenue for the promotion of learning to the residents of the seat of learning at *Vāgūr*, enjoying the immunities and agreements⁸ enjoyed by *Vāgūr*, possessing all immunities, (and) being a *Brahmadēya*,—the grant was made.⁹

(Verse 31.) 'The good works of those who perform (them) and of those who preserve (them) are equally (meritorious). Therefore preserve you (this gift)!' Thus (requesting them), king *Nripatūṅga varman* perpetually bows (his) head, which bears on its crest the lotus feet of *Mukunda* (*Vishṇu*), to future kings.

(Verse 32.) The ornament of the family of *Uditōdita*, the goldsmith named *Nripatūṅga*, who was skilled in all sciences (and) a hereditary servant of the *Pallava* family, wrote (this).

(Line 78.) The writing of *Nripatūṅga*, the son of *Mādēvi-perundattāṇ* (who was) the son of *Uditōdaya-perundattāṇ*, (a resident) of *Kiḷ-Paiśāram* near *Kachchipēḍu*.

¹ In two other instances (ll. 49, 56 f.), the *ā* of *ṭṭā* is represented by a short *a*.

² These three doubtful terms occur also in line 281 of the Leyden plates, and in the Aṇbil plates, above, Vol. XV, p. 65, text line 167 f., where they are translated by 'halls, wastes in which the calves graze.' I adopt M. Vinson's renderings of *maṇṇam* and *kaṇṇam* (as the Leyden plates read for *kaṇṇu*).

³ For *kottagāram* see S. I. I., Vol. II, p. 61, n. 2; above, Vol. XV, p. 71, n. 3; Travancore Arch. Series, Vol. III, p. 177, n. 3.

⁴ See S. I. I., Vol. III, p. 64, n. 1.

⁵ The expression *nir pūsi* occurs also in line 284 of the Leyden plates, and *neḍum paramb=erindu* in line 305 (which ought to have been numbered 285) of the same. Both terms are used in line 434 of the Tiruvāṅgaḍu plates, S. I. I., Vol. III, p. 410.

⁶ See S. I. I., Vol. III, p. 109, n. 2.

⁷ *ēri* may be the intransitive form of *ēri*, 'having joined.'

⁸ For *vyavasthā*, see S. I. I., Vol. I, No. 40, ll. 20 and 56; Vol. II, No. 98, ll. 58 and 62.

⁹ The two words *paradatti seṇṇadu* occur also in line 133 of the Kāsakudi plates, and in line 63 of the Vēlūrpālaiyam plates, (S. I. I., Vol. II, p. 509), where I would read *paradutti* (with Grantha *ḍa*) instead of *paradatti* and cancel the note on p. xiii of the Addenda and Corrigenda. The Aṇbil plates (above, Vol. XV, p. 61 text line 180 f.) read *parad. tti* for *paradatti*.

No. 3.—AN INSCRIBED RELIC CASKET FROM KURRAM.

BY THE LATE PANDIT V. NATESA AIYAR, B.A., PATNA.

This casket was brought to my notice in the year 1917, when I was Superintendent of the Archaeological Survey, Frontier Circle, Peshawar, by Khan Sahib Mian Wasi Uddin, my Assistant. On enquiry I learnt that its exact find-spot was unknown, but that it was given as a present by a villager to one of the sons of the Nawab of Landi Yarghazo, while he was Tahsildar of Kurram. The casket is now in the possession of his younger brother, a student of the Edwardes College, Peshawar, from whom I tried to acquire it for the local Museum, of which I was the *ex-officio* Curator; but I could not succeed until the moment of my departure from Peshawar in January, 1919.

The casket is made of copper and measures 18" in height. Its base is square and is attached to the drum by means of a fillet and grove joint. The *harmikā* is of the conventional shape and loosely threaded on to a central shaft, also of copper.

The casket is almost perfect in every detail and has the appearance of a miniature *stūpa* with its *harmikā* and umbrellas. (Pl. I, a.)

The relics which the casket was meant to enshrine are no longer traceable. Likewise, as I have observed already, the exact find-spot of the casket is unknown. Neither could I, owing to the unsettled state of the Kurram valley, visit the spot and obtain any local information.

The inscription on the casket consists of four lines of Kharōṣṭhī script punctured, as in the case of the Kanishka casket from Shāh-jī-kī-dhērī, on the four sides of its square base. The writing covers a space of $4\frac{1}{2} \times 2$ " on each side and seems to be in fairly good preservation, except as regards the lowermost line on two of the sides, which, unfortunately, has disappeared altogether. (Pl. I, b, and Pl. II.)

The paleography of the record presents the same peculiarities as the silver scroll inscription from Taxila,¹ the Kanishka casket from Shāh-jī-kī-dhērī² and the Mānikāla casket.³ The letters are of the elongated and cursive variety and belong, undoubtedly, to the Kushān period.⁴ It is noteworthy that in the case of some of the letters in the present record, such as *ka*, *dha*, *yā*, *śa* and *sa*, the shape is not uniform throughout, but differs slightly in different places. This I attribute more to the carelessness of the engraver than to the transitional nature of the script at the time. This is borne out also by nearly the same symbol being used to represent *ta*, *ra*, *ba* and similarly of *a* and *va*.

The language is Prakrit and of the variety peculiar to the Western Punjab and the North-Western Frontier of India, which constituted the ancient kingdom of Gandhāra. Among the orthographical peculiarities may be mentioned that *cha* is invariably used for *ta*, *va* for *pa* and *ga* for *ya*. Besides, double consonants are always represented by single consonants, as in *aviḥa* for *aviḥḥa*, *prachaga* for *prachchaga*, *viñana* for *viññana*, *phasha* for *phassa*, *tusha* for *taṣha* and *dukha-khamdasa* for *dukkha-khamdhassa*.

The inscription records the enshrinement of the bodily relics (*śarīra*) of the Holy Śākya-muni in a shrine (*gaha*?) belonging to the Sarvāstivādin sect, in the year 21 (?), on the twentieth day of the tenth month, Āśvina.⁵ Then follows the *anuloma* portion of the text of the *Pratītya-samutpāda* or *Nidāna-Sūtra*, which the Lord Buddha revealed soon after

¹ A. S. E. for 1912-13, p. 18 f. and Plate; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIV, plate facing p. 295.

² A. S. E. for 1908-9, p. 50 f.

³ J. R. A. S., 1920, pp. 193 ff.

⁴ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XII, Plate facing p. 299.

⁵ [With the reading and translation as given by me below, some of these details will be modified.—F. W. T.]

his enlightenment under the Bōdhi tree at Bōdh-Gayā. The inscription ends with the prayer that these sacred relics, as well as the Sūtra propounded by the Lord, may be honoured by all sentient beings.

TEXT.

- 1 [Sam 20] 1 masa 10 Asunakasa di 20 iśe¹ chhunami [khe]tre Varma-
[ya]śa-putrasa [Ruū]bhumi-rañasa² mi Ucha[rśa]na Sarva-
[sti]vadana³ gaha[mi] śu[bha]mi Bhagava[ta]sa Śaka-mun[i]sa
- 2 śarira . pradiokhadi⁴ Śakavuta Bhagava[ta]⁵ Avija-prachaga saṁkara saṁkara-
prachaga viñana viñana-prachaga nama-ruva namaruva-prachaga sha[d-a]ya-
[tana] sha[d-a]yatana-prachaga phasha phasha-prachaga
- 3 vedana vedana-prachaga tusha tusha-prachaga uvadana uvadana-prachaga
bhava bhava-prachaga jati jati-pra[chaga] jara-marana-śoga-pari[bha]⁶va-dukhader=
manasta⁷ uvaga[sa] kevalasa dukha-[kaṁ]⁸dhasa samudae⁹ bhavati
- 4 śarira mahiphati[e]na¹⁰ sarvā-satvāna puyae

esā cha [pra]tichasamasa cha

sa[rva] sa[tva]na puyae

TRANSLATION.

In the year 21, of the tenth month Āśvina, on the 20th day, at this moment, in the territory of Varmayaśas' son, the king of Ruubhūmi, in Ucharśana-(Uttarasena?) [consecrated], in the sacred shrine of the Sarvāstivādins, the bodily relics of the divine Śākya-muni. Says the holy scion of the Śakas :—

“From Ignorance spring Impressions, from Impressions springs Consciousness, from Consciousness spring Name-and-Form, from Name-and-Form spring the Six Provinces (of the six senses), from the Six Provinces springs Contact, from Contact springs Sensation, from Sensation springs Thirst (or desire), from Thirst springs Attachment, from Attachment springs Existence, from Existence springs Birth, from Birth spring Old Age and Death, Grief, Lamentation, Suffering, Dejection and Despair. [Such is] the origin of [this] whole (or unique) Mass of suffering. [May these] relics of the Lord of the Universe [be] honoured by all sentient beings and [likewise] this summary [doctrine] of causes and effects.”

[Dr. Thomas's revised text and translation (inserting marks of vowel length).]

- 1 S. 21 māsa Avadūnakasa^{*} di 20 iśe chhunami Tātra-Varmayaśa-putrasa
navakammi[asa Saṁghārā]mami āchāryāna[m] Sarvāstivādāna[m] gaha[mi]
thūbammi Bhagavatasa Śaka-munisa.

¹ In the Brāhmī inscriptions of this period (cf. Lüders' List Nos. 32, 34) the corresponding expression is *asmi kshune* or *asmi kshune*, while the Taxila silver scroll inscription has *isa divase*. [The *e*-mark is not seen. The letter may be read *ya*.—Ed.]

² Read °*raja*sa.

^{*} Read °*va*dina.

⁴ The formation of this word does not seem to be quite clear.

⁵ The usual form is *bhagava* (nom.) or *bhagavato* (gen.).

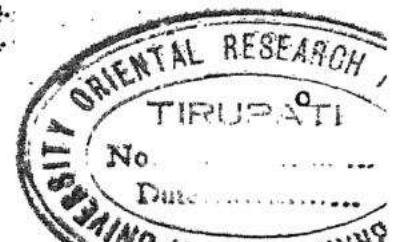
⁶ The other versions have *parideva*.

⁷ Read °*ma*nasi.

⁸ Read °*kha*m°.

⁹ Read *sa*mudao.

¹⁰ Read *ma*hipatianam.



- 2 Śarira pratihāriti yathā(etha?) utam(vuṭa[m]) Bhagavatā avijā-prachaga
 saṃsk(kkh?)āra saṃsk(kkh?)āra-prachaga viñāna viñāna-prachaga nāma-rūva
 nāma-rūva-prachaga shad-āyatana shad-āyatana-prachaga phasha phasha-prachaga
 3 vedanā vedanā-prachaga tasha(tassha?) tasha(tarsha)-prachaga uvādāna
 [uvādāna-prachaga] bhava bhava-prachaga jāti jā[ti-prachaga] jarā-[marāṇa]-soya-
 parideva-dukkha-domanavi(si)-uvega saṃ[bhava]ti kevalasa dukha-sk(kkh?)am-
 āhāsa samudae bhavati
 4 danatidamahiphatilena (??) sarvasatvāna[m] pūyae sarva-satvāna[m] pūyae aya[m]-cha
 patichcha-samutpāde

TRANSLATION.

Year 21, month Avadūnaka (Audūnaios), day 20—on this date, in the monastery of the
navakarmika, son of Tśutra (kshudra)-Varmayaśas (?), in the abode of the reverend
 Sarvāstivādins, in a *stūpa*, was deposited a relic of the Holy Śākya-muni
 [This casket is given by . . .]
 for the honouring of all beings, and also for the honouring of all beings this *pratitya-samutpāda*
 [formula] is engraved.]

NOTES.

The record is of great importance for many reasons. To begin with, the inscription says
 in so many words that the relics to the consecration of which it refers are those of the Buddha
 himself. We know of very few instances of this kind so far. Even the epigraph on the Kanishka
 relic casket discovered at Shāh-jī-ki-dherī, in Peshawar, fails to supply us with anything but
 circumstantial evidence as to the authenticity of the deposit. It follows, therefore, that the
 monument in which the present casket was enshrined must have been regarded originally as
 among the most important in the country.

Secondly, there have been discovered in India only two other inscriptions containing the
 text of the *Nidāna-Sūtra*. The one comes from the village of Gopalpur in the Gorakhpur Dis-
 trict of the United Provinces, and the other from Kasiā, the ancient Kuśinagara, also in the same
 district. But in both cases, we have only the Sanskrit recension of the Sūtra. The Gopalpur
 inscription is carved on both sides of one of 5 inscribed bricks which were dug out from a brick
 relic chamber in the centre of the *Mañjrātīya* mound, and coins of Wema Kadphises, Kanishka
 and Huvishka and one of Āyumitra are said to have been found along with the bricks. The
 script employed is the northern variety of the Gupta Brāhmī, and the text of the Sūtra is given
 as follows¹ :—

INSCRIPTION ON BRICK I.²

(Obverse.)

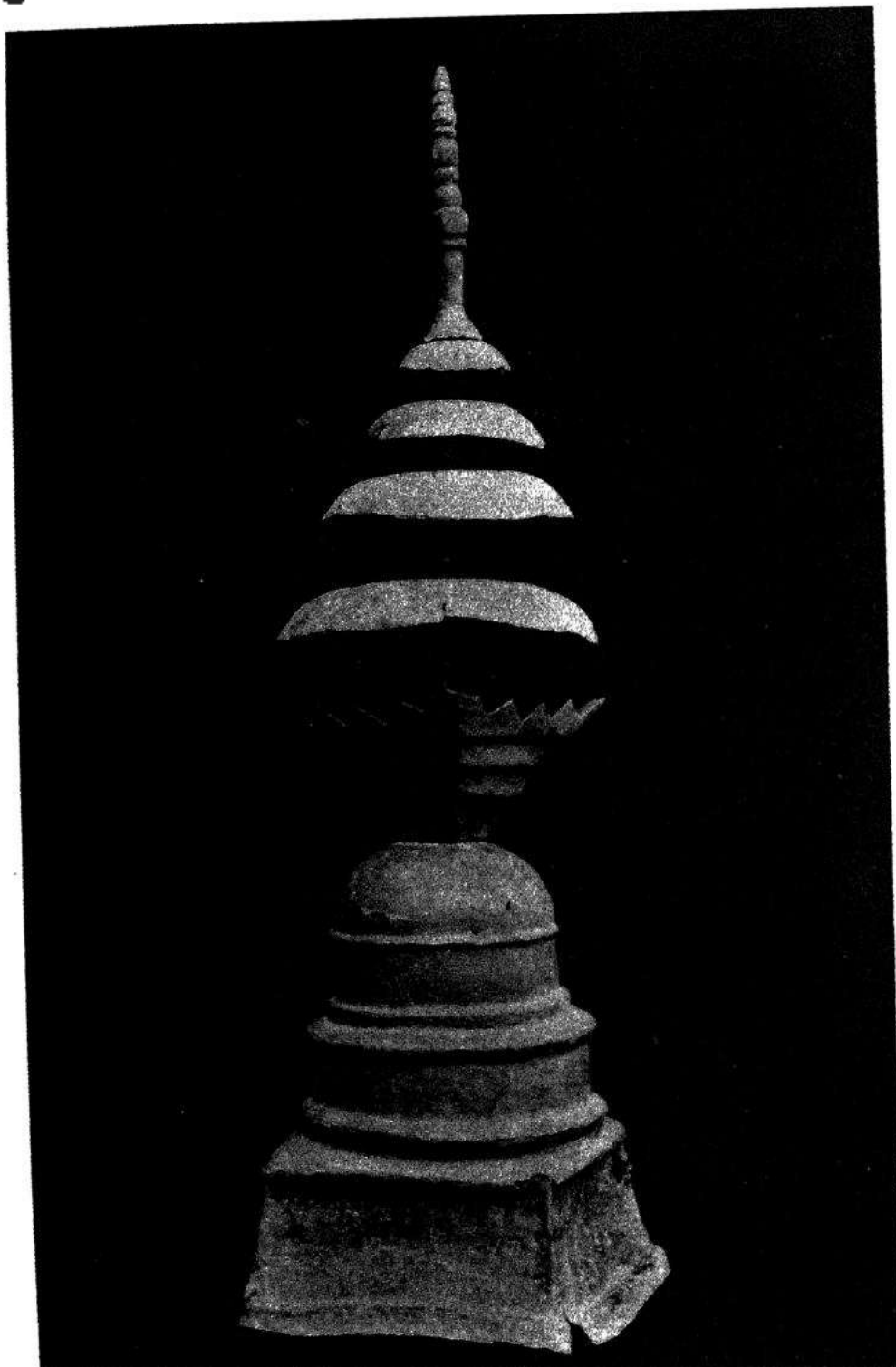
- 1 Eṃam mayā śrutam=ekasmin samayē Bhagavāñ=Chhrāvastyām viharati Jētavanō=
- 2 (Ā)nāthapiṇḍadāsy-ārāme tatra Bhagavān bhikshūn=āmantrayati sma dharmāpān
 vō bhi-
- 3 kshava āchayam cha dēśayishyāmy=apachayam cha tach=chhrīṇata [sādhu-
 ch=āsushva cha]

¹ The text of the inscription is quoted here, because it gives a complete version of the Sūtra in Sanskrit, which
 even the Kasiā copper-plate does not.

² *Proc. A. S. B.* for 1896, pp. 99 ff.

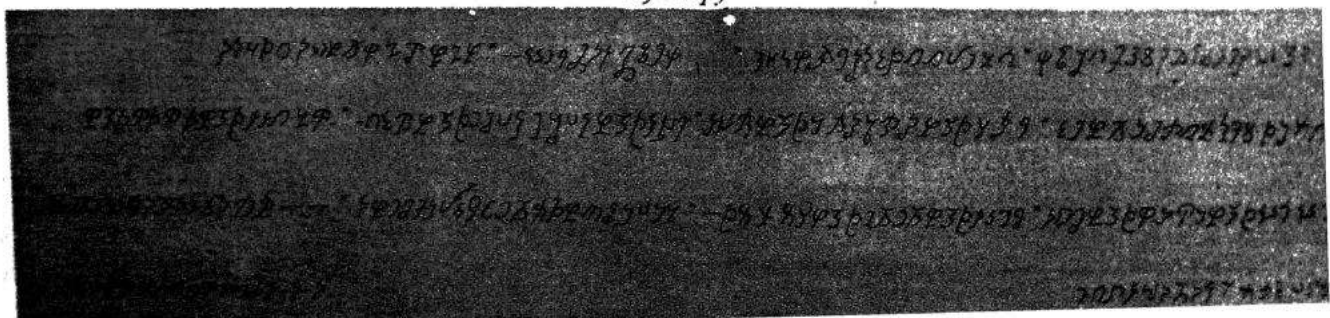
Inscribed Relic-Casket from Kurram : the 21st (?) year.





SCALE TWO-FIFTHS

Eye-copy



- 4 manasi kṛnta bhāshishyē dharmāṇām-āchayaḥ katamaḥ yad=ut=āmin satī=
- 5 daṁ bhavaty=asy=ātpādād=idam=utpadyatē yad=ut=āvidyā-pratyayaḥ saṁskārāḥ
saṁskāra-
- 6 pratyayaḥ vijñānaḥ vijñāna-pratyayaḥ nāma-rūpaḥ nāma-rūpa-pratyaya(h)
sparsaḥ
- 7 sparsa-pratyayā vēda[nā] vēdanā-pratyayā trishṇā trishṇā-pratyayaḥ upādānaḥ=u-
pādāna-pratyayō bhavaḥ bhava-pratyayā jātī-jāti-pratyayā jarā-marana-
- 9 śoka-paridēva-dukḥh-āder=(°a-dō)manasy=opāyāsāḥ sambava(n)ty=ēvam=asya mahatō

(Reverse.)

- 1 dukḥha-skandhasya samudāyō bhavaty=ayam=uchyatē dharmāṇām-āchayaḥ dhar-
māṇā-
- 2 m=apachayaḥ katamaḥ yad=ut=āvidyā-nirōdhāt=samskāra-nirōdhaḥ samskāra-nirōdhād=vi-
- 3 jñāna-nirōdhaḥ vijñāna-nirōdhān=nāma-rūpa-nirōdhaḥ nāma-rūpa-nirōdhāt=śaḍ-
āyatana-
- 4 nirōdhaḥ śaḍ-āyatana-nirōdhād=vēdanā-nirōdhaḥ vēdanā-nirōdhāt=trishṇā-nirōdhaḥ
trishṇā-nirōdhād=upādāna-nirōdhaḥ upādāna-nirōdhād=bhava-nirōdhaḥ bhava-nirōdhāj=
- 5 jātī-
- 6 nirōdhaḥ jātī-nirōdhāj=jarā-marana-śoka-paridēva-dukḥh-āder=(°a-dō) manasy=opāyāsāḥ
- 7 nirudhyantī=ēvam=asya [kēvala]sya mahatō dukḥha-skandhasya nirōdhō
bhavaty=ayam=uchyatē
- 8 dharmāṇām=apachayaḥ dharmāṇām vō bhikshava āchayaḥ cha dēśayishyāmy=apachayaḥ cha
- 9 itimē yad=uktam=idam=ētat=pratyuktam=idam=avōchad=Bhagavān=āttama[nasas=tē]
- 10 bhikshavō bhagavatō bhāshitam=a[bhya]nanda[n]

The other inscription which contains the text of this Sūtra comes, as I have said, from Kasiā. It is partly carved and partly written in ink on a copper-plate which was recovered from the relic chamber of the large *stūpa* behind the Nirvāna temple.¹ The language and the wording of the record are identically the same as those of the Gopālpur inscription, but the date is about two centuries later.

Again, the present epigraph is of considerable value from the philological standpoint. That its language is local Prākṛit goes without saying. In this the dedicators seem to have faithfully followed the injunction laid down in the Buddhist scriptures, for it is stated in the *Chullavagga*²

“*anujānāmi bhikkhave sakāya niruttiya Buddha-vachanaṁ pariyāpunnān ti*” ;

that is, ‘that the Buddha had allowed that every one should learn the sacred texts in his own language.’ The same remark holds good in the case of the inscriptions discovered at Taxila, Peshawar, and other places on the North-West Frontier. The literary Pāli version of the Sūtra is contained in the *Mahāvagga* of the *Vinaya-piṭaka*, and this version is prefaced by an account of the incidents which led up to the propounding of ‘the doctrine of causes and effects’ by the Holy Śākya-muni. From this and from the fact that the only record bearing the complete text of the Sūtra, of which the provenance is definitely known,³ comes

¹ A. S. R., 1910-11, pp. 73 ff.

² Oldenberg, Introduction to *Vinaya-piṭaka*, p. XLVII.

³ [Full text of the Sūtra and its *vibhanga* in Sanskrit are incised on some bricks which Mr. Page unearthed at Nālandā in 1924. I am editing them in the *Ep. Ind.*,—H. S.]

from the Mahā-parinirvāṇa-Chaitya of the Buddha, it is easy to see how much importance the Buddhists attached to the same. It is for this reason that I remarked above that the monument in which the present casket was enshrined must have been considered in olden days as one of the chief places of worship.

Let us now see if the places and persons mentioned in the inscription afford any clue to the identity of the monument. The only names available for this purpose are (1) *Varmayaśa-putrasa*, i.e. the son of *Varmayaśas*, (2) *Ruubhumi-raña*, i.e. the king of *Ruubhūmi*, and (3) *Ucharśana*, which I take to be the name of an individual. Who this *Varmayaśas* was and where he reigned—as, undoubtedly, he seems to have been a king—I have not been able to ascertain from the materials at my command. On the other hand, *Ucharśana* or *Uttarasena*, if supposing I am right in my equation, though not a historical personage, yet seems somewhat capable of identification. In the itinerary of the Buddhist pilgrim Hiuen Tshang it is said: “About sixty *li* south-west from Mangkil city and on the east side of a great river was the tope erected by *Uttarasena*, king of this country, to enclose his share of the relics of the Buddha's body, and near this was the tope which that king built to mark the spot at which his large white elephant bearing the precious relics had suddenly died and become a rock.”¹

Commenting on this passage Watters remarks: “There does not seem to be any mention either of *Udyāna* or of *Uttarasena* in the various accounts given in the various *Nirvāṇa* treatises of the division of the Buddha's relics. But other authorities relate how a female elephant named *Mo-tu* (or *Māta*) bearing relics of Buddha died suddenly on the way, was afterwards reborn as a human creature and became an *Arhat* with an enormous appetite.” Major Deane identifies the monument mentioned by Hiuen Tshang with the remains of a *stūpa* which are said still to exist between the villages of *Ghaligai* and *Shankardar* on the *Swat* river in what used to be the ancient kingdom of *Udyāna*. It may be asked, however, how, inasmuch as the casket is reputed to have come from *Kurram*, it could be associated with any monument in the *Swat* valley, which lies in quite the opposite direction and in a different region. This objection can be met, in my opinion, by the fact that, as I have observed at the very outset, the exact provenance of the casket is not known even to its present owner and that, therefore, there would not be any inherent impossibility, if we were to suppose that the object gradually found its way from the place of its origin to the locality where it eventually came to light, because both the places are situated in the same province and are inhabited by almost kindred races or tribes, who are not too far removed to have constant intercourse with one another.

Lastly, we come to the date of the inscription. It is given merely as *Sam.* or *Samvat* 21 without reference to any particular era. We are, therefore, left to conjecture what the era could be. For this purpose our only guides are the paleography and the language of the record. The former, as I have noted above, shows the cursive variety of the *Kharoṣṭhī* script of the middle period. And this, we know from other records found in that region, has been attributed to the early *Kushān* period. I am, therefore, inclined to refer the date of the present inscription to the era of *Kanishka* which, according to the latest authorities, commenced in or about the year 150 A.D. If this supposition is correct the date under discussion would work out as A.D. 171.

From the language, it seems to me difficult in the present state of our knowledge to draw any definite conclusions with respect to date. And this difficulty is all the more pronounced, because we are not yet in a position to trace the development of the different varieties of *Prākṛit* which once prevailed in different parts of the country.

¹ Watters, *On Yuan Chwang*, Vol. I, p. 236. [With the reading and translation as inserted by me above the names *Ruubhūmi* and *Ucharśana* disappear.—F. W. T.]

No. 4.—KANYAKUMARI INSCRIPTION OF VIRA-RAJENDRA-DEVA.

BY THE LATE T. A. GOPINATHA RAO, M.A., TRIVANDRUM.

The village of **Kanyākumāri**, as everyone knows, is situated in the extreme south of India and is a very ancient place of great reputation. It was known to early Greek writers under the names of *Komaria Akron*, or Cape Komaria, as Ptolemy calls it, or simply *Komarei*, as described by the author of the *Periplus*. The latter says: "After Bakare occurs the mountain Pyrrhos (or the Red) towards the south, near another district of the country called Paralia (where the pearl-fisheries are which belong to king Pandion), and a city of the name of Kolkhoi Next to this is another place called Komar, where is the Cape of the same name and a haven. Those who wish to consecrate the closing part of their lives to religion come hither and bathe and engage themselves to celibacy. This is also done by women; since it is related that the goddess once on a time resided at the place and bathed."¹ Paralia mentioned in this extract is the name of the river *Paṛaliyāru*, which waters a portion of S. Travancore and empties itself into the *Kuḷitturāi* river. I have shown elsewhere that the land watered by the *Paṛaliyāru* was the country belonging to the powerful dynasty of Āy kings, who had their capital at *Kōṭṭāru*, which is mentioned by Ptolemy under the name of 'Kotiara Metropolis' and 'Kottara' by Pliny. From time immemorial, the Pāṇḍyas were the guardians of Kanyākumāri and the temple in it; one of their distinguishing titles being *Kaṇṇi-kāvalan*, the guardian of *Kaṇṇi* (i.e. Kanyākumāri).

The temple of the goddess **Kanyākumāri** is situated on the very brink of the Indian Ocean. Opposite to the central shrine is a *maṇḍapa* locally known as the *maṇimaṇḍapa*, which contains six cylindrical stone pillars covered with writing in Grantha (ll. 1 to 419) and Tamil (ll. 420 to 444) characters. Kanyākumāri was visited by the Madras Government Epigraphist in 1896, when an attempt was made by his staff to obtain a mechanical copy of the inscriptions contained on these pillars, but the task was given up as impossible. I tried to copy the inscription in 1910; the result was not at all satisfactory. Since then I have visited the place more than once; every time I saw the inscription on the pillars, which is clearly legible in some places, but more or less completely worn out in others, I was impelled to make a fresh attempt to copy it; and what was to be the last, a serious and determined effort to secure a good impression of the writing on all the pillars, was made in 1916. The first and foremost difficulty experienced by all up till then was that of removing the thick crust of oil and dirt which from a long time past had accumulated on the pillars. This was completely removed after one or two unsuccessful attempts, and the inscription was found in some places defaced, being corroded by the action of the sea-air. Though these parts did not appear legibly on the impression, it was still possible with great difficulty to read the writing on those parts directly from the stone. After straining every nerve to obtain a set of good estampages, with lamp in hand, letter by letter, word by word, the record was deciphered from the original stone itself. The success is largely due to the indomitable perseverance of my Paṇḍit, Mr. V. Srinivasa Sastri, Smṛitiviśārada; he and I worked at the epigraph, on the spot, for nearly one month. Most of the verses employ rhymes (*prāsas*), which also came in handy by suggesting conjectural readings which in almost all the cases proved, upon reference to the original stone inscription, to be quite correct. Thus then the text was at last nearly completely recovered from the worn surface of the pillars.

The inscription may fitly be called the "*Chōḷa-vaṁśa-praśasti*." It is extremely important for the history of the Chōḷas as it contains many pieces of information hitherto unknown to history. As I think that it is not right to defer the publication of this very important document

¹ Caldwell's *History of Tinnevely*, p. 19.

any longer, I am giving in this article what may be considered a preliminary notice, an fuller edition being reserved for my own publication, in the *Travancore Archaeological Series*.¹

As has been already remarked, the six pillars are covered with writing from the top to the bottom. At first I conceived that the writing went round the pillar in a spiral; but on closer examination it was discovered that each pillar consisted of two sections, one on the back face and another on the front. The inscription is continued from pillar to pillar in the following systematic order Ia, Ib, IIa, IIb, and so on, where I represents the first pillar and a and b represent the back and front faces of the pillar. The language is mostly Sanskrit. At the end of the record occurs the grant portion beginning with the *virudas* of king Vira-Rājendra, and giving his regnal year. The *virudas* and names of the king in this section are written in the Grantha alphabet, while the rest is in the Tamil alphabet and language. The Sanskrit portion of the record, giving the genealogy of the Chōlas, is entirely in verse, whereas the Tamil portion is in prose. On the whole the epigraph consists of 444 lines.

In the first two verses the god Śiva, and in the third Viṣṇu, are praised. The god of the Universe first created the Brahmāṇḍa, and then Brahmā was ushered into existence for the purpose of creating all other things. Brahmā, in his turn, created several Ṛishis to assist him in his task. One of them was Marīchi. The son of Marīchi was Kāśyapa; his son was Vivasvān: the son of the latter was Manu; Manu's son was Ikshvāku; his son, Vikukshi-śrava; Purañjaya, who obtained the title Kakutstha, was the son of the latter. In the lineage of Kakutstha was born king Prithu; in the same race arose Kuvalāśva, Mandhātṛi, Muchukunda, Hārīschandra, Sagara, Bhagīratha, Rītuparna and Dilipa. In this illustrious family was born the Lord (*bhagavān*) in the four aspects of Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa, Bharata and Śatrughna, purposely to teach the world how each one has to conduct oneself towards others; that is, a son towards a father and mother, a younger brother towards his elder brother and so on. The verses describing Rāma (vv. 25-26) are very beautiful. Up to this the genealogy is purely *paurāṇic*. Next follows what might be considered as legendary and semi-historic.

In the solar race was born a king named Chōla. To this king, who ruled over the whole earth, the forests served as a sort of artificial garden. Once upon a time this king was sporting for some time in the forests inhabited by Ṛishis; with a small army he once proceeded on a hunting excursion in the adjoining forests. Then a Rākshasa who had assumed the shape of a deer appeared before him. Pursuing the animal he and his followers reached another forest, where he killed that deer.² By this time he had reached the bank of the river Kāvērī; he went along its course, bathed in its water, which was as sweet as *amṛita*; he looked all round for Brāhmaṇas and found none about the place. He then brought several Brāhmaṇas from the Āryāvarta and settled them comfortably on the banks of the river Kāvērī. Cutting down the forests on either bank of the Kāvērī, he planted gardens containing creepers of betel leaves and areca palms.

Rājakēśari, the son of Chōla, succeeded him after his death. The son of Rājakēśari was Parakēśari. The *prastāvi* does not mention the fact that in the Chōla dynasty the titles Rājakēśari and Parakēśari were assumed by alternate kings, as is stated in the Leiden and the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu grants.³ In this dynasty were born Mrityujit, who conquered Mrityu, the god of

¹ [This has since been done by Mr. K. V. Subrahmanya Aiyar in Volume III of that series, pp. 85 to 158 Ed.]

² This is evidently an imitation of a similar occurrence in the life of Rāma.

³ *Arch. Survey of South India*, Vol. IV, p. 204, and *South Ind. Insers.*, Vol. III, p. 383.

death; Virasēna; and Chitra, frightened at the power of whose arrows Dēvēndra (Indra) accepted the tiger-banner, in which he also took refuge. From that time the tiger became the crest of the Chōlas just in the same manner as a pair of carp fish and the bow were respectively the crests of the Pāṇdyas and the Chēras; then came Pushpakētu, Kētumāla, Samudrajit and Pañchapa. The last mentioned king cut open five arteries in his body and fed with the blood issuing out of them five Yakshas who came to him as his guests and demanded of him this curious and cruel food. For feeding the Yakshas in the manner described he obtained the name Pañchapa. The king Nṛimṛida sprang in this race, and by the grace of Paramēśvara conquered Mṛityu, the god of death; then appeared Manōratha, and the illustrious Parunatkili (Perunatkili) and others. Karikāla, who was born in this family, seeing that the river Kāvēri by its irregular flow was destroying the crops, caused embankments to be constructed on both its sides, the kings conquered by him carrying earth on their heads for that purpose. Valabha,¹ Jagadēkamalla and Vyālabhayaṅkara were also been in this dynasty.

Here commences the genuine history of the Chōlas. Vijayālaya is said to have been born in this lineage. He was worshipped by all kings; he is here stated to have constructed anew the city of Tañjāpurī in the Chōla country; but the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu grant distinctly mentions the fact that Vijayālaya took Tañjāpurī by force and set up in it the goddess Nisumbhasūdanī (Durgā).² Evidently, the composer of the Kanyākumārī *prastāvi* did not know exactly how Tañjāpurī came to be the seat of the Chōlas in the time of Vijayālaya. The true fact seems to have been remembered by the composer of the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu document. It has been stated elsewhere that Tañjāpurī must have been seized from the Muttaraiyars, the vassals of the Pallavas, by Vijayālaya.³ The son of Vijayālaya was Ādityavarman *alias* Kōḍaṇḍarāma. In the village of Toṇḍamanāḍ near Kālahastī there is a temple of the Chōla period. One of its inscriptions belonging to the 34th year of the reign of Madiraiḱoṇḍa Parakēsarivarman, *i.e.* Parāntaka I, calls the temple by the name Kōḍaṇḍarāmēśvara *alias* Ādityēśvara. Mr. Venkayya in his Annual Report on Epigraphy for the year 1905, wrote about it thus:—"No. 318 of 1904 mentions the king's son śrī-Kōḍaṇḍarāma while No. 347 of 1904 refers to prince Kōḍaṇḍa. Even at the present day Kōḍaṇḍa is a familiar abbreviation of Kōḍaṇḍarāma, and we may therefore suppose that both Nos. 318 and 347 of 1904 refer to the same prince, who was the son of Parāntaka I. In the same village of Toṇḍamanāḍ is another inscription of Parāntaka I, dated in his 34th year (about A.D. 939), which mentions the temple of Kōḍaṇḍarāmēśvara *alias* Ādityēśvara. It is not impossible that this temple was called after the Chōla prince Kōḍaṇḍarāma. If this surmise proves correct, it may be concluded from the other name Ādityēśvara given to the Toṇḍamanāḍ temple that Kōḍaṇḍarāma was the surname either of the king's eldest son Rājāditya or of his second son Gaṇḍarāditya."⁴ Subsequently, while reviewing No. 286 of the Collection of the Madras Epigraphist for the year 1906, found in Tirumālpuram which stated that the village of Śirriyārrūr had been granted as a *dēvadāna* and as a *brahmadēya* in the 21st year of Toṇḍaimānārrūr-tuñjina-Uḍaiyār, Mr. Venkayya changed his opinion and said that Toṇḍaimānārrūr-tuñjina-Uḍaiyār, *i.e.* 'the lord who died at Toṇḍaimānārrūr,' must refer to Āditya I, that Toṇḍaimānārrūr is probably Toṇḍamanāḍ near Kālahastī in the North Arcot District which in a record of Parāntaka I found at the place, is called Toṇḍaimānpārārrūr,

¹ The Tamil word *Valavaṇ*, which later on came to signify, like the word Chōla, any Chōla king, is converted here into Valabha.

² See S. I. I., Vol. III, p. 418, vv. 45 and 46.

³ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIII, p. 136.

⁴ *Ep. Rep.*, 1905, p. 50, para. 9.

and that the temple of Kōḍaṇḍarāmēśvara at the village, which is also called Ādityēśvara in the inscription of Parāntaka I must have been called after Āditya I.¹ This latter conclusion is now proved by the explicit statement found in the Kanyākumāri inscription that Āditya I, father of Parāntaka I, was known by the name Kōḍaṇḍarāma. The Kanyākumāri inscription adds that Āditya I *alias* Kōḍaṇḍarāma killed the Pallava king seated on his elephant.² The opponent of Āditya I was Aparājita.

The next king of the dynasty was Parāntaka, son of Āditya. He destroyed the Pāṇḍya king together with his whole army, took the whole of his treasure and burnt Madura, his capital. From these military exploits he was known as Madhurāntaka, that is, "death to Madhura (*i.e.* Madura)." Because he defeated the unconquered Kṛishṇa-Rāja he came to be known as Vīra-Chōḷa. It is only in this inscription that we hear that the Rāshtrakūṭa king Kṛishṇa III was defeated in battle by Parāntaka I. Kṛishṇa ascended the throne about A.D. 940, a year which falls within the reign of Parāntaka I (A.D. 907-948). It is quite probable that Kṛishṇa III was defeated by Parāntaka I, and it was perhaps in vengeance thereof that the former invaded the Chōḷa country soon after the death of the latter and early in the reign of Rājāditya, Parāntaka's son and successor.³

In all his Tamil inscriptions Parāntaka I is described as *Madiraiḱoṇḍa Parakēsarivarman*, that is, 'Parakēsarivarman who took Madura.' Sometimes the word "*Ilamum*" occurs after '*Madiraiyūm*' in the inscriptions of this king. We shall see presently that he conquered also Ilam or Ceylon as reported in the Tiruvālaṅkāḍu grant.⁴

The Kanyākumāri inscription states that Parāntaka caused his army to cross the sea and conquer Siṁhaḷa; by killing the lords of Siṁhaḷa and subjugating the country he obtained the surname Siṁhaḷāntaka. As it is stated that it was only his army that crossed the sea we have to infer that Parāntaka I himself did not lead the army to Siṁhaḷa, but, entrusting the invasion to his generals, stopped on the mainland. He is further stated to have constructed several *agrahāras* like Vīranārāyaṇapura and granted them for the enjoyment of Brāhmaṇas. This Vīranārāyaṇapura seems to be the same as the modern Kaṭṭumannārkōyil, a suburb of Gaṅgaikōṇḍaśolapuram which was the native place of the great Śrīvaiṣṇava *āchāryas* Nāthamuniḡal and Yāmunārya *alias* Āḷavandār.

The son of Parāntaka (I) was Arindama. To Arindama was born a son named Parāntaka (II). Anticipating trouble from this valiant king, the Pāṇḍya king fled across the mountains, evidently to the Kēraḷa country. Parāntaka II fought several battles and imprisoned a large number of kings.

The son of Parāntaka II was Rājarāja. He caused a number of *yāgas* to be performed. It was the custom with Rājarāja never to kill those enemies who surrendered to him; in spite of this well-known fact the Chāḷukya king Satyāśraya senselessly ran away from the battlefield.

Rājarāja had a son named Madhurāntaka. He conquered the Kuntala king, that is, the Chāḷukya, and made Mānyakhēṭṭa, his capital, a camping and sporting ground for his army. Sending his generals at the head of his powerful army northwards, he caused them to defeat successively the kings of the Kulūta⁵ and the Utkala countries and to kill the kings of

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, 1907, p. 71, para. 30.

² *Ibid.*, 1906, p. 65.

³ [It has been shown in *Archl. Survey Report* for 1908-09, p. 122, that Rājāditya died before his father and did not succeed to the Chōḷa throne.—Ed.]

⁴ *South-Ind. Inscr.*, Vol. III, p. 396, vv. 51-52.

⁵ An inscription found at Mahēndragiri (No. 397 of the Madras Epigraphist's Collection for 1897) states that "a general of Rājendra-Chōḷa (named in Tamil, Rājendra-Chōḷa-Pallavaraiyan Rājarājamārāyaṇ) overcame the Kulūta king named Vimatāditya and set up a pillar of victory." The general is called Dattākara in another epigraph found in the same place.

Kaliṅga and Viṃśēndra¹; and to bring the water of the Ganges filled in pots carried on the heads of the conquered kings. The latter statement regarding the conquest of Rājēndra-Chōla of the countries as far as the Ganges is in close agreement with that found in the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu grant. In both the records it is distinctly mentioned that Rājēndra-Chōla *alias* Madhurāntaka himself did not proceed against the northern kings and did not extend his arms as far as the Ganges by leading the army in person, but got the credit of having 'taken the Gaṅgā river' (Gaṅgai-koṇḍa) by the victories achieved by his generals.² The inscription states further, that he sent his army across the sea to the Kaṭāha country and set fire to it³ and that there was nothing impossible for this monarch to achieve.

This king, Madhurāntaka (that is, Rājēndra-Chōla I), had three sons, named (respectively) Rājādhirāja, Rājēndra-dēva and Vira-Rājēndra-dēva. Of these, Rājādhirāja was the eldest. For the first time we have the very explicit statement in the inscription under notice that Rājēndra-Chōla had three sons.⁴ Up till now the relationship existing between Rājēndra-Chōla and the three brothers, Rājādhirāja, Rājēndra-dēva and Vira-Rājēndra-dēva, was vaguely conjectured.

The Kanyākumāri inscription states that Rājādhirāja destroyed the city of Kalyāṇapura and conquered the lord of that place, Āhavamalla. These facts are well known to students of Indian history by the inscriptions of this king. Kalyāṇapura was the capital of the Chālukyas and Āhavamalla was the Chālukya contemporary of Rājādhirāja.

After the death of Rājādhirāja, his next younger brother Rājēndra-dēva ascended the throne, and the latter in his turn was succeeded by his younger brother Vira-Rājēndra-dēva. He killed the Maṇṇāṭa (Karnāṭa ?) kings in the battle at Kūḍal-saṅgama. This king, Vallabhavallabha, took possession of Vēṅgi and Kaliṅga,⁵ left uncared for by his elder brothers and consequently overrun by enemies; Vira-Rājēndra, who is known also by the names Karikāla and Vira-Chōla, set up several *dharma-sāsanas* (that is, engraved deeds of grants). He presented an invaluable ruby, known as *trailōkyā-sāra*, to the god Dabhra-Sabhāpati (the god of Chidambaram), and it was set up in the crown of that god. He established a number of *agrahāras* in the Chōla, Tuṇḍīra, Pāṇḍya, Gaṅgavāṭi and Kulūta countries and colonised them with forty thousand Brāhmaṇas well-versed in the Vēdas. From the other inscriptions of this monarch we know that he won a victory over the Chālukya Āhavamalla at Kūḍalsāṅgama and Koppa and captured all the treasures belonging to his opponent, as also

¹ [The note on Text l. 360 below reads वं[ञ] द. — Ed.]

² *South-Ind. Inscr.*, Vol. III, p. 424, v. 117.

³ *Ibid.*, v. 123.

The conquest of Kaḍāram also is described in the historical introduction prefixed to his Tamil inscriptions.

⁴ The *Kaliṅgattupparanī* seems to indicate that Rājēndra-Chōla I, seeing that he had no sons to succeed him, resolved on electing Kulōttuṅga-Chōla I, a grandson by his daughter, as his successor. This information is not of much value as it is not based on actual facts. Inscriptions of Rājādhirāja I and Rājēndradēva enumerate a number of Chōla princes who stood in the relation of uncles, brothers, and sons to the kings. Besides, the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu Plates state that a certain Sundara-Chōla-Pāṇḍya was Rājēndra-Chōla I's son; see *S. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 423, vv. 93 and 99.

⁵ The following is the passage in *S. I. I.*, Vol. III, Part I, pp. 69-70, which describes this event —:

"(L. 28.) Having moved (his camp), he declared:—'(We) shall not return without regaining the good country of Vēṅgai, which (we had formerly) subdued. You, (who are) strong, come and defend (it), if (you) are able!' That army which was chosen (for this expedition) drove into the jungle that big army, which routed (its enemies) on the great river close to Viśaiyavāḍai (and) which had for its chiefs Jananāthan, the Daṇḍanāyaka Rājamayana, whose *mast* elephants trumpeted in herds, and Mupparaśan.

"(L. 29.) His elephants drank the water of the Gōḍāvarī. (He) crossed even Kaliṅgam and, beyond (it), despatched (for) battle (his) invincible army as far as the further end of Śakkara-kōṭṭam (Chakra-kōṭṭa).

"(L. 30.) (He) re-conquered the good country of Vēṅgai and bestowed (it) on Vijayādityan, whose broad hand (held) weapons of war, (and) who had taken refuge at his lotus-feet."

his women. The fact of his presenting the god Sabhāpati with a jewel is quite new. That he established a number of *agrahāras* does not appear to be a mere boast; we have even now several of them, such as Virarājamaṅgalam, Virachōlapuram, etc.

The Tamil portion of the inscription begins afresh with the phrase *Svasti Śrī* and states that the king Rājakēsarivarman Vira-Rājendra, who bore the *birudas* and surnames¹ Mahārājādhirāja, Rājāśraya, Rāja-Rājendra, Vira-Chōla, Karikāla-Chōla, etc., seems to have made a grant of land to the temple of Kanyā-Piḍāriyār (*Bhaguvati*) at Kumari (i.e. Kanyākumāri). This portion of the inscription is damaged and cannot be easily deciphered.

On the whole the Kanyākumāri inscription is a valuable document for the construction of the history of the Chōla dynasty. With the Anbil grant,² the Leiden grant,³ the Tiruvālaṅ-gāḍu grant⁴ and the Kanyākumāri inscription, the four most important documents, the history of the Chōlas could be written completely and satisfactorily. The Tamil works *Kalīngat-tupparani*, etc. may also be of great interest in the study of Chōla history.

The following table gives the genealogy of the Chōlas as found in the Kanyākumāri inscription; and the genealogies derived from the Tamil works, the *Vikrama-Śōlaṅ-ulā*, the *Kulōttuṅga-Śōlaṅ-ulā* and the *Śāṅkara-Śōlaṅ-ulā*, are also added for purposes of comparison.

The Kanyākumāri inscription.

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| 1 Viśvādhinātha. | 13 Muchukunda. |
| 2 Brahmā, | 14 Hariśchandra. |
| 3 Marīchi. | 15 Sagara. |
| 4 Kāśyapa. | 16 Bhagīratha. |
| 5 Vivasvān. | 17 Rītuparna. |
| 6 Manu. | 18 Dilīpa. |
| 7 Ikshvāku. | 19 Rāma, Lakshmaṇa, Bharata and Śatrughna. |
| 8 Vikukakīśrava. | 20 Chōla, who first came to the south and settled down there; brought several families of Brāhmanas from Āryāvarta and populated the new kingdom. |
| 9 Kakutstha alias Purañjaya. | 21 Rājakēsari. |
| 10 Prithu. | 22 Parakēsari. |
| 11 Kuvalāśva. | |
| 12 Māndhātṛi. | |

¹ The following is the passage referring to the several titles of Vira-Rājendra which occurs in No. 161, Chintāmaṇi Tk., Kolar District of the Mysore province:—

"Sakala-bhuvan-āśraya Śrī Prithvi-vallabha mahārājādhirāja paramēśvara parama-bhaṭṭāraka Ravi-kula-tilaka Chōla-kula-sēkhara Pāṇḍya-kul-āntaka Āhavamalla-kula-kāla Āhavamallapāi aimmaḍi menkaṇḍa Rājāśekhara Rājāśraya Rāja-Rājendra Vira-Chōla Karikāla-Chōla Śrī Vira-Rājendra-dēvaṅku yāṇḍu āṇvadu."

In S. I. I., Vol. III, p. 198, also we find:—"Sakala-bhuvan-āśraya Śrī-Mēdinīvallabha mahārājādhirāja Chōla-kula-sundara Pāṇḍya-kul-āntaka Āhavamalla-kula-kāla Āhavamallapāi mummadi menkaṇḍa Rājāśraya Vira-Chōla Karikāla-Chōla Vira-Rājendra-dēva Rājakēsari-perumāṇaḍigaḷ . . . yāṇḍu 4 vadu."

² *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XV, pp. 44 ff.

³ *Archl. Survey of S. India*, Vol. IV, pp. 204 ff.

⁴ S. I. I., Vol. III, pp. 383 ff.

The Kanyākumārī inscription.

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| <p>23 Mrityujit, who conquered Death.</p> <p>24 Virasēna.</p> <p>25 Chitra, who made Indra seek refuge in his tiger banner.</p> <p>26 Pushpakētu.</p> <p>27 Kētumāla.</p> <p>28 Samudrajit.</p> <p>29 Pañchapa, who cut his veins and fed with his blood five Yaksas who came to him as guests.</p> <p>30 Nṛimṛiḍa, who with the help of Paramēśvara conquered Death.</p> <p>31 Manōratha.</p> <p>32 Perunatkiḷḷi.</p> <p>33 Karikāla, who built the embankments of the Kāvērī, which was destroying the crops by its excessive flow.</p> <p>34 Valabha.</p> <p>35 Jagadēkamalla.</p> <p>36 Vyālabhayaṅkara.</p> | <p>37 Vijayālaya, who made Tañjāpuri the capital of the Chōla country.</p> <p>38 Āditya <i>alias</i> Kōḍaṇḍarāma, who killed the Pallava that was seated on his elephant, in battle.</p> <p>39 Parāntaka, who killed the Pāṇḍya king, extinguished his army, took all his treasure, and set fire to Madura, his capital. Hence he was called <i>Madhurāntaka</i>. He conquered the unconquered Kṛishṇarāja and was therefore called Vira-Chōla. He crossed the ocean and defeated the kings of Siṃhaḷa and was hence styled <i>Siṃhaḷāntaka</i>. He established Viranārāyaṇapura and other famous <i>agrahāras</i>.</p> <p>40 Arindama.</p> <p>41 Parāntaka.</p> <p>The Pāṇḍya was driven away and several kings defeated in battle.</p> <p>42 Rājarāja, who defeating several kings in battle, performed several <i>yāgas</i>. Satyāśraya ran away from him in battle.</p> <p>43 Rājendra or Madhurāntaka; he conquered the king of the Kuntala country; made Mānyakhēta the playground for his army; his general defeated the kings of Kulūta and Utkala and killed those of Kalinga and Vaṅga and made the defeated kings carry the water of the river Gaṅgā on their heads for his lord. His army crossed the sea, defeated the king of Kaṭāha and set fire to it.</p> |
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| <p>44 Rājādhirāja destroyed with fire Kalyāṇapura, defeated and dealt with Āhavamalla and his generals.</p> | <p>45 Rājendra-dēva.</p> | <p>46 Vira-Rājendra (Rāja-Rājendra). He conquered in the battle of Kūḍalsangama the kings of the Karpāṭa family. He took the countries of Vēṅgi and Kalinga which were neglected by his brothers and had, therefore, been seized by enemy kings. He was called Vira-Chōla and Karikāla. He set a famous ruby called the <i>trailōkyasāra</i> in the crown of the lord of Chidambaram. He established <i>agrahāras</i> in the Chōla, Tundira, Pāṇḍya, Gaṅgavāṭi, Kulūta and other countries and caused lands to be granted to 40,000 learned Brāhmaṇas.</p> |
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The Kalingattupparani.

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| <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1 Vishṇu. 2 Brahmā. 3 Marīchi. 4 Kaśyapa. 5 Arka. 6 Manu. 7 Ikshvāku. 8 He who drove his chariot over his own son. 9 Purandara. 10 He who made the tiger and the deer to drink water in the same stream. 11 Muchukunda. 12 He who made it possible for the gods to drink ambrosia. 13 He who weighed himself against a dove (Sibi). 14 Surādhirāja. 15 Chōḷa. 16 Rājakēsari. 17 Parakēsari. 18 He who explained the law to Death. 19 He who brought the river Kāvērī from the west. 20 He who took the higher worlds and ruled the whole of this world. 21 He who made Indra reside in his flag. 22 He who made the western ocean mix with the eastern one. | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 23 He who gave his blood to be drunk by a demon. 24 He who commanded the wind. 25 He who destroyed the flying forts. 26 He who roamed about the sky in his aerial chariot. 27 He who helped Dharmarāja in the Mahābhārata war. 28 He who married a Nāga princess. 29 He who, being pleased with the poem <i>Kaḷaravāḷi</i> of the poet Poyanai, liberated the Chēra. 30 He who made kings (conquered by him) build the embankment of the Kāvērī. 31 He who received in his praise the poem called <i>Paṭṭinappālai</i>. 32 He who destroyed the kings of the Pāṇḍya and the Chēra countries and took Kūḍal (i.e. Madura) and Iḷam. 33 He who celebrated the festival of his birthday (<i>Śadaya-nakshatra</i>) in the Chēra country. 34 The king who made his horses drink water from the river Gaṅgā and took Kaḍāram situated beyond the sea. 35 He who set up a pillar of victory at Kampill, took Kulāṇa and caused the tiger emblem to be engraved on the eight chief mountains. 36 He who, seated upon an elephant, came out victorious at the battle of Koppa and received the anointment of heroes (<i>vir-ā-bhishēka</i>). 37 He who enforced the Laws of Manu and was thrice (or four times) superior to Manu himself. 38 Abhaya, who was victorious at Kūḍalsangama. |
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The Vikrama-Śōḷaṇ-ulā.

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| <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1 Vishṇu. 2 Brahmā. 3 Kaśyapa. 4 Marīchi. 5 The wheeled charioteer (Sun). 6 He who drove his chariot over the body of his own son. | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 7 He who made the tiger and the deer to drink from the same stream. 8 He who drove in his aerial chariot. 9 He who ruled over the Bhōgabhūmi (Purandara). 10 He who explained the law to Death. 11 He who 12 He who destroyed the flying forts. |
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The Vikrama-Sōḷaṇ-ulā.

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| <p>13 He who made the water of the western ocean join with that of the eastern ocean.</p> <p>14 He who married the Nāga princess.</p> <p>15 He who got into the scale-pan against the weight of a dove.</p> <p>16 He who brought the Kāvērī river to the Chōḷa country.</p> <p>17 He who built the banks of the Kāvērī.</p> <p>18 He who, being pleased with the poem of Poygai, liberated the Chēra king.</p> <p>19 He who was adorned with 96 scars on his chest, received in battlefields.</p> <p>20 He who covered the hall (Chidambaram temple) with gold.</p> <p>21 He who took in a day the kingdom of the Malai-nāḍu.</p> | <p>22 He who took the Gaṅgā and Kaḍāra and was pleased to be seated on <i>siṃhāsana</i>.</p> <p>23 He who conquered the city of Kalyāṇa after attacking it thrice.</p> <p>24 He who fought the battle at Koppam.</p> <p>25 He who presented the god Raṅganātha with serpent couch.</p> <p>26 He who defeated his enemies at Kūḍalsangamam and killed several elephants.</p> <p>27 He who twice destroyed the <i>kalam</i> at Sālai, who took the western ocean, defeated the Pāṇḍyas, Chēras, took Koṅkana and Kannaḍa, killed the Māratta king, and who is known by the name of Abhaya.</p> <p>28 Vikrama-Chōḷa.</p> |
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The Kulōttuṅga-Sōḷaṇ-ulā.

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| <p>1 The Sun (P)</p> <p>2 He who drove his chariot over his son.</p> <p>3 He who</p> <p>4 He who protected the castles of the gods.</p> <p>5 He who sat on the throne of the lord of gods (Indra) along with him.</p> <p>6 Killi, who explained the law to Death.</p> <p>7 Māndhātṛi, who made the tiger and the deer to drink water from the same stream.</p> <p>8 The king of kings who brought down Mandākinī (Gaṅgā) to send his ancestors to heaven by bathing their bones with the holy water.</p> <p>9 He who fought against the Kauravas in the Mahābhārata war.</p> <p>10</p> <p>11 He who took the head of a</p> <p>12</p> <p>13 He who destroyed the flying forts.</p> <p>14 He who joined the western ocean with the eastern.</p> | <p>15 He who broke the rock that stood in the way of the Kāvērī river and brought her into his country.</p> <p>16 He who ascended the scale-pan against the weight of a dove.</p> <p>17 Karikāla, who made kings carry earth to build the embankment of the Kāvērī.</p> <p>18 Killi, who married (the Nāga) damsel.</p> <p>19 He who liberated the Chēra king, being pleased with the poem <i>Kaḷavaḷi</i> of Poygai.</p> <p>20 He who was adorned with 96 scars on his chest received in battle.</p> <p>21 He who tore to pieces a Brahmarākshasa and repaired the Chidambaram temple: who took Iḷam and Madura.</p> <p>22 He who took and destroyed the fort of Udagai in one day.</p> <p>3 He who took the river Gaṅgā and the country Kaḍāram and was pleased to be seated on the <i>siṃhāsana</i>.</p> <p>24 Śūṅgandavirttōṇ.</p> <p>25 Akalaṅkaṇ, who received in his praise the <i>Kaliṅgattupparaṇi</i>.</p> <p>26 Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷa.</p> |
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The Śaṅkara-Śōḷaṇ-ula.

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| 1 Vishṇu. | 18 The king who liberated the Chēra, being pleased with the poem <i>Kaṭurali</i> sung by Poygai. |
| 2 Manu (P). | 19 He who bore on his chest 96 scars received in battle. |
| 3 The Sun. | 20 The king who covered the Hall with gold. |
| 4 He who drove his chariot over his own son. | 21 He who took the Kēraja country in one day. |
| 5 He who made the tiger and the deer to drink from the same stream. | 22 He who took Gaṅgā and Kaṭāram. |
| 6 He who drove in a celestial chariot. | 23 He who fought thrice against the city of Kul-yāna. |
| 7 Purandara. | 24 He who took 1,000 elephants at Koppam. |
| 8 He who explained the law to Death. | 25 He who gave to Vishṇu in Koyil (Śrī-raṅgām) a jewel couch in the shape of a serpent. |
| 9 He who | 26 He who defeated his enemy at Kuḍalsangamam. |
| 10 He who destroyed the flying forts. | 27 He who received the <i>Kaliṅgattu-Parani</i> in praise of himself. |
| 11 He who joined the western ocean with the eastern. | 28 Vikrama-Chōla, who received the <i>ula</i> in his praise from the pen of Kuttan. |
| 12 He who married the Nāga princess whose ancestors possessed the seven worlds. | 29 He who was praised in a <i>Vaḷḷaikkali-mālai</i> and a <i>Pillai-Tamiḷ</i> . |
| 13 The king who presented 11,000 <i>poṇs</i> for one verse. | 30 He who presented for each verse of an <i>ula</i> praising him 1,000 <i>poṇs</i> . |
| 14 Another who gave 16 crores of <i>poṇs</i> for a verse. | 31 Śaṅkara-Rāja. |
| 15 He who ascended the scale-pan against the weight of a dove. | |
| 16 He who conducted the Kāvērī from the west to his country. | |
| 17 He who built the embankments on both sides of the river Kāvērī. | |

We have to mention here two Chōla kings, viz. Adhirājendra and Rājamahendra, who seem to have reigned as co-regents with Rājendra-dēva and Virārajendra.

Dr. Hultzsch believes that Rājamahendra must be the son of Rājendra-dēva and the predecessor of Vira-Rājendra-dēva. He writes about these kings thus :—“ As regards Rājamahendra, his reign seems to be covered altogether by those of Rājendra-dēva and Vira-Rājendra I. Perhaps he was a son and temporary co-regent of Rājendra-dēva. This was suggested already by an inscription of the 9th year of Rājendra which mentions among the boundaries of a village ‘the road of Rājamahendra.’ A further confirmation is furnished by the fact that his successor Vira-Rājendra adopted the surname Rājakēsari. If he had recognised Rājamahendra Rājakēsari varman as his rightful predecessor, he would, in accordance with all precedents, have assumed the title Parakēsari.”

The *Kaliṅgattupparani*, the *Vikrama-Śōḷaṇ-ula* and the *Śaṅkara-Śōḷaṇ-ula* refer to a king who is stated in the two latter works to have given to the god Raṅganātha of Śrīraṅgam

a golden serpent couch.¹ The *Kōyilolugu* informs us that the king Rājamahēndra was a devotee of the god Raṅganātha and that he constructed one of the *prākāras* of that god's temple. Putting together the statements of the two sets of literary evidences, I think it is possible for us to infer that the king who presented to the Śrīraṅgam temple a golden serpent couch must be identical with Rājamahēndra. Since the *Kalīngattupparaṇi*, etc., place him before Vira-Rājēndra, the finding of Dr. Hultzsch receives further strength. It is quite likely that he was made a *yuvarāja* with the title Rājakesari, that, when his father and uncle were engaged in war with the Chalukyas, he was administering the kingdom in the capacity of the *yuvarāja*, but that he died before his father and therefore never ascended the throne. As a consequence, when Vira-Rājēndra ascended the throne, in regular succession to Rājēndra-dēva, he also called himself a Rājakesari.

The Kanyākumāri inscription, which traces the descent of the Chōlas down to Vira-Rājēndra, is silent about Rājamahēndra, his immediate predecessor. This silence about him is significant and corroborates further the hypothesis of Dr. Hultzsch.

TEXT.²

[Metres : vv. 1, 10-12, 18, 21, 24, 26, 44, 47, 52, 56, 73, 76, 77, 79, *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*; vv. 2-9, 15, 20, 60, *Sragdharā*; v. 13, *Vamśastha*; vv. 14, 49, 71, *Śikharinī*; vv. 16, 48, 50, 57, 67, 72, 74, *Vasantatīlakā*; vv. 17, 23, 25, 41, 62, 65, 69, *Mālinī*; vv. 19, 27, 28, 40, 75, *Mandākrantā*; vv. 22, 53, 78, *Svāgatā*; vv. 29, 45, *Aupachchhandasika*; vv. 30-31, 61, *Prithvī*; vv. 32, 46, 59, *Praharṣinī*; vv. 33, 38, 39, 42, *Śālinī*; vv. 34-35, *Harinī*; vv. 36-37, 58, 63, 66, 68, *Rathōddhatā*; vv. 43, 54, 55, *Upajāti*; vv. 51, 64, 70, *Upēndravajrā*; vv. 80 and 81, *Anuṣṭubh*.]

First Pillar : First Side.

- 1 स्वस्ति श्री[ः॥*] यः कर्त्ता जगदु-
- 2 त्भवस्त्वितिलयानुत्भूतया⁴ ली-
- 3 लया यो वाचामधिनायकश्च-
- 4 यति यं सर्वज्ञतैकाश्रया [1*]
- 5 यत्⁵भक्तिप्रवणैरपायविष-
- 6 मस्तार्थो भवाम्भोनिधिर्दया-
- 7 त्⁶ वस विभूतिमिन्दुशकलापीडो

¹ The *Kalīngattupparaṇi* describes this king thus :—

Paṇuvalukku mudalāya Vēda-nāṅgiṟ-
paṇḍ-uraitta neṟi puḍukki=ppalaiyar taṅgaṇ-
Maṇuvipukku mummaḍi nāṇmaḍiyām Śōlaṇ
maḍikkṇḍaikkil-aṇau-dalirppa vaḷarndavāṇum

The *Vikrama-Śōlaṇ-ulā* thus :—

Pāḍ-arava-tteṇṇ-Araṅga-mēyārkkku=ppaṇmaṇiyāl-
āḍarava-ppāyal-amaittāṇum
. Maṇṇalaṇ-
kāppaṇaik-Koyiṟ-karumugirku māṇikkap-
pāppaṇai śeydalitta pārttivaṇṇum.

Śaṅkara, II. 41-43.

² Both from the original stones and the mechanical impressions prepared by me.

³ Read °दुहव.

⁴ Read °जुहूतया.

⁵ Read यज्ञति.

⁶ Read °द.

- 8 भवानोपतिः ॥—[१*] मायामाया[मि]नो
 9 यो वहति जगदिदं रञ्जयन्तो¹
 10 जयन्तो ज्ञानाज्ञानप्रसू-
 11 ति² स्फुटश्चिवपुषा योगभाजा-
 12 गभाजा [1*] सत्वामत्वानुकम्पो हि-
 13 तमुदितमहा[ता]पशूनाम्³ पशू-
 14 नाम्³ शम्भुश्शम्भुग्नपापव्यति-
 15 कृति भवतस्स प्रपातात् प्रपा-
 16 तात् ॥—[२*] चक्रे चक्रेण दैत्य-
 17 प्रकरमतिबलं यस्ममस्तं समस्त-
 18 [म्] पाता पाताळमूलाहितबलिरानश-
 19 म् भासुराणां सुराणां⁴ [1*] सद्यस्स द्य-
 20 त्वघं वो हरिरखिलजगद्रक्षणे-
 21 न क्षणेन खैरं खैरं[श]लेशे⁵
 22 [रिव ध]रणिगतैस्सम्भवत्भिर्भवतिभिः⁶
 23 ॥—[३*] आदौ देवस्सिद्धासुपनतस-
 24 मयः [प्रत्यवेक्षा]मदभ्याम् बिभ्रत्⁷
 25 विश्वाधिनाथस्समुचितजगदारम-
 26 भमम्भस्ससर्ज्ज [1*] तस्मिन्निक्षिप्य
 27 बीजन्निजमजमखिलं स त्रिलो-
 28 कीकरण्डम् ब्रह्माण्डं तेन [चक्रे]
 29 व्यधित विधिमपि स[ष्टु]मेनां⁸ वि[ना]-
 30 यम् ॥—[४*] तस्माज्जातस्तदानो स-
 31 कलमपि जगत् सप्रपञ्चं विरि-
 32 च्चः कृत्वा तस्तार वीर्यं त्रिजमयमपरान्¹⁰

¹ The *anuvāra* symbol is entered twice and once at the end of this line and again at the beginning of the next.

² Read प्रसूति.

³ Read पशूनां.

⁴ The *ai* symbols alone are in this line and the letter *s* is in the next.

⁵ Read सुराणाम्.

⁶ Read बिभ्रत्.

⁷ Read भवतिर्भवतिः.

⁸ Mr. K. V. Subrahmanya Aiyar who has studied the inscription and edited it in the *Tr. Arch. Series* adds some notes and correct readings which *passim* are enclosed in rectangular brackets. [The correct reading seems to be *सष्टु*.]

⁹ [The inscription seems to read *विधेयम्*, the *ā* sign being at the end of l. 29 and *च* at the commencement of l. 30.]

¹⁰ [The correct reading is *दुर्वारवीर्यानजनयदपरान्*.]

33 ब्रह्मणः [तान् सुनीन्द्रा]न्तेषामेकः [तु]¹

34 शेषैरपि . . वि विभ . व . ततानिस²

First Pillar : Second Side.

35 . . . वि[ष्व]श्रोचिर्ग्रीरोचिस्त्रिभुवन-

36 (न)[भवनात्] सच्चकासाच्चकार

37 ॥—[५*] तस्मा[हि]स्मेरपत्मासन³नयन-

38 चयस्सष्टदृष्टोर्जितश्रीश्रे-

39 यस्सम्पत्तिभाजां(न)धुरि गणितगु-

40 णः काश्यपः पश्यकोभूत् [१*] अ-

41 न्योन्योन्मर्दनेन श्रियमिह दध-

42 तो यत्प्रसूतास्सुराद्या निर्व्याज-

43 निज्जयन्ति प्रचुरमुपचितानंबु-

44 राशेस्तरंगान्⁵ ॥—[६] तस्माज्जात-

45 स्तदानीं [समयकत]सम⁶ [स्त्रै]: प्र-

46 भावैरुदारैर्विश्वत्राणप्रवी-

47 शैस्सततमतितरां निर्जयन् [स्त्रां]⁷

48 विवस्वान् [१*] निद्रामुद्राविभेदं प्रथ-

49 मम[नु]भवन्त्यन्मयूखाभिमर्शाद्वातु-

50 र्व[क्ता]रविन्दैस्सह सकळगुरो-

51 [र्नाभि⁸पद्मश्च]काशे ॥—[७*] यस्योदस्यात्⁹

52 भिरारादव[तम]सतति¹⁰व्याततैरंशु-

53 जालैर्भास्वत्कार्तस्वरा[ण्ड]म्

54 प्रथममभिगळत्काळमेवा(म)व-

55 भासे [१*] यत्विम्बः¹¹ कूर्णिका[त्व]निब-

56 हति किरणैः केसरैराहि-

57 तथोरुत्¹²गाढैर्हिन्दकौघै-

58 रूप[र*]चितरुचो व्योमपङ्के¹³

¹ Read सुनीन्द्रान् । [Mr. K. V. S. Aiyar has कर्षनिहान्तेषामेकश्चु. Perhaps the actual reading is क]र्षनित्य[१*]
न.—Ed.]

² [The reading of this line, in the *Trav. Arch. Series*, by Mr. K. V. S. Aiyar is equally doubtful and defective.
—Ed.]

³ Read पद्मासन.

⁴ Read °ज.

⁵ Read °नस्सुराशेस्तरंगान्.

⁶ Read समयकदसर.

⁷ The *anusvāra* is in the next line ; read °स्त्रान्.

⁸ [स्त्रश्च seems to be the correct reading.]

⁹ Read °दस्याहि.

¹⁰ Read तति.

¹¹ Read यद्विम्बः

¹² Read °गाढाढे.

¹³ Read °पङ्के.

- 59 रुहस्य ॥—[८*] एतस्याभूत्तनूजो
 60 मनुरमलतनुर्भूजाम् बीजमाद्य¹
 61 येनैकान्तेन योगान्मुनिभिरभि-
 62 हिता मानवीयं प्रजेति [1*] लोका-
 63 नामेकवन्द्यः प्रविदधदतुलं शर्म-
 64 धर्मप्रपचैर्भास्वान् भास्वत्
 65 ³. . . पितरमिव⁴ सुतं यम् प्र-
 66 काशीचकार ॥—[९*] तस्यैच्छाकुरभूद्यशो-
 67 भिरमकै⁵ हिंक्षाततैश्शोभितसू-
 68 तु . . . भूभृतां सुरगणैयत्की-⁶
 69 त्तिरुद्गीयते [1*] यस्यामित्रनराधिराजवि-

Second Pillar : First Side.

- 70 रहाज्जैत्रम्माहा(ह)स्सर्वतो [दृष्टा-
 71 ति]प्रसरं व्यजेष्ट बलव[न्मि]त्र-
 72 स्य तेजः परम् ॥—[१०*] तस्याभूत्तनयस्स-
 73 मुन्नतनयः प्रेक्षी विकुक्षिन्वो
 74 रक्षामक्षतविक्रमस्समकरोत्
 75 क्षामण्डलस्यास्य यः [1*] अन्योन्य-
 76 प्रविमर्द्देनेन महतो या पाल्यिवै-
 77 लभ्यते तां [सु]ते श्रियमश्रमं क्षि-
 78 तिभृतां यत्पादयोरानति[:*] ॥—[११*] पुत्रस्तस्य
 79 पुरञ्जयस्समभवत् संग्राममाजन्मुषा⁷
 80 जेता भूमिभुजाञ्जिगीपुरसुराञ्ज-
 81 ज्ञे स मान्यस्ततः । [जंभारिं]⁸ वृषभं वि-
 82 धाय ककु[दे] स्थूलेस्य⁹ यस्संस्थित-
 83 [स्तद्दे]वैरधिकप्रमोदग[ति]ताम्¹⁰ प्रा[पत्]¹¹

¹ Read 'महत्'.

² [The gap may be filled up with the word सुतत्वात्.]

⁴ [The text reads मित्र which has to be corrected into शिव.]

⁵ Read 'ले'.

⁷ Read 'जन्मुषा'. The anusvāra is in the next line.

⁸ Read 'जंभारि'.

¹⁰ Read 'गदिताम्'.

³ Read 'स'.

⁶ Read 'यत्कीति'.

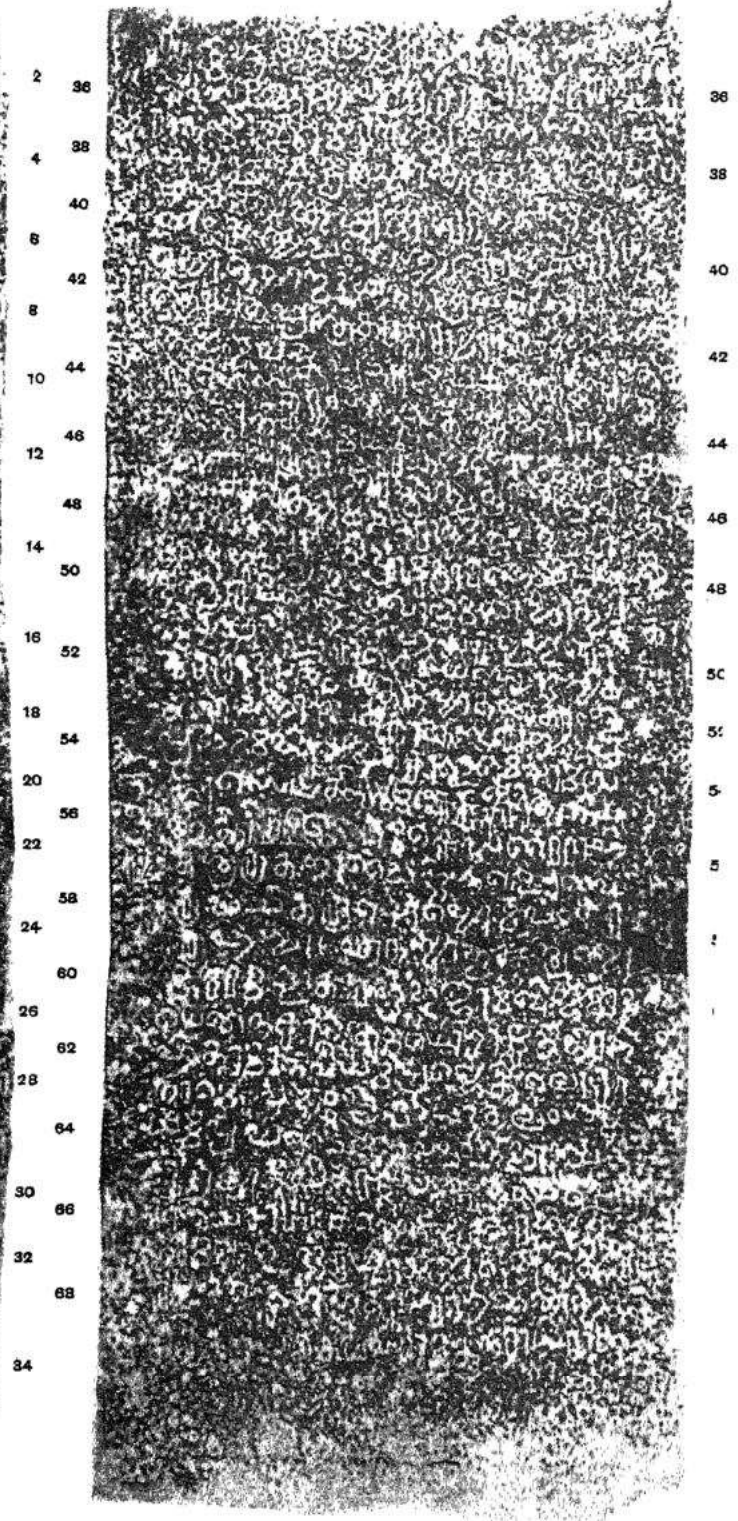
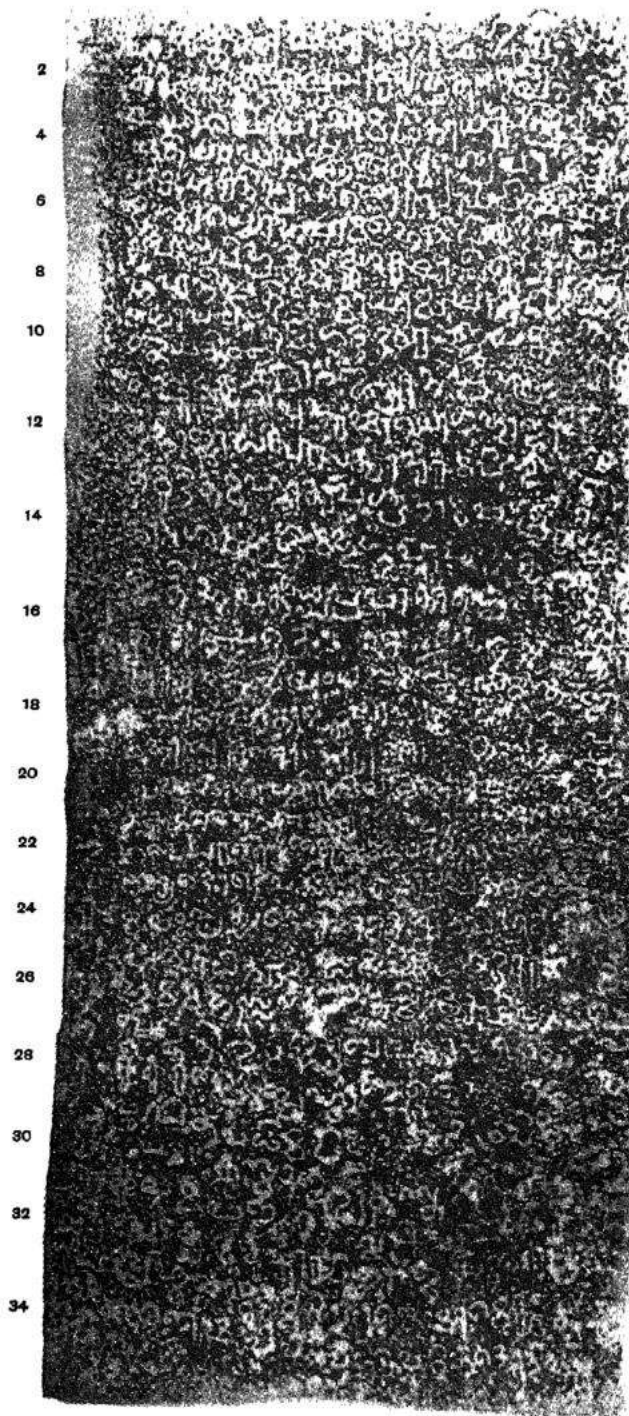
⁹ Read 'यत्स'.

¹¹ [The correct reading is प्राप्तिः.]

Kanyakumari Inscription of Vira-Rajendra : the 7th year.

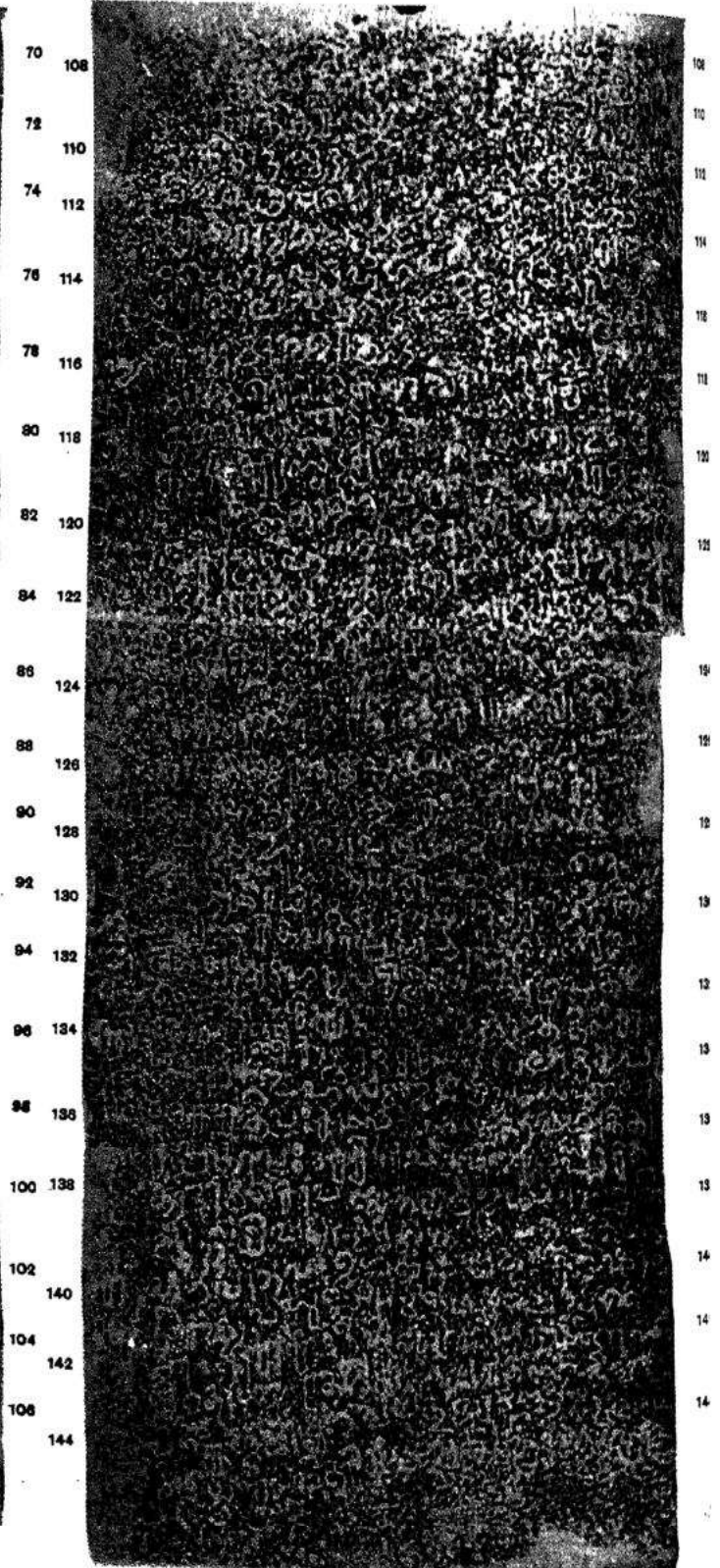
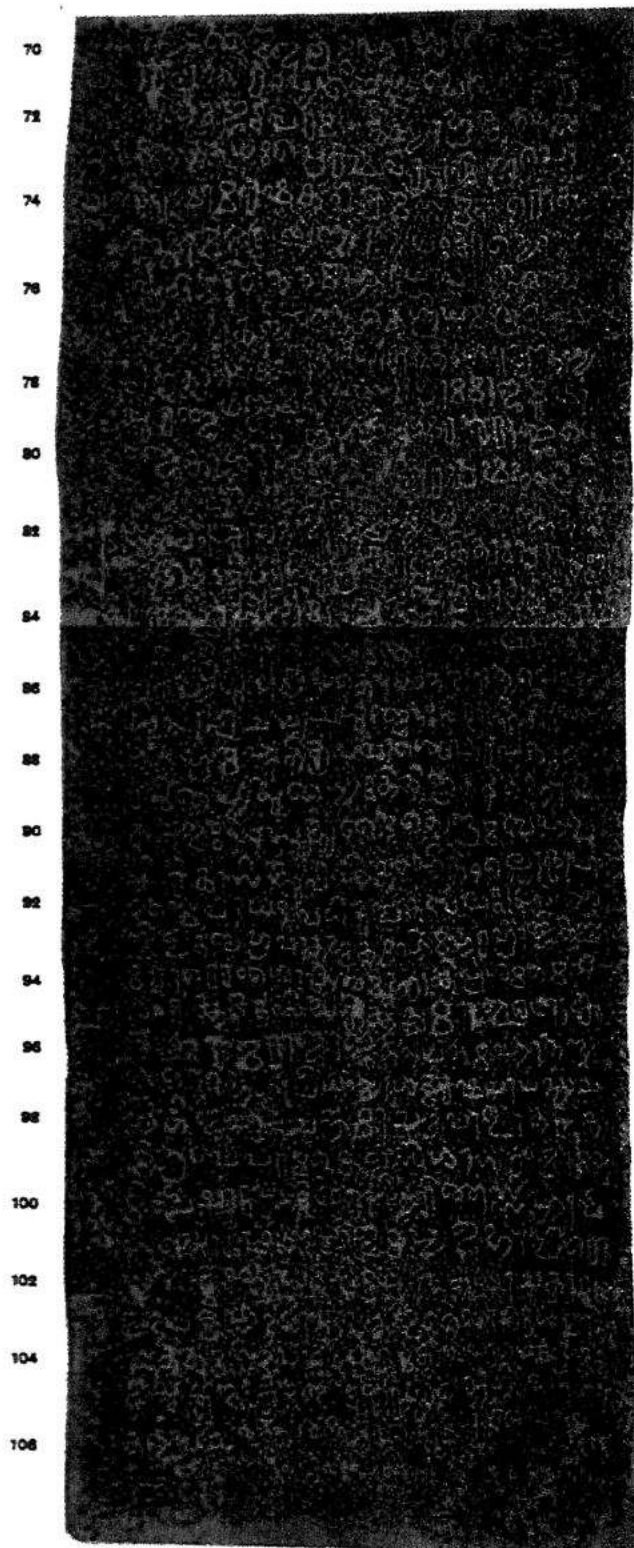
First Pillar : Front.

First Pillar : Back.



Second Pillar: Front.

Second Pillar: Back.



- 84 ककु[त्*]स्थाभिधाम् ।[१२*] पृथुर्ववर्भाञ्च कुले
 85 [कुलाद्रिणा] समसमस्तावनिपालवन्दितः ।[*]
 86 [विवेकधुस्त]नृपतौ¹ स नन्दधु²न्न वे[प]-
 87 ³धुर्नापि च याचधु[ञ्ज]नः³ ॥—[१३*] असुषिन्वं-
 88 [शे]भून्महति कुवलाश्री नरपतिः स्फु⁴-
 89 र[द्वी]र्यैर्दुयैरतिनिभृतसुत्भासि-⁵
 90 ततनुः ।[*] स धुन्धुन्दैत्येन्द्रम् बहक-
 91 सिकतासिन्धुपिहितं हितं लोकाया-
 92 स्मै विदधदवधीदुद्वतबलः ॥—[१४*] वंशे-
 93 स्मिन्नुत्बभूवात्भुत⁶महिमभरभ्राजितस्या-⁷
 94 मरारैरंशो विश्वंभरार्तिप्रशमनमनि-
 95 शं कर्त्तुमुत्सिद्धकीर्त्तिः ।[*] मान्याता⁸
 96 नाम राजा जननयनमहानन्द-
 97 स[दो]हजायी⁹ यस्याधर्मक्षयाय व्यच-
 98 रदतिजवात् चक्रमा चक्रवाकात् ॥—[१५*] त-
 99 स्मिन्नुपे परमतेजसि शासतीमाम् भू-
 100 मिच्चचार हरिणा हरिणस्सहापि ।[*]
 101 सर्वो मिथस्सहजमप्यज[हा]दिरो-
 102 धन्धर्मस्त्वधर्मविरहान्न तथा चकार ॥—[१६*]
 103 उदयमिह दधानस्सत्¹⁰गुह्यैरेधमान-
 104 स्सततमसद्रपाये वृद्धिमत्यन्ववाये ।[*] उदजनि
 105 मुचुकुन्दः कुन्दगौरैर्यशोभिः परिण-
 106 त इव चन्द्रः शोभमानैर्मयूखैः¹¹ ॥—[१७*]

¹ [Read °विवे[क्]यु like नन्दयु, वेपयु and याचयु which follow, must be the abstract nouns derived from the roots विविच् etc., by adding the termination अयुच्. But विविच् is not, according to the Dhātupāṭha, a *ṣiṭ* root and hence the reading विवेकयु is very doubtful.—Ed.]

² Read °धु°

³ Read धुर्जनः.

⁴ [The correct reading appears to be नरपतिह.]

⁵ Read °धुयै and मुह्या°.

⁶ Read °सुहभूवाद्भुत°.

⁷ The length of स्या is at the beginning of the next line. [We should have rather expected मरारै and not मरारै.—Ed.]

⁸ Read मान्याता. The secondary ā symbol is at the beginning of the next line.

⁹ Read दायी.

¹⁰ Read हु.

¹¹ [The correct reading seems to be मानो मयूखः.]

Second Pillar : Second Side.

- 107
 108
 109
 110
 111
 112 नृप[स्तेषां स्व]र्गमतीव दुर्म-
 113 मकरोद्युहे ह[ता]नामपि ॥—[१८*] अस्मिन्व-¹
 114 शोभवदभिभवन्नोजसा राज-
 115 वृन्दं लब्धानन्दस्समितिषु हरिश्च-
 116 न्द्रनामा नरेन्द्रः [१*] दि[त्]सामिकां दधदपि
 117 नयन् कोशिकायान्धनायां² स्वं व्य-
 118 क्रीणात्तृणमिव तथा यस्सुपुत्रं कळ-
 119 चम् ॥—[१९*] आसीदचान्ववाये सगर इति [नृ]-
 120 पस्तर्जिताशेषभूपो येनार[ब्धे]-
 121 पि कामं हयमखनिकरे चासितो
 122 देवराजः [१*] यत्पुत्राणाम् प्रभावा-
 123 क्षवणजलनिधौ सागरत्वं प्रप-
 124 क्षे शेषाणां वारिधीनामपि [स]क-
 125 . . . स्सागरत्वञ्चकार ॥—[२०*] आसीद-
 126 च [भ]गी[र*]थः क्षितिपतिर्वशे स्ववं-
 127 ³[शो]ङ्गवानुवृत्तुं कपिलप्रकोप-
 128 दहनज्वालावलौभस्मितान् [१*] स्व[स्मि]-
 129 न्धुं वसुधावय⁴न्निपथगाञ्चक्रे
 130 स भागोरथीं मर्त्यानप्यमृतान्व्यधात्
 131 सुरसरित्वा⁵रिप्रवाहस्पृशः ॥—[२१*] अन्व-
 132 येच सुमहत्त्ववतीर्णः[ः][स्वर्व]भूपतिगु-
 133 षैः परिपूर्णः [१*] सज्जनस्तुतिविरा-
 134 जितवर्णः क्षामरक्षदखिलास्तुप-
 135 ण्यः ॥—[२२*] इह समजनि भूपः सर्वलो-

¹ The *anuscāra* is in the next line.² [The correct reading would be *श्रीश्रीकोशिकायानायां*.—Ed.]³ [The *ē* sign of *श्री* is at the end of the previous line.]⁴ Read *वसुधै*.⁵ Read *रिवादि*.

- 136 कैकतीपः¹ क्षपित[भुवनता]पश्चातिता-
 137 रिप्रतापः [i*] अरियु[वतिविलाप]स्फारि-²
 138 ³तोहामकोप[स्मिति⁴ वि]जयिचा[प*][प्राप्]तकी-⁵
 139 त्तिर्दिलोपः⁶ ॥—[२३*] अस्मि[नंशच]तुष्टयेन
 140 भगवान् वंशज[नि]ष्ट प्रभुः [क्लि]ष्टां
 141 [वो]क्ष्य वसुन्धरामतिबलैर्दृष्टे-
 142 ⁷[महा]राक्षसैः [i*] [रामो लक्ष्म]णसं-
 143 युतोय भरतश्च[तुष्ट]युक्त[स्मृतद्वन्द्व]
 144 विष्णुभुजायुगद्वयतुला[मूर्]र्ज[स्वस्व][i*] य-
 145 द्ययौ ॥—[२४*] पितरि तनयवृत्तं भ्रातरि⁸ भ्रातृ-

Third Pillar : First Side.

- 146 वृत्तं युवतिषु पतिवृत्तं शाच-
 147 वे शत्रुह[त्त]म् [i*] मुनिषु ⁹नृपतिवृत्त-
 148 म् ब[ि]न्धवे बन्धुवृत्तं सकलम-
 149 खिल[नाश]¹⁰ शिञ्जवामास¹¹ लोकम् ॥—[२५*]
 150 [नो] कोपेन¹² जघान राक्ष[सप]तिं का-
 151 मेन¹³ न प्रेयसीं स प्रत्याहृतवा[n*] म-
 152 होशचरितं काङ्क्ष्येन चक्रे परम् [i*]
 153 नो चेत्किन्तपसि स्थितं स म-
 154 लये शूद्रं जघानासिना किं
 155 वानत्ययकान्तिधृ[त्यु]पचितान्त[त्या*]-
 156 ज सोतां [द्रु]तम् ॥[२६*] सेतुं नेतुं क-
 157 पिबलमसौ ब[ल]न्धवनेकम-
 158 व्यौ चक्रे वक्रेतरगुणनिधिर्द्व-¹⁴
 159 मसेतूनशेषान् [i*] केतुं हेतुं [वि]-

¹ Read दीपः.

² Read स्फारिती. [I would suggest विलापैस्फारिती^o as the more probable one.—Ed.]

³ The ē symbol of ती is at the end of the previous line.

⁴ [The correct reading is स्मृतव^o.]

⁵ [The text reads स्तीतकी^o.]

⁶ Read कौर्तिर्दिलोपः.

⁷ Read महा.

⁸ [स्वातृ is the actual reading in the inscription.]

⁹ [नृपति is the actual reading in the inscription. The ē sign of नृ at the beginning of l. 147 is at the end of l. 146.]

¹⁰ Read नाशः.

¹¹ Read शिञ्जवामास.

¹² [न कोपेन is the actual reading.]

¹³ The ē symbol of मे is in the previous line.

¹⁴ Read ^oध्व.

- 160 ब्रुधविपदां व्यापदान्दानवीनां रामं
 161 कामं कथयति जनस्तत्गुण[¹]*नान्निधा[नं]¹ ॥—[२७*]
 162 अस्मिन्व[²]*जनि विदक्यन्नोजसा [रा]जबृ-
 163 न्द[³]*को नाम क्षितिपतिरतिस्फीतराज-
 164 न्यकालः [⁴]* यस्याशेषामवनिमवतो²
 165 राजधानीमिव स्वां लीलोद्या-
 166 ³नैस्तुलनमदधन्सर्वतः कानना[नि] ॥—[२८*]
 167 विहरन् स हरप्रभः कदाचिन्मुनिबृन्दा⁴-
 168 ध्युषि[तेषु का]ननेषु [⁵]* अनयद्विबु-
 169 धाश्रयो विहारप्रतिलब्धाव-⁵
 170 सरा[णि] वासरा[णि] ॥—[२९*] कदाचन मृग-
 171 व्रजप्रमथनप्र[भु]ल्लादरञ्चचार⁶
 172 [वि]पिनान्तरेष्वनतिभूरिसैन्यः [क्ष]-
 173 मी [⁷]* तदा स मृगरूपिणा भटिति केन-
 174 चिद्रक्षसा [हृतो] हरितमन्वगात्
 175 प्रकृतिदक्षिणो दक्षिणाम् ॥—[३०*] मृग-
 176 न्तमनु[ग]च्छता प्रजविज्ञा शनैर्वा-⁷
 177 जिना पृथुद्रुमसमाकुलं विपि-
 178 नमन्यदासादित⁸ [⁹]* न्त⁹मन्वयुरनारतं प्र-
 179 विततप्रयाणोन्मुखा जवेन र-
 180 भसोत्पतत्पृथुवरूथिनीना-¹⁰
 181 यकाः ॥—[३१*] तं हत्वा रजनिचरं स तच्च
 182 भूपः कावेरीमनु विचचार भूरिचा-
 183 रः [¹¹]* क्षीरांभोनिधिमथनात् सुरै-
 184 रकातम् पीयूषम् भुवि सखिलच्छला-
 185 [द्वहन्तीम्] ॥—[३२*] तच्च [स्त्रा]त्वा . . . द्विजे-

¹ Read सद्गुणावां निधानम्.

² The secondary *ā* symbol of the letter *tō* is in the next line.

³ The *ai* symbol of *nai* is at the end of the preceding line.

⁴ The secondary *ā* symbol is engraved in the next line.

⁵ व looks like ब.

⁶ The secondary *ā* symbol is in the next line.

⁷ Read °तम्.

⁸ The secondary *ā* symbol is in the next line.

⁹ Read प्रफुल्लादरञ्चचार.

¹⁰ Read त°.

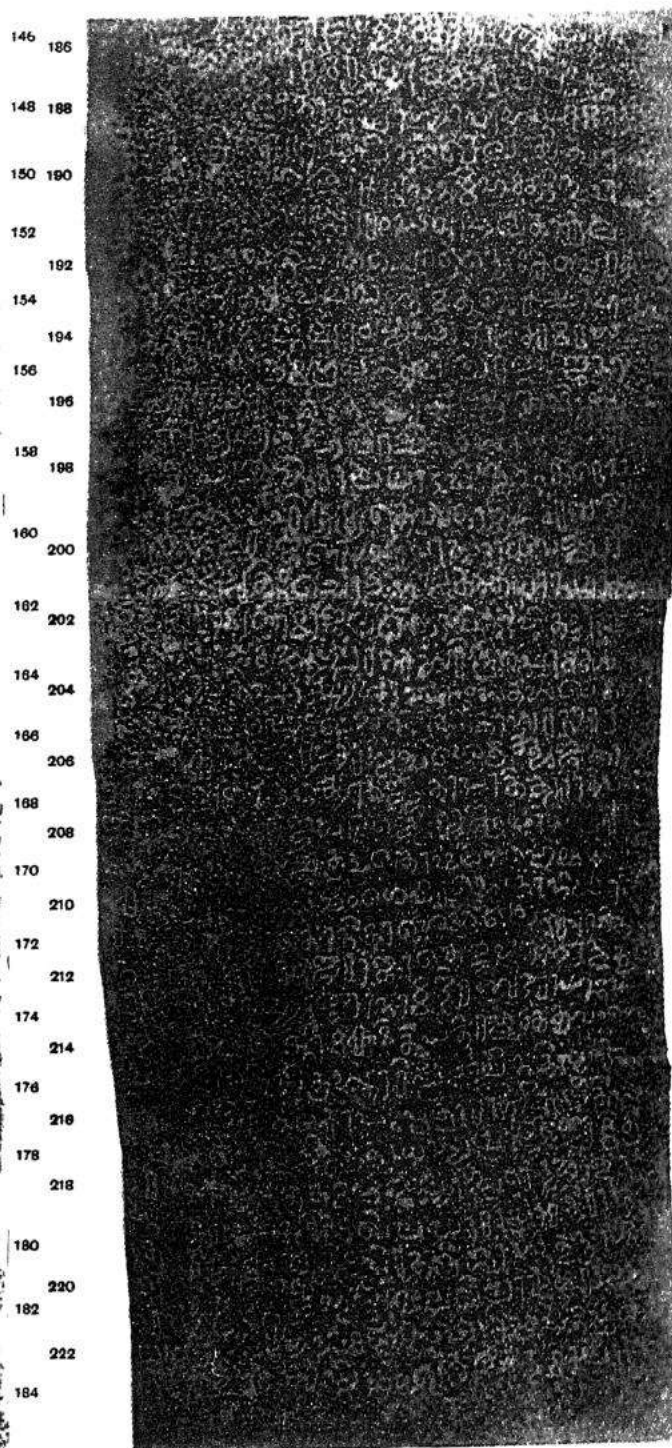
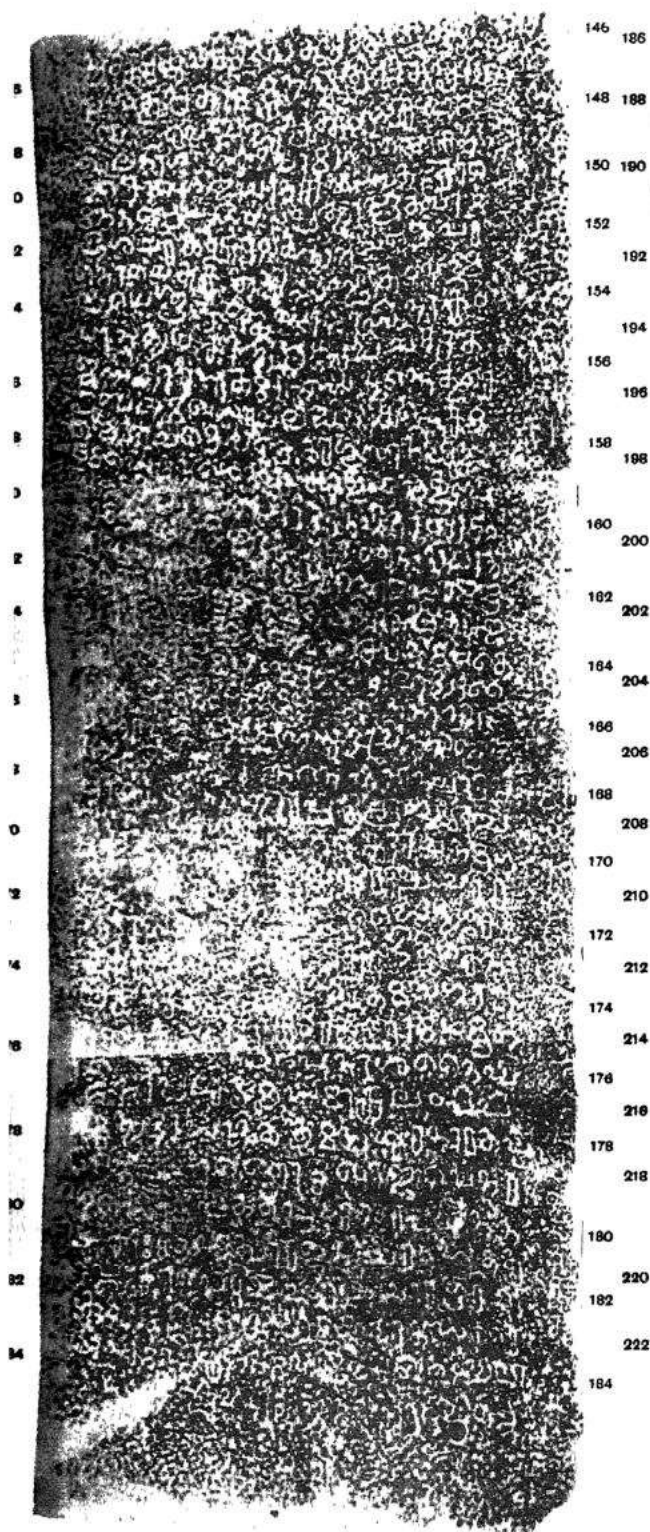
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Kanyakumari Inscription of Vira-Rajendra : the 7th year.



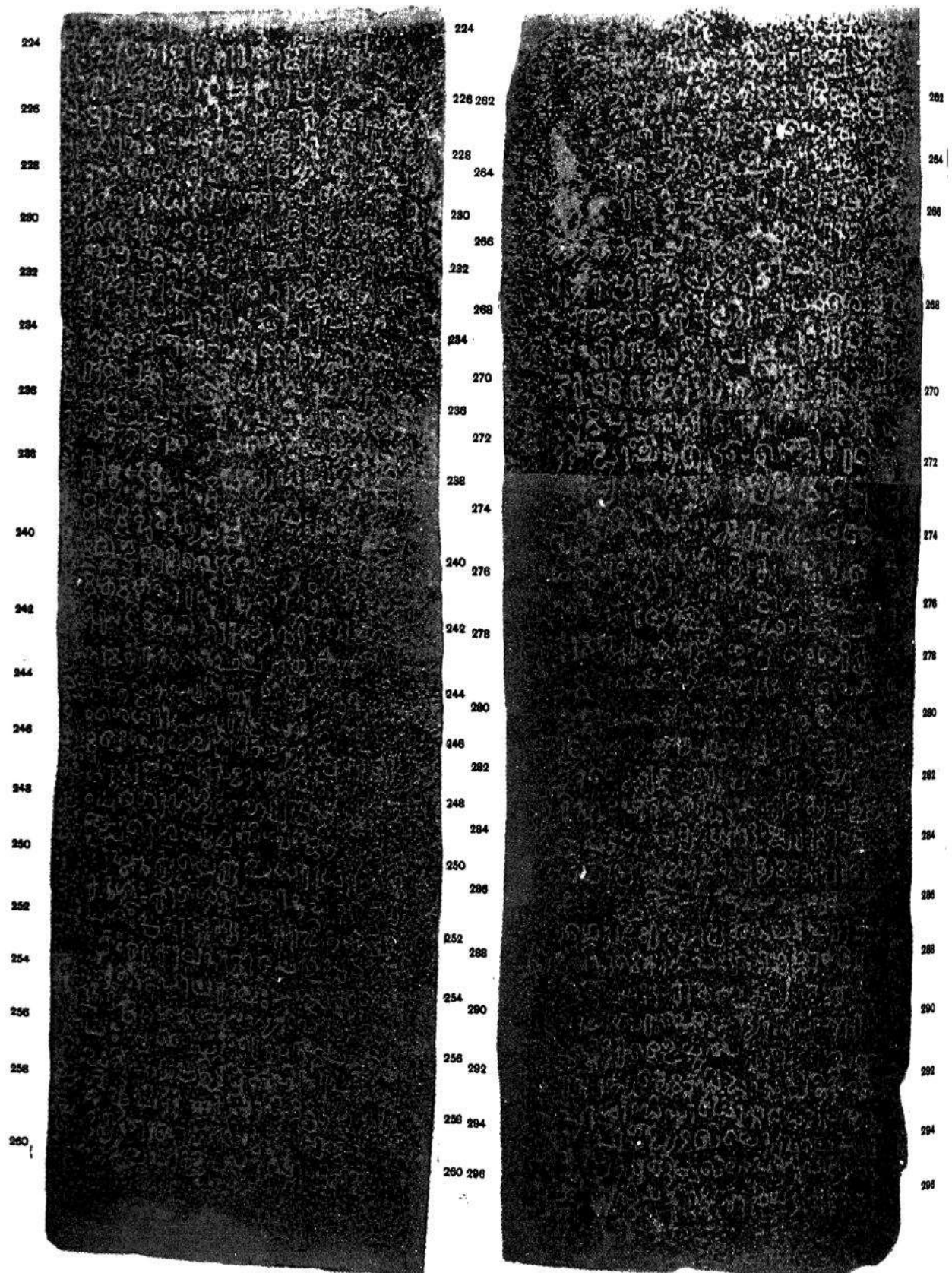
Third Pillar : Front.

Third Pillar : Back.



Fourth Pillar: Front.

Fourth Pillar: Back.



Third Pillar : Second Side.

- 186 [भ्यो] नापश्यत्तान्वश्यचित्त-
 187 स्तदानोम् [१*] आर्यावर्तादिप्रवर्या-
 188 [नेनका]^१नानीयाध्यावासयात्मा-
 189 [स] तीरे ॥—[३३*] विपिनमखिलं खित्वा^२
 190 पूमैश्चकार वनमहत्तदनु वि-
 191 [दधे धी]रस्मारं सनागस्तताकुल-
 192 [म्] [१*] उपवनचयैरन्यैः कवेर-^३
 193 सुतातटद्वयवसुमतीमेकच्छाया-
 194 मनेकफलां व्यधात् ॥—[३४*] अमरस-
 195 रि[ति] स्नानम् भूयस्तपश्चरणञ्जना
 196 विदधति तटे तस्याः कृच्छ्राक्षिविष्टप-
 197 काम्यया [१*] इह विरचितं स्नानं [धीरं]
 198 तपश्च सुरालयादपि शुभतरे व[र-
 199 से व]ासं स्थिरीकुरुते सताम् ॥—[३५*] अन्वशा-
 200 त्तमनु राजकेसरी वासराधिप इवा-
 201 समद्युतिः [१*] चोळभूपतनयो नयात्^४
 202 [विभुः] क्षोणिमाजलधि वाहिताहितः ॥—[३६*]
 203 त[त्सुत]स्तु परकेसरी नृपो मत्स-
 204 रो [तम]निवार्यशासनः [१*] सत्सखः
 205 तामुरनिका-
 206 रमग्रिमः ॥[३७*] अस्मिन्वंशे मृत्युजिह्वा-
 207 म राजा मृत्योर्जेता पातितारातिव-
 208 [र्गः १*] [रि]जे^५ यज्ञैराज्ञया च प्रका-^६
 209 म[न्देवां]च्छ[त्रू]न्तोषयन्^७ भेषय-
 210 [च] ॥—[३८*] अस्मिन्वंशे कीर्त्तनाभिधा-
 211 [नो जा]तो नीताशेषलोकाहित-
 212 [च] [१*] रेजे राजा तेजसा भानुतु-

^१ Read नेनका.^२ Between ०रन्यैः and कवेर two long syllables are wanting. [Perhaps ०रन्यैस्सोयं might be suggested.^३ Read नयाद.^४ [The correct reading is ताम्रिका.]^५ [This word may also be read ज.]^६ The secondary ā symbol is in the next line.^७ Read ०रच्छत्रून्तोषयन्

- 213 ल्यः कल्याणानाम्मन्दिरं सुन्दरांगः ॥—[३८*]
 214 चि[चो]न्नाम¹ क्षितिपतिरभूत्तत्र वंशे-
 215 धिकश्रीर्विचस्तारिप्रकरविनतिव्यक्त-
 216 विच्छिन्नकोपः [1*] वृत्तारातिर्भटिति² स-
 217 मरे तर्जितो यस्य बाणैर्मितो³-
 218 भूतस्ततमभजद्व्याप्रकेतुध्वजत्व-
 219 म् ॥—[४०*] अवनिमखिलपारावारतीराभि-
 220 रा[मा]म्⁴ परतनुविरतश्रीश्रासितुन्नाभि-
 221 [तारिः] [1*] निजभुजबललोलाकृष्टराजन्य-
 222 लक्ष्मीरिह समजनि वंशे भूपतिः पु*]प्यके-⁵
 223 तुः ॥—[४१*] अस्मिन्वंशे केतुमालाभि-

Fourth Pillar: First Side.

- 224 धानो जातो राजा जातशम्पाप्र-
 225 काशः [1*] हत्वा सर्व्वक्षमाभृतां [केतु]-
 226 मालां येनावाप्तं केतुमालाभि-
 227 धानम् ॥—[४२*] समुद्रजिन्नाम नरा[धिराजो]⁶
 228 [भुव]⁷ वोर्यः [1*] पूर्वापरा-
 229 म्भोनिधिमिश्रणेन [पण्ये]न
 230 शसुतां [स]लो[भः]⁸ ॥[४३*] श्रीमत्य[च] कुले
 231 बभूव महितयोः पञ्चपाख्यो नृपो
 232 निर्व्याजातिथिपूजनोर्जितमना य[क्षा]-⁹
 233 न् स पञ्चातिथीन् [1*] विद्धा पञ्च[सि]रा-
 234 स्त्रशोणितमसौ तैर्याचित[स्नाद]-
 235 रं कोणान्तत् सकलानपाय[य*]त तयजा[*]तस्तु
 236 [त*]त् पञ्चपः ॥[४४*] अभवन्विभवैर्ज-¹⁰
 237 [य]न्दिगीशानिह वंशे नृपतिस्रधांश-
 238 कान्तः [1*] नृमृडस्त मृडस्य सम्प्रसादाद-

¹ Read चिचो नाम्.

² Read °र्भटिति.

³ Read °मिचो.

⁴ [°राने विरतिमविरत° appears to be the actual reading.]

⁵ The ē symbol of ३ē alone is in this line.

⁶ The secondary ā of the letter क्षो is in the next line. [Perhaps नराधिनाथ is the actual reading. Ed.]

⁷ [वंशेन विशाख are seen before वोर्यः.—Ed.]

⁸ Could the passage read स स्मिन्.

⁹ The secondary ā symbol is in the next line.

¹⁰ Read अभवन्विभवैर्ज.

- 239 जयन्मृत्युमनस्यप्रभावः ॥—[४५*] अथा[भूद]-
 240 मलगुण[*] कुलेतुल्योस्तेज[स्त्री स]-
 241 मिति मनोरथाभिधानः [1*] यो इत्वा
 242 भट्टिमि¹ मनोरथानरोणाम् . . .²
 243 नामकुरुत सत्फलात्³ बलेन ॥—[४६*]
 244 एतस्मिन्पुरुनत्किञ्चिप्रभृतयो वं-⁴
 245 शे धराधीश्वरा भूयांसस्तु जिता-
 246 मरेश्वरवलश्रीविक्रमा जज्ञिरे [1*] ये-
 247 धामाजलधिदमांसपतनव्याप्तं⁵
 248 यशोभिश्चभैराब्रह्माण्डमख-
 249 ण्डदेशसमयं विश्वन्जग[द्रा]जते⁶ ॥—[४७*]
 250 अस्मिन् कुले कुलधराधरस[न्नि]-
 251 काशः काशोपमान[विततोर]-
 252 यशःप्रतानः [1*] आसीत् क्षितिशतिल-
 253 कः करिकालनामा चोळसमुत्थितरि-
 254 पुक्षितिपालकालः ॥—[४८*] स काधेरो-
 255 न्दूरीकृतसकलसस्यां विदधतीम् प-
 256 यःपूरै⁷स्मारेवनिम[विनीतो]-
 257 इति[ह]रः [1*] प्रतीरोभूताभिर्नरपति⁸करा-
 258 श्लिष्टपिटकप्रकीर्णाभिर्नृत्भि⁹न्य[रुण]-
 259 दरुणायेसरसम[ः] ॥—[४९*] [अस्मिन्कुले]
 260 सकलपार्थिववन्द्यपादो [जातो]-

Fourth Pillar: Second Side.

- 261 भिजात[गुण]संहति . . . श्रोः [1*]
 262 [ज]र्जस्तलोत्भुत¹⁰नि[जा]प्रतिमप्र-
 263 ताप(र)सन्तापितारिश्लभो¹¹ व-
 264 लभो महीशः ॥—[५०*] इहान्वये-
 265 भूदमरेशतुल्यः परास्त्रविद्व-

¹ Read भट्टिति.² Read सत्फलान्.³ Read °लसं सतपनं व्याप्तं.⁴ Read °नरपति.⁵ Read °हुन.⁶ Could the reading here be दीना° ?⁷ The anusvāra of वं is in the next line.⁸ Read विश्वन्जग°.⁹ Read °नृत्ति.¹⁰ Read °श्लभो.¹¹ Read पूरैः स्मारेः.

- 317 क्षपाकरसमद्युतिः त्वपित¹-
 318 ²वैरिपक्षोत्करः [1*] यदीयभुज-
 319 विक्रमश्रवणसंभवत्साध्व-
 320 सैर्नृपैरवनिभृत्गुहा-³
 321 गृहनिवासिभिः[*] स्थीयते ॥—[६१*] अ[य]-
 322 [म*]कृत च*] राज्ञः[*] खैरमाज्ञाविधे[या]-
 323 न्यधित विधिसमानस्सम्पदं स-
 324 जनानाम् [1*] अतनुत नुतनीर्यो [व्या]-
 325 पदं शात्रवाणामतुल्यदतुल-
 326 श्रीश्वन्द्रकान्तिं स्वकान्त्याः ॥—[६२*] अस्य
 327 सूनुरभ[व*]त् परान्तकस्सन्ततक्षपि-
 328 तवैरिसन्ततिः [1*] चिन्तयन्त्यदुदयं स-
 329 साध्वसः पाण्ड्यभूपतिरलंघय-
 330 त्⁴गिरिं ॥[६३*] चकार कारासु रिपूनशे-
 331 षाम्स्ततार⁵ भूरीन्समराम्बु[राशीन्] [1*]
 332 जहार तापं बुधसंहतीना[न्त]ता-
 333 [न] सन्तापमसज्जना[ना]म् ॥—[६४*] अखिल-
 334 गुणनिधानात् भूमिपालादमुष्मा-

Fifth Pillar : Second Side.

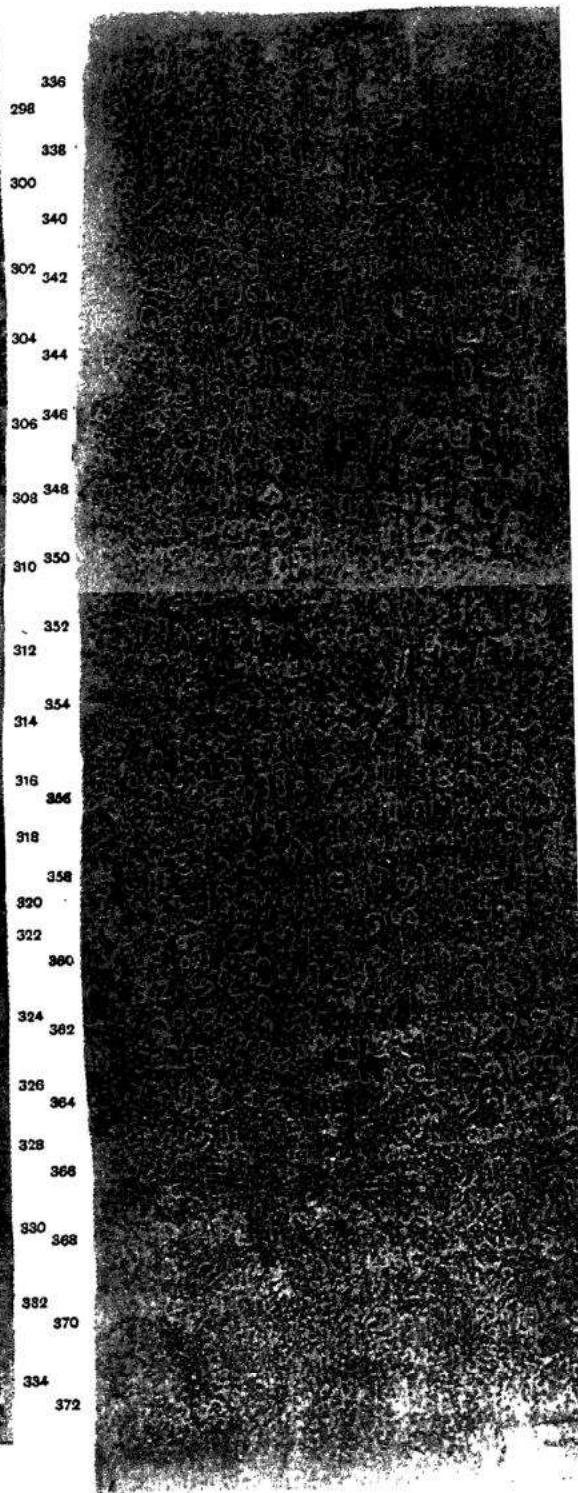
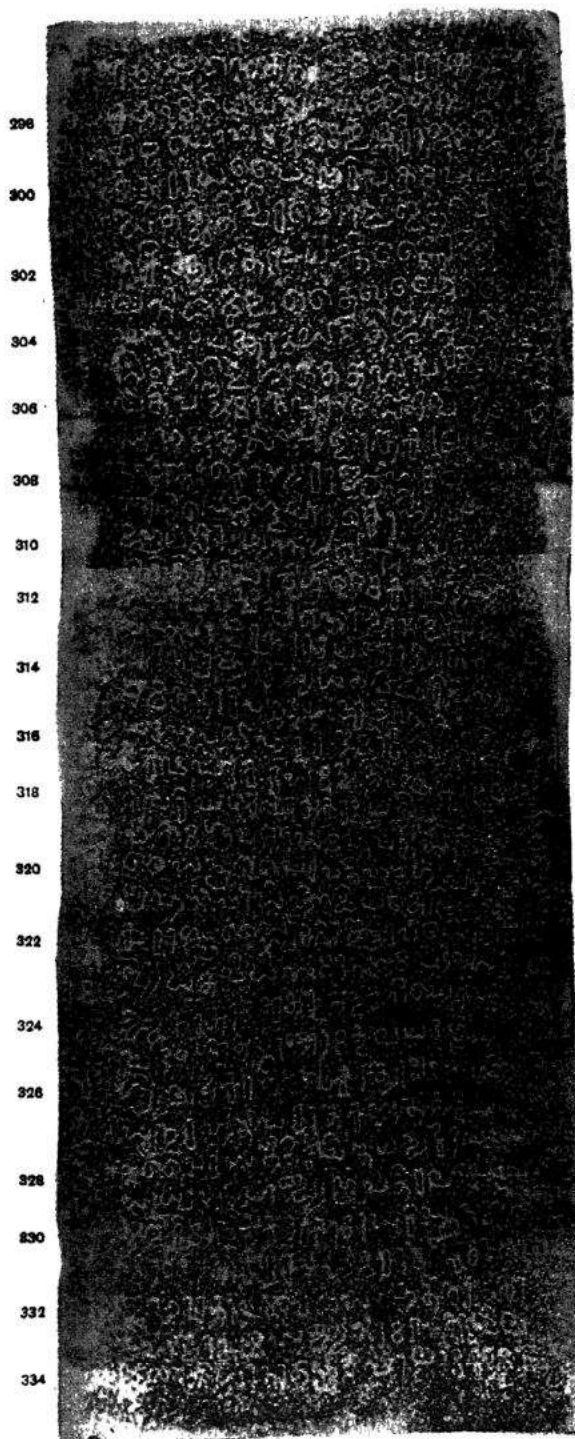
- 335 दुदजान नरनाथो राजराजाभि-
 336 धानः [1*] [मदन*]रुचिरदेहः कान्त-
 337 [ने*]त्रो⁶रविन्दो [धनद इति] परं [यन्त्रा]-⁷
 338 जराजेन तुल्यः ॥—[६५*] संजहार स-
 339 मरे स पालिवानुज्जहार विप-
 340 दक्ष भूतकात् [*] आजहार च मखान-
 341 ⁸नेकशो व्याजहार [च] [स*] सूनृत . . त⁹ ॥—[६६*]
 342 सत्याश्रये स्थिर[त]रे बत राजरा-
 343 जे सत्याश्रयः किल पलायत मन्द-

¹ Read क्षपित.² Read ०भृद्गुहा.³ Read नेचारविन्दो.⁴ Could the passage here be read as सूत्रज्ञ गिरः ?⁵ One of the secondary ē symbols is in the next line : Read क्षिपत.⁶ Read ०द्विरिक.⁷ Read यो राज०.⁸ Read श्रीवासागर⁹ The ē of ne is in the preceding line.

Kanyakumari Inscription of Vira-Rajendra : the 7th year.

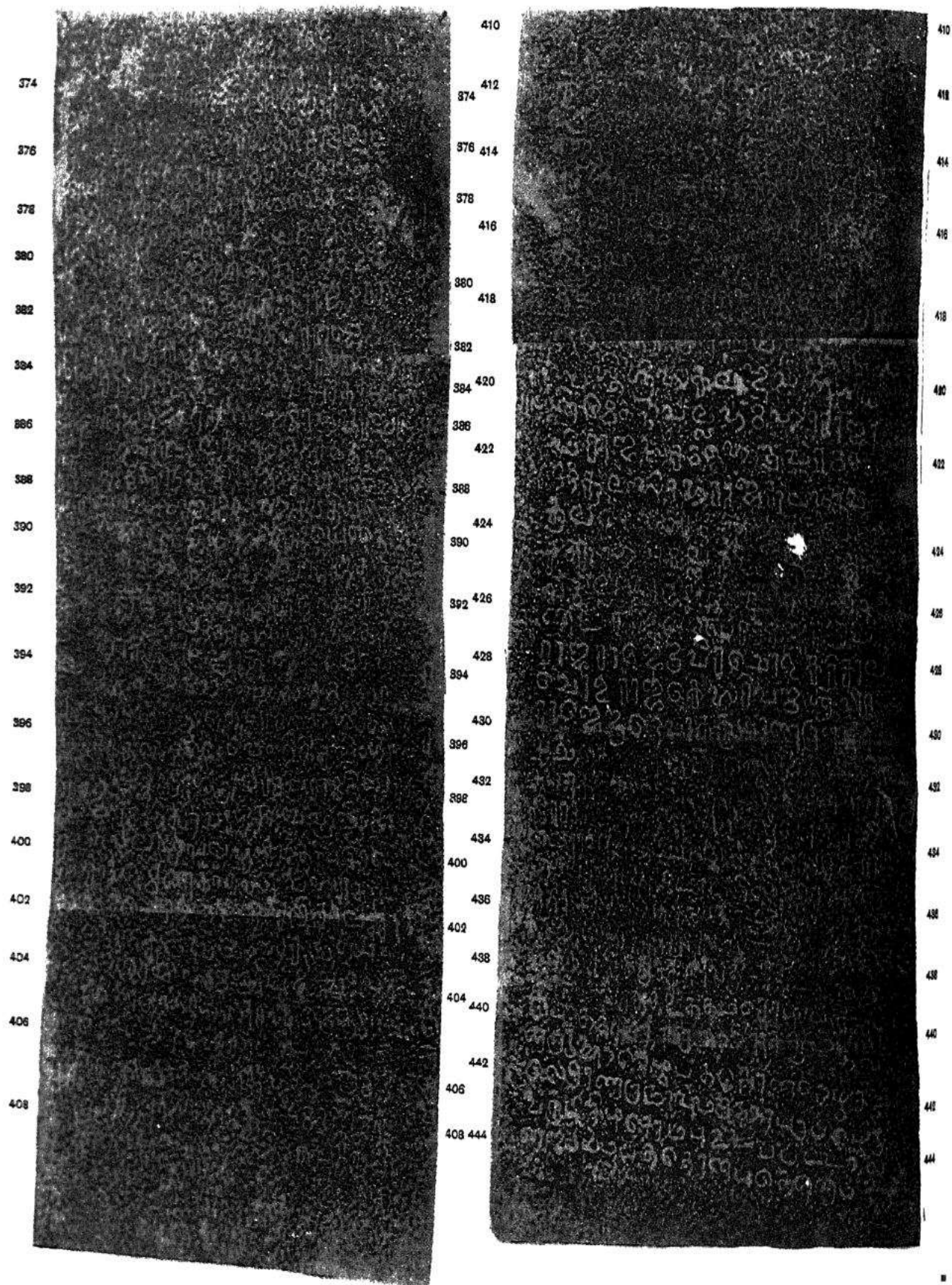
Fifth Pillar : Front.

Fifth Pillar : Back.



Sixth Pillar: Front.

Sixth Pillar: Back.



- 344 बुद्धिर्नत्या¹ जयन्ति स[भ]या रिपव-
 345 स्तमाजौ न त्याजयत्ययमसूनरि-
 346 भिरिन्धयस्ते² ॥—[६७] तस्य सूनुरन[त]-³
 347 स्य शासिता पाकशासन इवारि-
 348 शासनः [*] शंबरारि⁴[*]चिराकृतिर्नृप-
 349 स्तम्बभूव मधु[रान्त]काभिधः ॥—[६८*]
 350 अजयदजितवीर्य[*] शाली⁵
 351 विजय इव स[मस्तान्] कुन्तळानामधो-
 352 शान् [*] अहरत स[किरीटं] क्षत्रियाणां-
 353 हन्तुः⁶ [जामदग्न्य]-
 354 [स्य] वीर्यात् ॥[६९*] जहार हारन्तुहि-
 355 नांशुकान्तं तोर्विक्रम-⁷
 356 निर्जितारिः [*] विहारभूमिं निजसे-⁸
 357 निकानां स चाकरोत् संय-
 358 ति मान्यकेटम् ॥[७०*] स्वसेनाधीशा-
 359 नप्रतिहतकुलूतोत्कलप(ति)-
 360 तिः कलिंगान्विशेन्द्रैस्स[ह]⁹
 361 बहव्वीर्यान्विदक्यन् [*] स [गंगा]-
 362 सुतज्ज¹⁰निजकरिघटापाति[त*]तटाम्¹¹
 363 घटैज्ज¹² भूभक्षकुटनिहि-
 364 ¹³तैरुद्धृतजलाम् ॥[७१*] उल्लंघिताम्बु-
 365 धिभिस्स[ह]नबाहुवीर्यैर्निर्बू[त]-
 366 [वैरि]नरनाथ[बल]प्रपञ्चै-
 367 स्सै[न्यैः*]¹⁴ कटाहमद[ह]यमन्यै¹⁵ राजेन्द्र-

¹ Read बुद्धिःन°.² The letter त is engraved below the line.³ [The missing syllables may be read [शौर्य*] सौन्दर्य.—Ed.]⁴ [The gap after this word may be filled with the syllables प्रमलमिहळराज°.]⁵ [The gap contains the syllables शतक्र.—Ed.]⁶ The ai symbols are in this line and सु in the next line.⁷ [Possibly वंजेन्द्र was meant.—Ed.]⁸ Read सुतज्ज°, [The correct reading is शत(स)ज्ज°.—Ed.]¹¹ Read तटां.¹² Read घटैर्¹³ The ai symbols are at the end of the previous line.¹⁴ Read °पञ्चैः[*]सैन्यैः.¹⁵ Read मदहयददाश°.

- 368 चीकृप[तेः] किमसाध्यमस्य ॥—[३३*]
 369 तस्यासंस्तनया[स्त्र]यस्य¹ इव
 370 ख्याताः [क्रतोर्]ग्नयस्तेषां² प्र-
 371 यमः क्षितीशतिलको राजाधिरा-
 372 जो नृपः [१*] [यः*] कल्याणप्रदवद्वाह नृप-
 373 तो[न्निर्जित्य] तन्नायकानादायाहव-

Sixth Pillar : First Side.

- 374 मस्र
 375 ॥—[३३] त[स्त्रि]-
 376 न् गते त्रिदिव[सु*][बृ]तल्लोकशो-
 377 कस्तस्यानुज³ क्षितिमिमासस्त्रिणा.⁴
 378 मरक्षत् [*] राजेन्द्रदेवप्रतिपन्न
 379 रिपूनशेषान् शेषोपमो⁵
 380 नभगभुजः⁶ प्रकृत्यं व्यनै-
 381 षीत् ॥—[३४*] तस्मिन्त्याते⁷ त्रिदिवप्रभुज-
 382 [स्तस्य] न⁸स्तेजितारिः प्राज्यं रा-
 383 ज्यं व्यथित⁹ विधिवत् वीरराजेन्द्र-
 384 देवः [*] अत्युत्भूत¹⁰ समधिकवक्त्रो
 385 राजराजेन्द्रदेवः शत्रुघातं व्य-
 386 जयत जवात्¹¹ बाह्यमाभ्यन्तरश्च ॥—[३५*]
 387 इत्वा कूटलसंगमे क्षितिभू-
 388 तः मखाटवंशोत्भवान्¹² सैन्यं
 389 यज्ञभुजां प्रवर्धयति यस्तै-¹³
 390 ईवभूय¹³ गतैः [१*] येनै-
 391 क्षेण वक्षो निर्हृत्य त-
 392 षोषितैः [क्र]त्वान्यां सरित¹⁴

¹ Read °स्य.

² Read °गुजः क्षिति.

³ The secondary ā symbol is in the next line.

⁴ The secondary ā symbol of the letter क्षी is in the next line.

⁵ Read °पनीभयभुजः.

⁶ Read वि.

⁷ Read व्यथित° and वहीर°.

⁸ Read लुङ्गत्.

⁹ Read °वक्षोभवान्. The anusvara of न्यं is in the next line.

¹⁰ The ā symbols of स्तै alone are in this line.

¹¹ The anusvara is in the next line.

¹² Read नि.

¹³ Read द्.

¹⁴ Read °द्वै.

- 393 समुद्रवनितां संतोषितो
 394 वारि[धिः*] ॥—[७६*] भ्रातृभ्यां समुपे-
 395 क्षितं जनपदं वंशक्रमाभ्या-
 396 गतं [क्रा]न्तं वैरिमहेश्वरै-¹
 397 रतिबलैर्वैगीन्कलिङ्गा-
 398 नपि [i*] जित्वा शत्रुपरम्परामतिब-
 399 लां हित्वा च भीतान् बह्वङ्ग्रीमा-
 400 न्वल्लभवल्लभक्षितिपतिः
 401 क्षेमेण² तं सोन्वसात्³ ॥—[७७*]
 402 वोरचोळनृपतिः करिकालः का-
 403 ल[य]न् कलिबलं सकलं सः [i*]
 404 धर्मशास[न*]समुच्चयमुच्चं व्या-
 405 तनोति⁵ [हित]सारसमेतम् ॥—[७८*]
 406 देवस्याद्रिसुताधिपस्य म[त][वि]-
 407 [क्षै]लोक्यसाराभिधं श्रीमदुद-
 408 भ्र[सभा]नटस्य मकुटे माणिक्य-
 409 ⁶[का]रोपितम् [i*] मन्त्रे वैरिकुला-

Sixth Pillar : Second Side.

- 410
 411 ।म [न्त्र] . . निजवश-
 412 कृतस ⁷स्तानुस्समारो-
 413 पितः ॥—[७९*] चोळतुण्डीरपा-
 414 ण्डेषु गंगावाटिकुलूतयोः⁸ [i*]
 415 वीरराजेन्द्रना[म्ना*]सौ ब्रह्म-
 416 देयान[क*]अयत् ॥—[८०*] चत्वारिंश-
 417 त्सहस्राणि ब्राह्मणाना-
 418 न्द्रयीविदद⁹ [i*] अतोषयत्¹⁰ भूमि-
 419 दानैरस्थापयदतिस्थिरम् ॥—[८१*]

¹ Read महेश्वरैः; the *ai* symbols of *रै* alone are in this line and *r* in the next line.

² The secondary *ś* of *क्षे* is in the previous line.

³ Read सोन्वसात्.

⁴ Read क्ष.

⁵ [The reading appears to be त् सरस.]

⁶ Read मा

⁷ [The reading seems to be भानु.—Ed.]

⁸ The secondary *ā* and the *visarga* of *योः* are in the next line.

⁹ Read ^०नवयीविदाम्.

¹⁰ Read अतोषयद्.

- 420 Svasti śrī[h ||*] Sakala-bhuvan-āśraya
 421 Śrī-mē[di]nī-vallabha¹ mahārājā-
 422 dhirāja saka[la*]mahēnta parama-a-
 423 śṭa-kula-simha rāja-kula-bhāvaka-
 424 kula[śekh]a[ra] kul[ānta]-
 425 ka Āha[vama]lla . . . la Āha-
 426 vamaḥlanai [di-me]ṇ-ka-
 427 ṇḍa Rājasēkhara Rājāśraya
 428 Rāja-Rājendra Vira-Chōla Karikāla-
 429 Chōla Rājakesarivanma śrī-Vira-
 430 rājendra-dēvarkku yāṇḍu ēlā-
 431 vadu te pat-
 432 tiṇ
 433 Vira-Rājendra
 434 mma rāva Rājarā-
 435 [ja]p-Pāṇḍi-nāṭ[tu] Uttama-Śōla-va-
 436 lanāṭṭup-Puṇattāya-nāṭṭu Kumari-[k]ka-
 437 ṇṇiyā-piḍāriyārkkku vēṇḍum nityani-
 438 vandaṅgalukku Chakkarāva[t]ti [śrī-Vira-Rā]jē-
 439 ndra-[dēvar] kuṇḍutta Uttama-Śōla-vaḷanāṭ-
 440 tu Puṇattāya-nāṭṭu Narrirākkūḍi-nila-
 441 ṇ iru-nūṇṇ-ēlubbatt-ṇṇṇ-mukkā-
 442 lē irāṇḍu māyum in-nāṭṭu-pPeru-
 443 ṇḍuḍi kiḷkombu utpaṭṭa nila-
 444 ṇ aiymbatt-ṇṇbadē-ṇṇbadi²

ABSTRACT OF CONTENTS.

Line 1. Be it well : Prosperity !

Verse 1. May the moon-crested Bhavānīpati (*i.e.* Śiva), who is the sportive author of creation, protection and destruction, who is the master of speech; the only abode of omniscience (*sarvajñatā*) and by whose grace his devotees are enabled to cross the dangerous ocean of *samsāra* (metempsychosis), grant you good fortune.

V. 2. May Sambhu, who is full of grace towards moveable and immoveable objects, who holds one with his own body,—which is situated on the mountain (Kailāsa) and which is effulgent with light,—that of the great Māyā, who cheers the Universe, who establishes science and nescience (*jñāna* and *ajñāna*) and who is pleased with the happiness and distressed with the unhappiness of souls (*jīva-ātman*),³—may He save you easily from sin and protect you from downfall.

V. 3. He, who killed with his discus the hordes of the army of Asuras, who drove to the æther regions (*pātāla*) the emperor Bali and who is ever the protector of the Dēvas, may that Hari wipe off your sins by protecting the world through you who are so many portions of His own Self existing on earth.

V. 4. The Lord of all (*Sarvēśvara*), with a view to procreate the Universe, first ushered into existence water, which (is the primordial matter and which) is the fittest object for that purpose. Therein He sowed His eternal seed and raised from it the Mundane Egg, which envelops the three worlds. He also created Brahmā for bringing into existence all other things.

¹ [The actual reading is *mēlanī*.—Ed.]

² The rest of the inscription cannot be traced.

³ [Who swells with the pleasures and pains of creatures willingly borne.—Ed.]

No. 4.] KANYAKUMARI INSCRIPTION OF VIRAJENDRA-DEVA.

V. 5. This Brahmā who was thus begotten, having created all the worlds, containing every kind of thing, produced other Brahmās. One among such was Marīchi who shone with a light which spread on all sides.

V. 6. Kāśyapa, who, with his omniscience, could perceive the subtlest things (*paśya*) was born of Marīchi. His great beauty (*Śrī*) was noticed by the eyes of Brahmā. He was reckoned as the first among the men of pre-eminence (*śrēyas-sampatti*). The constant fight among the Dēvas and others born of Kāśyapa, to own Prosperity appeared like the dash against each other of the waves of the ocean (which bore Lakshmi).

V. 7. From him (Kāśyapa) was born the transcendent Vivasvān,¹ who is the father of time, who by his generous light or power (*prabhāva*) which is capable of affording protection to the world, subordinates the planets, and by the contact with whose rays the lotus issued from the navel of the Lord of all (Vishṇu) as also the lotuses, the faces of Brahmā, renounced sleep for the first time.

V. 8. When the rays of the sun began to dispel darkness from every quarter, the shining golden Brahmāṇḍa appeared as though (the gold) was emitting the flaws (*kālimā*) in it; the disc of the sun looked like the pericarp of the Sky-lotus of which the petals were in the directions of the compass, and the filaments the solar rays.

V. 9. The patriarch of all kings (who ruled over the earth later on) was Manu, the son of Vivasvān²; from whose connection the human race received the name Mānava. Manu, worthy of being praised by the world; he created and promulgated laws and made human beings happy. Vivasvān made his son Manu as resplendent as he did his father (Kāśyapa).

V. 10. To Manu was born Ikshvāku³, who had unblemished fame spreading in all quarters and sung by the hosts of Dēvas. The all-pervading prowess of this conquering king, having had no enemies (*amitras*) to conquer, vanquished the sun (Mitra, a word which means a "friend")

V. 11. Vikukshīrava of high ideals of justice and of great intelligence was the son of Ikshvāku.⁴ This powerful king afforded protection to this earth. Kings used to acquire wealth by warring against each other, and they have now the easy method to attain it, namely to worship the feet of this king.

V. 12. The son of Vikukshīrava was Purañjaya who subdued those kings who offered him battle.⁵ Having transformed Indra into a bull, he stood on its high hump to conquer the Asuras; the gods in great joy addressed him as Kakutstha (he who stands on the *kakud*, hump of a bull), and this became thenceforth his name.⁶

V. 13. Prithu, who was comparable to the great mountains (*kula-parvatas*) and who was respected by all other kings, was born in this family.⁷ During his regime all the people were wise and pleased. There did not exist then trembling (for fear) or beggary.

V. 14. In this great dynasty appeared the king Kuvalāśva. He was famous for his powerful horses. This powerful sovereign, in order to afford protection to the world, killed an Asura named Dhundhu, who had taken refuge in the sandy river Sindhu.⁸

V. 15-16. Of astounding greatness, the incarnation of Asurāri (Vishṇu), the king Mādhātṛi was born in this race⁹ to remove the distress of humanity residing on this earth.

¹ See *Kalīngattupparanī*, *Rāja-pārampariyam*, v. 9; *Vikīrama-Śōlaṅ-ulā* ll. 1-6; *Ep. Ind.* Vol. XV, 59, vv. 6 & 7; *South-Ind. Inscr.*, Vol. III, p. 393, v. 4 and *Arch. Survey of South India*, Vol. IV, p. 206.

² See *Kalīngattupparanī*, v. 10, *Vikīrama-Śōlaṅ-ulā*, ll. 6-8 and *Kulōttuṅga-Śōlaṅ-ulā*, ll. 2-4.

³ *South-Ind. Inscr.*, Vol. III, p. 393, v. 5.

⁴ *South-Ind. Inscr.*, Vol. III, p. 393, v. 6.

⁵ *Ibid.*, v. 7.

⁶ *Ibid.*, v. 12.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 394, v. 13.

⁸ *Ibid.*, v. 8.

⁹ *Ibid.*, v. 14.

He afforded pleasure to the eyes of his subjects (by his personal appearance, perhaps). To drive off unrighteousness (*adharma*) his discus (*chakra*) travelled as far as the Chakravāṇa mountain. While this famous monarch ruled the earth, the lion and deer lived together amicably. All objects renounced their mutual hostility (that is, became friends); but *dharma* alone became an exception to this statement, for *adharma* did not exist (that is, it could not become a friend of *adharma*).

V. 17. The king Muchukunda of many good qualities was born of this race, which is never exposed to danger and which is ever prospering; this sovereign shone bright like the moon with his fame, which was white (unblemished) as the *kunda* (jasmine) flowers.¹

V. 18. The king made it impossible for even those who fell in battle to enter heaven.

V. 19. In this family was born Hariśchandra, who subdued by his prowess hosts of kings and who delighted in war. Valuing them as a mere straw, he sold his own body and his wife and son to pay the money of Kauśika (Viśvāmitra).

V. 20. In this dynasty was a king named Sagara, who was dreaded by all other kings. When this monarch began to perform a number of *asvamedha-yāgas*, Indra began to tremble (lest his position be lost to Sagara by the virtue which he was going to acquire by his meritorious deeds). Owing to the greatness of the sons of Sagara, the salt oceans obtained the name *sāgara*, and this name began to apply to other seas also.

V. 21. Bhagiratha was born in this race. Having brought down from heaven the river Gaṅgā to raise his ancestors (the sons of Sagara) to heaven from the ashes to which they were reduced by the fire of the anger of the sage Kapila, he caused the celestial river to flow in three regions (that is, heaven, earth and hell) and the men who touched its waters to become immortal.

V. 22. Rituparna, who was full of kingly virtues and who possessed a fame which was praised by all good men, sprang from this dynasty and protected the earth.

V. 23. In this family was born king Dilipa; he was like a lamp to the universe; he had removed from the world misery and had destroyed the power of his enemies; his anger drew tears from the eyes of the queens of hostile kings (that is, if any hostile king excited his wrath, that king was sure to meet with his death at the hands of Dilipa). He was a famous sovereign whose bow was ever destined to be crowned with success.

V. 24. Seeing that the earth was groaning under the evil deeds of the powerful and wicked Rākshasas, the Lord of the Universe, Bhagavān, became incarnate in four different aspects as Rāma, Lakshmaṇa, Bharata and Śatrughna. The two first and last pairs of brothers resembled the right and the left pairs of arms of Vishnu.

V. 25. This universal Lord taught the world the modes in which a son should conduct himself towards his father, a brother towards his brother, a young man towards his wife, an enemy towards his enemy, kings towards Rishis and relations towards relations.

V. 26. It was not out of anger that he killed the king of the Rākshasas (Rāvaṇa); nor was it out of his (carnal) love for his wife that he rescued her (from her captivity under Rāvaṇa); he only discharged his duty, which as a sovereign he was bound to do. If it were not so, why then should he have killed a Śūdra who was doing penance on the Malaya mountain or soon after (rescue), abandoned his wife, Sitā, of resplendent beauty and rare courage?

V. 27. Śrī-Rāma, of straight (uncrooked) virtues, had a bridge constructed across the sea for the army of monkeys to march over. (By his act of killing Rāvaṇa, a monster having evil ways), he firmly established all *dharma*s (*dharma-sētu*) on the earth. This Rāma, full of good qualities, is praised by men as the *dhūmakētu* (comet) to the misery of the gods (caused by the Rākshasas) and the source of chagrin to the Asuras.

¹ South-Ind. Inscriptions, Vol. III, p. 393, v. 17.

Vv. 28-35. In this race there was a king named Chōla.¹ To this king, by whom world was governed as though it was but his capital city, the forests appeared like so many pleasure-gardens. Once upon a time this king, who was resplendent as Hara, was spent his time in sport within the forests inhabited by hosts of sages. At another time strayed into other forests, with a band of his army, for the purpose of hunting deer; then he allured by a Rākshasa, who had assumed the shape of a deer, and was beguiled into southern regions. In the pursuit of this (pseudo-) deer the horse of Chōla took him gradually into another forest thickly studded with trees. The commanders of his rapidly marching army who were prepared to accompany their sovereign to distant lands, kept pace with swift horse. Having killed the deer-asura, the king began to march along the bank of river Kāvērī. It seemed from the sweetness of her water that the river Kāvērī was carrying the very ambrosia (*amṛita*) which the Dēvas churned (with great effort) out of the ocean. After bathing in her water, the king (looked for) Brāhmaṇas but found none in that region. Therefore, he brought a large number of Brāhmaṇas of superior *yir* from the Āryāvarta and settled them down there (on the banks of the Kāvērī). He cleared the jungle and planted betel-vines and areca trees in large numbers. He created several kinds of gardens, whereby the country was rendered shady (and cool) and also productive of fruits. People bathe in the river Gaṅgā and do penance in order to obtain *svarga*; but bath in the Kāvērī and penance on her bank would take those who do them to regions higher than *svarga*.

V. 36. After him (Chōla) his son Rājakēsari,² who was bright as the sun and who drove his enemies to the brink of the ocean, ruled the earth.

V. 37. Rājakēsari's son was Parakēsari³

V. 38. In this family there shone the king Mṛityujit,⁴ who conquered Mṛityu (Death). He felled the hosts of his enemies, pleased the Dēvas by the *yāgas* performed by him and made his foes tremble.

V. 39. The king Virasēna, who removed the sufferings of his subjects, who was resplendent as the sun, who was the abode of all auspicious qualities and who possessed beautiful limbs, was born in this race.

V. 40. There was born in this dynasty a king named Chitra,⁵ whose anger would disappear if his enemies prostrated themselves before him. Being terrified in battle by the army of this king, Indra forthwith made friends with him and adopted Vyāghrakētu's [*i.e.* Chitra's] banner of tiger.

V. 41. Pushpakētu, who by the spell of his prowess playfully drew towards himself the wealth of all other kings, was born in this family to rule the earth as far as the borders of the seas.

V. 42. Kētumāla, who shone as bright as the lightning, was born in this race. Having seized the rows of standards (*kētu-mālā*) of other kings he came to be known by the name of Kētumāla.

V. 43. In this race was born a king named Samudrajit. He made the eastern ocean the western one and as a prize for it obtained the hand of the daughter of a king in marriage.⁶

V. 44. Pañchapa, who delighted in treating guests, belonged to this family.⁷ He has been requested by five Yakshas, who came to him as guests, he cut open five arteries in his

¹ *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. III, p. 394, v. 28 and *Ep. Ind.* Vol. XV, p. 60, v. 12.

² and ³ *Ibid.*, p. 395, v. 30.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 395, v. 36.

⁵ *Ibid.*, v. 37.

⁶ *Kalīṅgattupparanī*, V. 18.

⁷ *South-Ind. Inscr.*, Vol. III, p. 394, v. 24.

and offered the blood issuing from them with great tenderness to the Yakshas to drink. From this act of hospitality he came to be known as Pañchapa.

V. 45. Surpassing the *dik-pālas* in greatness and similar to the moon in his splendour, king Nṛimṛḍa was a member of this family. This king of undying fame conquered death by the grace of the god Paramēśvara.

V. 46. King Manōratha of unblemished character and of incomparable wealth was born in this dynasty; he was powerful in war; through having been able to destroy the desires of the enemies and fulfil those of his (friends and dependants) he was dubbed Manōratha.

V. 47. Perunatkiḷḷi¹ and other kings who surpassed Indra in strength, wealth and reputation, were born in this family. Their fame extended to the very borders of the earth and sea, and reached even the sun and the Brahmāṇḍa and was ever shining.

Vv. 48—49. Karikāla-Chōḷa, who was firm as the *kula-parvatas*, who possessed great fame, as white and unblemished as the flowers of the *kāśa* plant and who was Death to the hostile kings who met him in battle-field, was born in this family. Seeing that the river Kāvēri was overflowing its banks and not allowing crops to flourish, this monarch, who curbed the haughtiness of insubordinate kings, caused the embankment of this river to be constructed with the earth carried by (such insubordinate) kings in baskets on their hands, and afforded protection to cultivation.²

V. 50. In this dynasty was born the king Vaḷabha,³ who possessed good qualities, wealth and prowess which compelled other kings to prostrate themselves before his feet; he burnt with the flames of his admirable valour the insects (*śalabha*), his enemies.

V. 51. Jagadēkamalla, who was comparable to Indra, drove off poverty from learned men, and wielded the weapon called the *bhalla* (spear), which was Death to other kings, was born in this family.

V. 52. The king Vyāḷa (or Vairi?)—bhayaṅkara was born in this family. The hostile kings prostrated themselves before his feet. The fire of the anger of this powerful king, who fought with the sword held in his long arm, could be quenched only by the tears flowing from the eyes of the queens of hostile kings.

Vv. 53-54. The lord of all the earth, the king Vijayālaya, was born in this family. All kings bowed before his feet. He established in the Chōḷa country the city of Tañjāpurī, which was praised even by Brahmā and other gods. Being a newly founded town, it flourished with all good qualities.⁴

V. 55. The son of this Vijayālaya was Ādityavarman, better known by the name of Kōḍaṇḍa-Rāma. He fell on the Pallava monarch, who was seated upon a maddened elephant, and killed him in battle.⁵

Vv. 56-60. To him (Āditya) was born a son named Parāntaka, who was the abode of the goddess of valour (*vīra-śrī*). By the water flowing from the temples of the *maṣṭ* elephants of this king, which were sporting in the gardens adjoining the shores of the seas, the water of the seas became scented. Parāntaka destroyed the Pāṇḍya king with his whole army, took all his

¹ *South-Ind. Inscriptions*, Vol. III, p. 395, v. 41.

² *Ibid.*, v. 42.

³ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XV, p. 60, v. 18.

⁴ *செவ்வாய்க்காலம் தந்தவன் கவீ விஜயாலயமனதலி மகாமல: |*

இவ்வல்லபேந்திரகுடலவசூலம்விரிவிரிவிறிதபதாபுஜய: |

South-Ind. Inscriptions, Vol. III, p. 396, Vv. 47 and 48.

Leiden Grant.

wealth and burnt (his capital) **Madhurā**; for this achievement he received the title of **Mrantaka**.¹ This king, who was as bright as Arjuna, conquered in battle the thitherto unconquered king **Krishnarāja**, and thereby augmented his own glory. In recognition of this feat he entitled **Vira-Chōla**. **Parāntaka**, who is respected by all kings, caused his army to cross the sea and defeat the king of **Simhala**, who was waiting on the shore to give him battle, and thereby received the true surname of **Simhālāntaka**.² Who could stand comparison with this king, the abode of all good qualities? Who can describe the traits of this monarch, who conquered his enemies in battle and who was the only residence for prowess? The destroyer of the enemies, **Parāntaka**, brought into existence superior villages of great wealth like **Viranārāya** just as **Brahmā** created *svarga*, and caused them to be enjoyed by learned **Brāhmanas**.

Vv. 61-62. The son of this king (**Parāntaka**) was **Arindama**,⁴ of glory similar to that of the moon. He destroyed the power of his enemies. Many a king, who had heard of the valour of this sovereign, took refuge in mountain caverns. He brought all other kings under his sway; like **Vidhi** (**Brahmā**), he conferred riches upon good men; this king of great prowess caused grief to hostile kings. This sovereign of unparalleled beauty made the face of the moon comparable to his own splendour.

Vv. 63-64. **Parāntaka**,⁵ who always destroyed the hosts of his enemies, was born to a **dama**. Taking into consideration the advent of this sovereign, the **Pāṇḍya** king crossed the mountain and fled away. **Parāntaka** imprisoned all his enemies and fought successfully in many battles. He satisfied the needs of learned men and was a terror to bad ones.

Vv. 65-67. To this monarch (**Parāntaka**), the abode of all virtues, was born the son, **Rājarāja**.⁶ This king, who had a body as beautiful as that of Cupid and had lotus-like eyes, was comparable to **Kuvēra** (otherwise known as **Rājarāja**) only in his munificence.⁷ He killed in battle the enemy kings and rooted out evil from the earth. He celebrated several *yāgas* and was ever veracious. **Satyāśraya**, when he could have obtained strong support in **Rājarāja**, ran away senselessly from the battle-field.⁸ In fact, the ten enemies of **Rājarāja** win him over in battle by quietly bowing before him; nor will he do such to his such suppliants of their life or property.

Vv. 68-72. The king **Madhurāntaka**, who punishes those who do not submit to him, chastises his enemies and who possesses a body as handsome as that of Cupid himself, was born as the son of **Rājarāja**. This monarch, as powerful as Arjuna, defeated all the kings of the **Kuntala** (*Kuntalānām=adhīśān*). This king, who wore a *hāra* on his neck, abstracted the face of the moon (that is, caused the glory of the moon to wane before his own). Conquering his enemies by the power of his arms, he made **Mānyakhēta** a sporting ground for his army. He caused the kings of the **Kulūta** and **Utkala** countries to be defeated by his general.

¹ & ² His achievements are described in *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. III, p. 396, Vv. 51-52 & *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 61, V. 21. See also *Kalīngattupparāṇi*, *Rājapāram*, Vv. 22 and 23.

³ Compare: यानां विविधान् इति यशोभिः शुभीषकारः शरदभूनिर्भेदिगन्तान् ।

Leiden Grant.

⁴ *Ep. Ind.* Vol. XV, p. 61, v. 23.

⁵ *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. III, p. 396, Vv. 55 and 56.

⁶ He is said to have been born under the asterism, Śadaiyam, to have captured **Udagai** (*Kalīngat*. v. 46-48) and to have taken **Malai-nādu** (*Vikkiram*. ll. 33-34).

⁷ King **Rājarāja** was a great giver of wealth (*dhana+da*), and in this respect resembled **Kuvēra** who bore the name **Dhanada**. But **Kuvēra** was, as his name indicates, ill-shaped in body while king **Rājarāja** was not. One of **Kuvēra**'s eyes was yellow. **Rājarāja**, the king, had none of these drawbacks.

⁸ His conquests of **Maṇṇai**, **Kidāram** and **Gaṅgai** are mentioned in the *Kalīngat*, v. 25, *Vikkiram*, l. 49-50, and *Kulōtt*. ll. 49-50.

kings of Kalinga and the Viṃśēndra (?)¹ were also vanquished by his generals, who reached the Ganges, whose banks slipped down the river through the battering of his elephant brigade ; the water of the (holy) Gaṅgā was carried in pots on the heads of kings (to his capital city). He made his powerful army, which uprooted several hostile kings, cross the sea and set fire to Kaṭāha,² which it was not possible for other kings to conquer. What act was impossible for this monarch Rājendra-Chōla ?

V. 73. This king had three sons, comparable with the three fires in a *yāga*. Of these, the preeminent Rājādhirāja was his first son. He set fire to Kalyānapura,³ defeated its king [and did something to king Āhavamalla,].

V. 74. When this king went to heaven, his younger brother who removed the sorrow of the world, ascended the throne. Rājendra-dēva, the monarch, who had arms resembling in shape the snake Ādi-Śēsha, killed all his enemies.

Vv. 75-81. When this sovereign also went to heaven, his younger brother Vīra-Rājendra who caused the valour of his enemies to wane, succeeded to the throne with due formality. He conquered not only his outside enemies, but also his own five senses.⁴ He killed the kings of the Maṇṇāta family (?) at Kūḍalsāṅgama⁵; these kings augmented the army of the Dēvas (in the celestial world).⁶ The ocean was gratified by this king, who by killing hosts of men in battle-fields created a new river, a river of blood, and made her join her lord, the sea.⁷ The countries of Vēṅgi and Kalinga, which had been in his family for a long time, but, being abandoned by his elder brothers, were then in the occupation of his enemies, were recovered by Vallabha-vallabha⁸ by driving off some of those enemies and defeating others by the power of his arms, and were ruled over by him. Vīra-Chōla (that is, Vīra-Rājendra), also known as Karikāla-Chōla, having deprived the world of the evils of the Kali age, established several *dharma-sāsana*s which afforded succour, were full of substance and were lofty in their aims. To the Lord of Pārvaṭi, who is dancing in Chirrambalam (*Dabhra-sabhā*), he made a gift of the valuable ruby known by the name of *trailōkyasāra* He created several *brahmadēya* villages in the Chōla, the Tuṇḍira, the Pāṇḍya, the Gaṅgavāṭi and the Kulūta countries. He also furnished forty thousand Brāhmanas, well-versed in the Vēdas, with gifts of lands.

Ll. 420-445. In the seventh year (of the reign) of Rājakesarivarman,—who bore the *virūdas* and surnames the 'Asylum of the whole world,' 'Lord of the Earth,' Mahārājādhirāja, [Ra]vikulasekhara, Pāṇḍyakulāntaka, Āhavamallakula-Kāla, he who defeated Āhavamalla

¹ See note 9 above, p. 45, Ed.]

² *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. III, p. 400, v. 117 :—

विजितसदीयतटमूनिनायकैः सलिलं तदीयस्य पावनं वरम् । निजनायकाय मधुरान्तकाय तस्मिन्नोनयसपदि दण्डनायकः ॥
³ *Ibid.*, v. 123 :—प्रवजित्य कटाहमुन्नतैर्निजदण्डैरभिलक्षितार्णवैः ।

⁴ His conquest of Kalyāna and the planting of a pillar of victory are mentioned in the *Kalingattupparani*, v. 26, and *Vikkirama-Śōḷan-ulā* ll. 36-38.

⁵ "The outside and the inside enemies" is the expression employed in the text. The senses of sight, smell etc., are always considered the enemies of man, which reside in his own body.

⁶ *Kalingattupparani*, *Rājapāram*. v. 29 and *Vikram*. ll. 42-44.

⁷ It is a belief that one who dies on the battle-field goes to heaven. The number of warrior kings who were despatched to the other world by Vīra-Rājendra-dēva being great, the army of the Dēvas must have been greatly strengthened by these new recruits.

⁸ The sea is considered to be the husband of all rivers. Vīra-Rājendra caused a river of blood to flow from the multitude of human beings he killed in battles, and gave her in marriage to the sea, which pleased the latter very much.

⁹ So named because he subjugated the Vallabha (Chālukya) king.

No. 4.] KANYAKUMARI INSCRIPTION OF VIRAJENDRA-DEVA.

five times,¹ Rājāsēkhara, Rājāsraya, Rāja-Rājendra, Vira-Chōla and Karikāla-Chō
 in Purattāya-nāḍu, a sub-division of Uttama-Śōla-valanāḍu in Rājā
 Pāṇḍi-nāḍu to the Kanyā-bhaṭārakī the land, two hundred
 seventy-one and three-quarters and two *mī* (in extent) comprised in the village of Narra
 kuḍi in Purattāya-nāḍu in Uttama-Śōla-valanāḍu, together with Peruṅguḍi-Kiḷkomb
 the same nāḍu, containing fifty-nine and nine *mī* of land
 the emperor (*chakravartti*) śrī-Rājendra-dēva

No. 5.—NIDUPARU GRANT OF JAYASIMHA I.

BY PROFESSOR E. HULTZSCH, PH.D.; HALLE (SAALE).

A set of ink-impressions of this inscription was sent to me by Rao Bahadur H. Kri
 Sastri, who had received the original plates for examination² from Mr. M. Ramakrishna
 M.A., Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras. The inscription is engraved on three ob
 copper-plates, the second of which bears writing on both sides. The margins of the
 inscribed sides are only very slightly raised into rims. The plates measure 2" in hei
 The two first are 7" in breadth, while the third is cut on the right margin and hence meas
 only 6½". The plates are strung on a ring which is 2½" in diameter, and which is pas
 through a hole of about ⅜" in diameter. The two ends of the ring are fixed in the base
 circular seal of about 1½" in diameter which bears, in relief, the legend *Śrī-Sarvasiddhi*, wi
 crescent at the top and an expanded lotus-flower of nine petals at the bottom. The weight
 the plates, with ring and seal, is 70 tolas.

The writing is in a tolerably good state of preservation; but some *aksharas*, *anusvā*
 and vowel-marks are indistinct, and at the end of the first five lines of the third plate, two
 three letters are lost. The alphabet resembles that of other early Eastern Chalukya gra
 A final form of *t* occurs in *-vāsakāt* (l. 1) and *vasēt* (l. 24). The syllable *ru* is used in
 Telugu proper names *Gaṇḍēru* (ll. 9 f. and 10), *Vannēru* (l. 10), *Niḍuparu* (l. 18 f.) :
Niḍubaru (l. 11).

The language is Sanskrit prose as far as line 19. The last plate contains four Sans
 verses. Consonants are not doubled after *r*, except in *-ātti-* (for *-ārtti-*, l. 3), *pravarāddha*³ (l.
*-mantrārthi*⁴ (for *-mantrārthi*⁵, l. 16), *-āryya-* (l. 19), *°bhīr=vasudhā* (l. 22). As the notes
 the text will show, the rules of Sandhi are frequently neglected. For *-kalāpa* (l. 8) the se
 requires the instrumental *-kalāpēna*.

The inscription records the grant of the village of Niḍuparu or Niḍubaru to the learn
 Brāhmaṇa Kāṭīśarman (read Kōṭīśarman ?) by Jayasimha (I) Vallabha, son of Vishṇuvarḍha
 (I) and grandson of Kīrtivarman (I) of the Chalukya family. Vishṇuvarḍhana I bore
 surname Makaradhvaja, i.e., Cupid, whom he is stated to have surpassed in beauty (l.
 The donor, Jayasimha I, had the surname Sarvasiddhi,⁶ by which he is designated on the se
 of his two grants.⁴

The king's order was issued from Asanapura (l. 1), and the donee's grandfather was
 inhabitant of the same town (l. 12).⁵ The village granted was included in Gaṇḍēruvāṭī a

¹ [Mr. K. V. S. Aiyar reads in l. 426 *mummadi* and translates: 'who saw the back of Khavavalla three times'
 —Ed.]

² See *Ep. Rep.* for 1917, App. A., No. 7 and p. 113.

³ See *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XX, p. 97.

⁴ See the first paragraph of this article, and *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIII, p. 137.

⁵ The grandfather of the donee of a grant of Vishṇuvarḍhana II also resided in Asanapura; *Ind. A.*
 Vol. VII, p. 192.

the same [boundary], as far as Bhaṭṭa Unmilana-svāmin's grant; from the south thereof, (*the boundary*), turning along further by the same boundary to the north, proceeds as far as the boundary of Bhaṭṭa svāmin's grant, thence in a straight line enters the pond of Vakhaṭa-Sāmālikā on the boundary of Bhaṭṭa Unmilana-svāmin's grant, and goes as far as the same boundary of the Brāhmins of Kutkuṭa-grāma.

No. 8.—NIDUR INSCRIPTION OF KULOTTUNGA-CHOLA.

By K. V. SUBRAHMANYA AYYAR, B.A., OOTACAMUND.

The subjoined two inscriptions are engraved on the south wall of the Śiva temple at Nidūr, a village situated on the north bank of the Kāvērī in the Mayavaram taluk of the Tanjore district. This temple is one on which the Śaiva saint Sundaramūrti-Nāyaṇār of the 8th century has composed hymns. Though the preservation of the records is not good, there are enough traces left in them to make out the inscriptions almost completely. It would have been certainly much better if they had not suffered damage. I am editing the inscriptions from impressions secured during the field season of 1921-22 by Mr. A. S. Ramanathier of the office of the Assistant Archæological Superintendent for Epigraphy, Madras, and registered as Nos. 534 and 535 of Appendix B of the *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for that year, where, however, the importance of these metrical records has not been noted.

The two inscriptions are dated in the reign of Kulōttuṅga-Chōla. The king bears no distinguishing epithets: but to judge from the characters employed, the records appear to be of the time of Kulōttuṅga I, who reigned from A.D. 1070 to 1119. The high regnal years 46 and 38 given to the king in these records also point to the same conclusion. As will be shown below, the inscriptions are of great value to students of Tamil literature as they almost fix the time of one of the most important works on Tamil Prosody.

Inscription A is dated in the 46th year of the reign of Kulōttuṅga-Chōla and registers that a certain Kaṇḍaṇ Mādavaṇ—called also *Milalai-nāṭṭu-Vēl*, *Tonḍai-Kāvalaṇ*, and chief of Kuḷattūr (*Kārigai-Kuḷattūr* in B)—caused to be made of stone the shrine of *Ṣoṇṇavāravarivār* and constructed a pavilion for expounding the *Purāṇas* in the temple at Tillai, i.e. Chidambaram. Incidentally reference is made to the Tamil Prosodist Amudasāgara and his work *Kārigai* which was begun and completed at Kuḷattūr as well as to the construction of the temple at Nidūr with stone, by the same chief, in the thirty-eighth year of the reign of the Chōla king (*Nēriyaṇ*).¹

Inscription B, which is dated in the 38th year of the king's reign, states that this same Kaṇḍaṇ Mādavaṇ—who receives here also the epithets *Milalai-nāṭṭu-Vēl* and *Tonḍai-Kāvalaṇ*—is stated to have built the excellent stone *vimāna*² at Nidūr. This inscription further tells us that Kaṇḍaṇ Mādavaṇ was the *marumagaṇ* (i.e. nephew or son-in-law) of an un-named person at whose instance Amudasāgara-Muṇi of Tamil fame composed the work called *Kārigai*, and was the chief of *Kārigai-Kuḷattūr* in *Śiru-Kuṇra-nāḍu* in *Jayaṅḡḇḇa-śōla-maṇḍalam* (i.e. the ancient Tonḍai-maṇḍalam).

The mention of the name of the Jaina teacher Amudasāgara-Muṇi and of his composing the work *Kārigai*, by which is no doubt meant the well known Tamil work on Prosody *Yapparaṇḡalakkārigai*, is of great interest inasmuch as it enables us to determine the age when that author flourished. The fact that Amudasāgara was a contemporary of the uncle or father-in-law of Kaṇḍaṇ Mādavaṇ shows that he lived in the 12th century A.D., the date of the subjoined epigraphs.

¹ *Nēriyaṇ*, *Śēṇṇi*, *Ponṇi-ttūraivaṇ* and *Nēri-verpaṇ* are some of the synonyms of "Chōla," according to the Tamil lexicon *Chūdāmaṇi-Nigandū*. (See *Makkatṭeyar-togṇḍi*, v. 19.)

² By *vimāna* is meant 'the temple' for the other inscription uses the word *karralā* in its place.

Yāpparuṅgalakkārigai is generally believed to be a much earlier work. In discussing the date of *Chūlāmaṇi*, one of the five smaller *kāvya*s of Tamil, the late Mr. C. W. Damodaram Pillai wrote the following :¹—

“Several stanzas from the *Chūlāmaṇi* have been cited as examples in the *Yāpparuṅgalavirutti* and in the commentary² written in the interval between Śaka 200 and 300 by Guṇasāgara on the *Yāpparuṅgalakkārigai* of Amudasāgara which was based on *Yāpparuṅgalavirutti*. As it is known from the introductory verse of the *Chūlāmaṇi* that that work was composed during the reign of Vijayarāja who ruled from the city of Kārvēṭinagar in Chōlamanḍalam and as that city was earlier than Uṇḍai, the work must be not less than 1,500 years old.”

It is not possible to ascertain whence Mr. Damodaram Pillai obtained the date “between Śaka 200 and 300” for Guṇasāgara’s commentary and what his authority was for the statement that “Kārvēṭinagar in Śōlamanḍalam was earlier than Uṇḍai (*i.e.* Uraiyur).” There are literary evidences to show that Uṇḍai in the Trichinopoly district and Kāviriṭṭam in the Shiyali taluk of the Tanjore district were the capitals of the Chōlas prior to Tanjore. But there is none so far to the effect that Kārvēṭinagar was even a famous city. Neither was this situated in Chōla-manḍalam. Evidences, both literary and epigraphical, would point to Kārvēṭinagar having been included in Toṇḍai-manḍalam. We shall discuss the upper limit of Guṇasāgara’s age after citing the opinion of Paṇḍit M. Raghava Aiyangar on the date of *Yāpparuṅgalakkārigai*. Writing on the age of Maṇḍalapuruṣa, the author of the Tamil *Nigandu*, he says that “there are ample reasons that confirm that Amṛitasāgara could not have lived before the 10th century A.D.”³ and it is pretty certain that he must have with him materials to prove his point. These are the only two definite pronouncements that we know of regarding the date of *Yāpparuṅgalakkārigai*, besides the statement of Mr. Narasimhacharya which will be referred to later on.

It is interesting to note here the account preserved in the Tamil literature respecting Amudasāgara and his work. From the invocatory stanza of his work it is learnt that the author was a Jain, for it is addressed to the Arhat under the shade of the Aśoka tree⁴. Guṇasāgara, the Jain commentator on *Yāpparuṅgalakkārigai*, has the following say on the name of the work and the method adopted in its composition :—

“Like the Prākṛit grammar *Pālittiyam* and *Piṅgalam* otherwise called *Chhandōpīṣitam*,⁵ this work (*i.e.* *Yāpparuṅgalakkārigai*) is made of *Kārigai*⁶ verses; and like the *Karnāṭaka Chhandas Guṇakāṅkiya*, each stanza is addressed to a female and is concise. It cites examples like the *Mahēśvara-Yāppu*⁷; like the *Śeyyutṭurakkōvai* of Tamil music; like the *Vargakkōvai*⁸ of the Aṣṭakas in the Vēdas and like the *Nitaka-slōkas* of the *Rūpāvatāra*, it gives the commencing portions of the verses cited as examples. As the *Nirutta*

¹ See his introduction to the work.

² For citations of the *Chūlāmaṇi* stanzas in the *Yāpparuṅgalakkārigai*, see the comment on verse 13 of *Urupiyal*, v. 13 of *Śeyyuliyal* and v. 6 of *Oḷibiyal*.

³ Mythic Society Journal, Vol. XIII, page 490

⁴ *Nandamaḍivil kaḍi-malar-ppinḍi-kkanṇ-ār-niḷar-kīḷ andam-aḍigul-inaiy-aḍiy-ētti eḷutt-aḥai sir pandam-aḍi toḍai pāv-inan-kūruvaṇ pallavattiṇ sandamaḍiyar-aḍiyāṇ maruṭṭiya tāḷ-kuḷalē.*

⁵ [Perhaps *Chhandōvichiti*.—Ed.]

⁶ The word *Kārigai* means beauty, woman, the metre called *Kaṭṭalaikkalitturai* and the work on prosody known as *Yāpparuṅgalakkārigai*. It is here used in the sense of the last. According to the *Amara*, *Kārikā* means *Vṛitti*. In Sanskrit it means the concise statement in verse of any certain doctrine.

⁷ Though this work is not now extant, stray stanzas from it are found quoted by Guṇasāgara himself in his commentary, *e.g.* see his comment on v. 17.

⁸ *Kōvai* is a short verse indicating the commencement or end of a passage; or sometimes the number and order of words or sentences in the Vēdas and Upanishads. It is both an aid to memory and a measure of the contents.

(i.e. *Nirukta*) is to the *Vēdas*, as the *Kārikās* are to the *Vyākaraṇa*, as the *Nālaḍi Forty* is to *Avipaya's Yāppa*, so is this work a component part of, and a jewel to, the Prosody called *Yāpparungalam*; it is hence called by the name *Yāpparungalakkarigai*. The author who is stated to have made into *Kārigai* the great ocean of *Āriyam* (Sanskrit Prosody) and rendered it in Tamil, was a saint who bore the name *Amudasaṅgara-Āchārya*. The work is divided into three chapters, viz., *Urappiyak*, *Sāyupiyal* and *Ohbiyal*; there are 44 *kārikās*, containing 90 *granthas* and 28 letters,—a *grantha* being equal to 32 letters inclusive of vowels and vocalic consonants, excluding non-vocalic consonants. Of the 44 *Kārigai*, 21 commence with *nēr-asai* (long syllables) and have in each foot 16 letters exclusive of non-vocalic consonants; and the remaining 23 verses begin with *niraiy-asai* (short syllables) and have in each foot 17 letters: thus making in all 2,908 letters (which when divided by 32 give 90 *granthas* and 28 letters)."¹

From the extract given above, it will be observed that *Guṇasāgara*, the commentator on *Yāpparungalakkarigai*, was acquainted with *Piṅgala's Chhandōvichiti*, the *Rūpavatāra* and the *Guṇakāṅkiya*, a work on Kanarese Prosody. By *Piṅgala*² may be meant either the earlier Sanskrit *Piṅgala* or the *Prākṛit Piṅgala*³ on which was based *Nāgavarma's Chhandas*.⁴ There were more works than one bearing the name *Rūpavatāra*. The author of one of them was *Dharmakīrti*, who has been identified by Prof. M. Rangacharya with the Buddhist *bhikkhu* of that name who flourished in the court of *Parākramabāhu I* of Ceylon, and who, as such, belonged to the 13th century A.D. It is worth pointing out that a lithic record found at *Eṇṇāyiram* in the South Arcot District, detailing a boarding educational institution maintained in the temple at that place, states that as many as forty students were learning the *Rūpavatāra*⁵ and this must refer to an earlier work bearing that name and cannot refer to *Dharmakīrti's* treatise mentioned above. The best way to take it is that *Rūpavatāra* was the name of a subject taught and that there were some treatises written bearing the name of the subject, one of which being earlier than the middle of the 11th century A.D. and another belonging to the 13th century A.D. It is not certain which work *Guṇasāgara* alludes to in his commentary. If it is to the latter, he should have lived after the 13th century A.D. As regards *Guṇakāṅkiya*, Mr. R. Narasimhacharya has shown that *Nāgavarma*, called also *Nākiya*, the author of the Kannada work *Chhandōmbudhi*, flourished during the reign of the Western Gaṅga kings *Rāchamalla* and his younger brother *Rakkasa-Gaṅga*; and that his patron was *Chāmuṇḍa-Rāja*, his own elder brother. He, therefore, belongs to the end of the 10th century A.D. when also lived *Bhojarāja* of *Dhārā*, who is said to have made a present of horses admiring the author's other work *Kādambari*. It appears to me that the most relevant say on the authorship and time of the *Karnāṭaka chhandas Guṇakāṅkiyam* is what has been made by Mr. Narasimhacharya who in his introduction to *Kāvyaśālōka* identifies its author with *Nāgavarma*, the earliest writer on Kanarese Prosody, and the work *Guṇakāṅkiya* with *Chhandōmbudhi*, equating *Guṇakāṅka* (*Guṇagāṅka*) with *Rakkasa-Gaṅga* (Intr., pp. 5 f.). He has also shown from internal evidence that *Nāgavarma* was a resident of *Śaiyaḍi*, a village in the Western Gaṅga territory, though his grandfather is stated to have belonged to a village in the *Vēṅgi* country. It may be noted also that this *chhandas* of *Nāgavarma* bears the description given above by *Guṇasāgara*.

¹ This mode of noting the contents of a work is not common to Tamil writers but is peculiar only to Sanskrit. The commentator's knowledge of Sanskrit and *Prākṛit chhandas* shows that he was a good Sanskrit scholar.

² See *Aufrecht's Catalogus Catalogorum*, Vol. I, p. 376, and the 8th Vol. of Dr. Weber's '*Indische Studien*.'

³ Kittel is of opinion that this work is later than the Sanskrit *Piṅgala* but not later than the 6th century A.D., i.e. the time of *Varāhamihira*.

⁴ See Kittel's introduction to the work.

⁵ *Annual Report on Epigraphy for 1918*, Part II, pp. 145-6.

Śēkkiḷār in the time of the Chōḷa king Anapāya,¹ identified with Kulōttuṅga II.² It is very likely that the *maṇḍapa* referred to in A is the same as this thousand-pillared *maṇḍapa*, though we cannot be sure that the *purāṇa* expounded in it was the *Periyapurāṇam*. If the identity of Anapāya with Kulōttuṅga I instead of with Kulōttuṅga II could be conceded, then the *Purāṇa* referred to in our inscriptions might be the *Periyapurāṇam* itself. In this connection it may be pointed out that the titles or surnames *Abhaya* and *Anapāya* are found applied to the Chōḷa king who was the contemporary of Śēkkiḷār.³ We have references to gifts made by the author of the *Periyapurāṇam* and his brother Pālarāvāyar in two inscriptions⁴ which come from Tirukkaḍaiyūr and Kaḷappāl (Mannargudi Taluk), where the full names of the donors are given as Śēkkiḷāṇ Ammaiyyappaṇ Parāntakalēvaṇ *alias* Karikālūsōḷa-Pallavaraiyaṇ of Kuṇṇattūr in Kuṇṇattūr-nāḍu, a district of Puliyūr-kōṭṭam *alias* Kulōttuṅgaśōḷa-vaḷanāḍu and Śēkkiḷāṇ Pālarāvāyaṇ Kaḷappālarāyaṇ of Kuṇṇattūr in Kuṇṇattūr-nāḍu. The shrine of Śōṇṇavāraṇivār in the temple at Chidambaram referred to in inscription A may have been built in honour of the visit of the Śaiva saint Śēramāṇperumāl-Nāyaṇār who was also called Kaḷarīraṇivār of which Śōṇṇavāraṇivār is only a synonym. It is recorded in the *Periyapurāṇam* that the Chēra king visited Chidambaram, Tiruvārūr and many other Śaiva places in company with Sundaramūrti-Nāyaṇār.⁵ From the Tamil work *Tiruppāḍirippuliyur-Kalambagam*, we learn that there was a shrine of Gaṇapati called Śōṇṇavāraṇivār in the Śiva temple at Pādirippuliyūr⁶ (Cuddalore). But there could not be a reference to this shrine in our inscription as the phrase *Tilluiy-ambalattē vaḍakiḷppāl* (i.e. on the north-east side of the temple at Chidambaram) clearly shows that the shrine referred to in our epigraph was situated in the Chidambaram temple.

TEXT OF A.⁷

- 1 Svasti śrī [||*] [Kūri]ṣya[v=u]lag-anaittaiyuṇ=kuḍai-kkiḷ-ā-
- 2 [kkiya] Kulōttuṅgaśōḷarkk=āṇḍ=oru-nā[r]patt-ār-adan-idai-tTillai-ambalat-
- 3 tē⁸ vaḍakiḷ[p*]pāl pōr-iyal-amattadu Śōṇṇavār-arivār-kōyilum purāṇa-nūl-virikkum
- 4 puriśai-māligaiyum variśaiyāl viḷaṅga=pporuppinaḷ viruppaṇa-chchēdōṇ Nēriyark=āṇ-
- 5 ḍ=ēḷ-aiñj=u[ḍa]ṇ-mūṇṇiṇil nigar-ilā=kkaṇṇali Nīdūr-nilāviṇārk-amaitta nilāviṇāṇ=
- 6 Amudasāgaran=eḍutta . . togutta-Kārigai kKulattūr-Maṇṇavaṇ Tonḍai-
- 7 kāvalan Śiṇṇukunṇa-nāṭṭ . . karpagam Miḷalai-nāṭṭu Vēḷ=āṇḍava-
- 8 ṇ Kaṇḍaṇ Māḍavanē¹⁰ [||*]

TEXT OF B.¹¹

- 1 Svasti śrī ॐ Eṇ-ḍiśai-ulagai oru-kuḍai-niḷarkil iruttiya Kulōt-
- 2 tuṅgaśōḷark=iyāṇḍ=oru-muppatt-eṭṭiṇir=Chōṇāṭṭ-iśai
- 3 vaḷar Tiruvindaḷūr-nāṭṭ=un ḍai nīḍiya Nīdūr Umaiyo-
- 4 ḍu-nilāviṇa-Perumārkk=uvandu lai malai[y*]-eṇa=chchilaiyāl-ntta-

¹ See *Periyapurāṇam* where it is stated that it took one full year to read the work in the *maṇḍapa*.

² *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1912, p. 60.

³ Veṇṇi-veṇ-kuḍaiy-Anapāyaṇ śēyya-vēl-Abhayaṇ (*Periyapurāṇam*, *tirumalai-chchirappu*).

⁴ No. 39 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1906 from Tirukkaḍaiyūr and No. 445 of the same collection for 1912.

⁵ See the life of Śēramāṇperumāl-Nāyaṇār in the *Periyapurāṇam*.

⁶ See verse 1 of this book where Śōṇṇavāraṇiyum-yānai means the elephant-(faced god called) Śōṇṇavāraṇivār.

⁷ This inscription is registered as No. 535 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1921.

⁸ These two letters are almost completely worn out in the original; but as it ought to rhyme with *pōriya*, *Nēriya* and *Kārigai* and alliterate with *ku*, they have been pretty surely filled in.

⁹ The ē sign is in the previous line.

¹⁰ This is a *viruttam* in fourteen *śīr*, the measure being *viḷam-mā-viḷam-mā-viḷam-viḷam-mā* repeated twice in each foot.

¹¹ This inscription is registered as No. 534 of Appendix B of the *Madras Epigraphical Report* for the year 1921-22.

In any case, from internal evidence alone, it might be said that Gunasāgara could not have written his commentary on *Yāpparungalakkāṛigaṇ* in the interval between Śaka 200 and 300 as stated by the late Mr. C. W. Damodaram Pillai. Now that we have definite information that Amudasāgara wrote his work in the reign of Kulottunga-Chola I (A. D. 1070—1119), it is clear that Gunasāgara should have commented on it in still later times, i. e. after the beginning of the 12th century A. D. An earlier Gunasāgara-Bhātara, also a Jain by religion, is known from inscriptions.¹ He figures as a contemporary of the Pāṇḍya king Mārañjaḍaiyan in two inscriptions² of Kaṇḍumalai in the Tinnevely district, dated in the 3rd year of the king's reign. This Gunasāgara,³ who flourished long before his namesake—the commentator on the *Yāpparungalakkāṛigaṇ*—seems to have made a gift of land for meeting the expenses of feeding certain *Vairāgyas* (?) who were required to expound the *Siddhānta*. From palaeographical grounds as well as from references made in these epigraphs to the tank *Viranārāyaṇa-ēr* evidently called after Parāntaka I and the field called *Uttamasōḷaṇ* it might be inferred that this Mārañjaḍaiyan must have been a successor of the Pāṇḍya king Rājāsīmha III in whose reign the bigger Śiṅṅamaṇṇūr copper-plates were issued.

Besides settling the date of the Tamil work *Yāpparungalakkāṛigaṇ*, the extract given above from the commentary of Gunasāgara enables us to know definitely the authorship of the Sanskrit work *Ohhandōvichiti* which is referred to by Dandin in his *Kāvyādarśa* (First Parich. v. 12) and which has been considered by some to be one of Dandin's own works, while others regard it to be an earlier treatise. As Gunasāgara states that *Ohhandōpitiṭṭa* (*Ohhandōvichiti*) is otherwise called *Pingalam*, it is clear that the latter name must have been derived from the name of its author who must have been no other than Pingala and by *Ohhandōvichiti* must be meant Pingala's *Ohhandas Śāstra*, if there was not a different work of the name *Ohhandōvichiti* by the same author.

Of the places mentioned in the two inscriptions, Nidūr, as stated already, is in the Māyavaram Taluk, and is reputed as the birth-place of one of the 63 Śaiva saints called Muṇaiyaḍuvār who gave away all the wealth acquired by him to Śiva temples and Śaiva devotees.⁴ Tiruvindaḷūr, the district in which Nidūr was situated, is a village near Nidūr. It is very likely that the epithet *Kāṛigaḷ* was applied to Kulattūr in commemoration of the composition of the work at the place or by the fact of its gift to the author. I am not sure if we can identify this place with Kulattūr, a village near Nidūr. *Mūlalaḷai-nāḍu* is stated to be a sub-division of Virudaijābhayankara-valanāḍu in an inscription of Vēppattūr.⁵

Śrīkuppā-nāḍu is perhaps identical with Kuṇṇattūr-nāḍu, whence Śēkkilār, the author of the Tamil *Periyapurāṇam*, hailed.⁶

In connection with the construction of the pavilion at Tillai for expounding the Purāṇas it is interesting to note that according to the Tamil *Periyapurāṇam* the thousand-pillared *maṇḍapa* in the temple at Ohṇḍambaram was the place where originally that work was first expounded by

¹ Nos. 116 and 117 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1894.

² No. 45 of the same collection refers probably to a female disciple of this Gunasāgara-Bhātara.

³ See the life of Muṇaiyaḍuvār in the *Periyapurāṇam*.

⁴ No. 47 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1910.

⁵ Kulattūr-periyōr pēr-paḍalṭṭa guṇattir pōriyōr koḍai-pperiōr

ṭalattir-periyōr Anapāyan-ṛaḷṭṭa-samugantaṇṇi ḷṛi

ppalattir-peru pañcākkara niḷ-pōḍiyir Periyapurāṇattai

valattir-kulav-arang ḷṛi-aiṭṭai Śōla-maṇḍalamo.

v. 76, *Śōlamandalatadagam*

Vinay-piṇṇakkuṇṇu pugaḷ kKuppā-nāḍaṇ viḷaḷgu Tamil ppaṇṇir-piṇṇakkuṇṇu

Periyapurāṇam paṇḍaruppiṇṇu.

v. 19, *Tondaimandalatadagam*.

Oṛār maḷi Puliyūr kkoṭṭa naṅ-Kuṇṇattūriṇṇi nḷa tirar valṇmali-pākkilavōṇ pugaḷ Chchēkalavōṇ

v. 60, *Tondaimandalatadagam*.

- 5 ma-vimāṇam=ing-amaittāṇ [taṇ-Ḍa¹]miḷ-Amidasāgara-Muṇiyai Jayaṅgo-
 6 ṇḍasōḷa-maṇḍalattu=ttāṇ-Śirukunṇa-[nāṭṭu]² ttirutti 3
 7 nūṇ-Kārigai avaṇṇar=kaṇḍavaṇ-marumāṇ Kārigai-Kuḷat[tūr]=
 8 kkāval-nilāvināṇ evarkkuṇ=karuṇaiyun=ti[yāgamuṇ]⁴=kāṭṭiya Miḷa-
 9 lai-nāṭṭu-Vēḷ Kaṇḍaṇ Mādavaṇṇē⁵ [||*]

TRANSLATION.

A.

Hail ! Prosperity ! In the forty-sixth year (of the reign) of Kulōttunga-Chōḷa, who had brought under (his) parasol all the known worlds, Kaṇḍaṇ Mādavaṇ, the Vēḷ of Miḷalai-nāḍu, and the ruler of Toṇḍai, who had earned fame by constructing in the year seven times five added to three (i.e. 38) (of the reign) of the Nēriyaṇ (i.e. the Chōḷa king), the incomparable stone temple of the resplendent god of Nīḍūr, who was the chief of Kuḷattūr, where Amudasā-gara began [and] completed (his work) Kārigai, and who was (as it were) the kalpaka (wish-giving tree) to the people (f) of Śirukunṇa-nāḍu, was pleased to construct of stone the shrine of Śoṇṇavārariṇvār in the great on the north-eastern side of the hall (ambalaṇ) at Tillai and the walled pavilion (in it) where works on Purāṇas were expounded and which were thus made to appear extensively splendid.

B.

Hail ! Prosperity ! In the thirty-eighth year (of the reign) of Kulōttunga-Chōḷa, who had brought the world with its eight quarters under the shade of his single (i.e. incomparable) parasol, Kaṇḍaṇ Mādavaṇ the Vēḷ of Miḷalai-nāḍu, who was the nephew (or son-in-law) of him that caused the fine work Kārigai-[Yāppu] (prosody), to be composed by Amudasāgarāmunī of Tamiḷ fame, who was the chief of Kārigai-Kuḷattūr Śirukunṇa-nāḍu (a sub-division) of Jayaṅgoṇḍasōḷa-maṇḍalam and who showed mercy and generosity to all, was pleased to construct an excellent stone vimāna as high as a mountain to the god who was resplendent with (his consort) Umā at Nīḍūr of high (mansions) and (situated) in Tiruvindalūr-nāḍu (a sub-division) of Śōṇāḍu.

No. 9.—A NOTE ON MANIGRAMATTAR OCCURRING IN TAMIL INSCRIPTIONS.

BY THE LATE MR. T. A. GOPINATHA RAO, M.A.

The word *Maṇigrāmam* was first met with in some copper-plates belonging to the West Coast of the Madras Presidency. It is found, for instance, in the plates of Sthāṇu Ravi and of Vira-Rāghava-Chakravartti preserved in the Seminary at Kōṭṭayam. The meaning of this word was discussed by the Rev. Dr. H. Gundert in his article on the plates mentioned above, in the *Madras Journal of Literature and Science*, Vol. XIII, Part II. In it he takes the word to mean what he believes to be one of the four immigrated merchant tribes and quotes in support of it the following extract from the *Payyanūr-paṭṭiḷa*, an old Malayāḷam poem :—

Chāvālarē-ppōlē nī agala-ppōvūm
 chaṇṇātam vēṇam perigay=ippōḷ
 Kōvātalacheṭṭi Aṇjuvaṇṇam
 kūṭṭam Maṇikkirāmattār-makkaḷ
 nammālāl nālu naḡarattilum
 nālarē-kkoḷka-kkuḍlikku chērmnōr.

¹ The letters in brackets are much worn out and the traces would admit the reading given.

² *Nāṭṭu* has been filled in with references to inscription A.

³ This gap may be filled up with the syllables *yāppu*. ⁴ The traces for *yāgamuṇ* are very faint and doubtful.

⁵ *ē* is expletive. The metre is the same as in A.

which he translated thus:—" * * * Strong guards (or companions) are now required (to) take the children of the Gōvatala-Cheṭṭi, of Añjuvaṇṇam and of the Maṇigrāmaṇṇam people, who, together with ourselves, are the four (classes of) colonists in the four towns."¹ The later view of Dr. Gundert regarding the meaning of the terms Maṇigrāmaṇṇam and Añjuvaṇṇam is that they are two different trading communities of foreign merchants. Drs. Gundert and Burnell later on took the persons denoted by the term Añjuvaṇṇam as the colony of the Jews and that denoted by Maṇigrāmaṇṇam as that of the Christians. It was Mr. Venkayya who first rejected the idea. But he has not expressed his opinion as regards the religion of the members of the Maṇigrāmaṇṇam; nor are we able to infer from his comments on the plate of Vīra-Rāghava-Chakravartti whether he took them for Christians or Hindus. Some time after the interpretation given to the term Maṇigrāmaṇṇam by Dr. Gundert, the Rev. Peet made the following observation on it:—"Maṇigrāmaṇṇam is the name of a class of Christians who relapsed into heathenism through the influence of a sorcerer (Māṇikkavāchakar). Some of that class are still found near Quilon. Each individual is called a *maṇi* (in native books), a jewel, on account of his apostasy and the whole of them constitutes now a sub-division of the Śūdras." On this the Rev. Taylor comments "I venture the conjecture that they were disciples of Mani, a colony of Manichæus, such as the Arabian travellers found in Ceylon."

Some years ago I copied the inscriptions in the rock-cut Śiva temple at Tiruvellaṭṭai and gave them to the late Pandit S. M. Naṭeśa Śāstri for publication in the *Indian Antiquary*. In one of them belonging to the reign of a Rājākēsarivarman the following passage occurs:—

Tiruvellaṭṭai Tiruvāṇaikkal-Peramāṇaḍigal-uḇcham-bōdu amadu-
seydaruḷumbōdu Vēdam-vallāṇ oru Brāhmaṇaṇṇai āttuvidāga Uṇaiyār
Maṇigrāmattu Nārāyaṇaṇ Ḍachchaṇ ivv-ār-kkallāl vachcha poṇ
aṇṇpadin-kalaṇṇju [||*] poṇṇiṇ palisaiyinaḷ²

Here Nārāyaṇaṇ Ḍachchaṇ is said to belong to the community of Maṇigrāmaṇṇam of Uṇaiyār.

The next reference to Maṇigrāmaṇṇam is in a stone inscription in Siam; this inscription has been published by Dr. Hultzsch in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* for April 1913, and states that (the tank) Śrī-Nāraṇam was placed under the supervision of the Maṇigrāmattār and the Śēṇāmukhattār. Thus far are the references in inscriptions to the words Maṇigrāmaṇṇam and Maṇigrāmattār.

The word *vaṇigagrāmattār* (a clear mislection of Maṇigrāmattār) is given, as an instance of *kuḷuṇṇ peyar* (the name denoting a community), by Nachchiyārkkkiyār in his commentary on the *Tolkāppiyam* (sūtra 11, *Peyariyal*).

In mediæval Tamil literature, the word Maṇigrāmattār occurs in the grammar called *Nāmi-nādam*. In the commentary on verse 31 of that work we find the words *avaṇiyagattār*, *attikōṣattār* and *maṇigrāmattār*³ given as instances of *kuḷiyārpēr*, that is, of the common appellation of groups of men or communities. This grammar was composed in the reign of the king Tribhuvanadēva,⁴ that is, Kuḷōttuṅga-Chōḷa III (A. D. 1178 to 1216).

¹ I would prefer to translate the passage thus: "You are going a long distance like the *tāvāḷar* and you (therefore) necessarily want escort; the chief Cheṭṭi of Kōva, Anjuvaṇṇam-kūṭṭan, the children of Maṇigrāmaṇṇam and ourselves—we of the four *nagaram*—are the only four communities esteemed as Kō-kkuḍi (families held in high estimate by the king)."

² Nārāyaṇaṇ Ḍachchaṇ, a member of the Maṇigrāmaṇṇam community of Uṇaiyār, gave (to the temple) fifty *kaḷaṇṇju* of gold for feeding a Brāhmaṇa versed in the Vēdas at the time the god of the Tiruvāṇaikkal is offered the mid-day offerings; the gold was weighed by the standard stone of the town of Tiruvellaṭṭai in which the temple is situated.

³ These are the very examples given also by Nachchiyārkkkiyār in his commentary on the *Tolkāppiyam*.

⁴ [We know of Tribhuvanavīra-dēva—another name for Kuḷōttuṅga III—but not of Tribhuvanadēva.—Ed.]

From the above extracts the chief points to be noted are :—

1. That the *Payyanūr paṭṭola* does not name the four communities mentioned in it as professing Christianity or any other religion; it simply implies that there resided four communities closely allied to each other by similarity of interests, namely, trade, etc.

2. That the Maṇigrāmam community is not peculiar to the Malabar Coast alone and that it was found in the interior also, as evidenced by the Tiruvellaṅṅai inscription.

3. That Hindu institutions were placed under their protection, which would not be possible if they belonged to the Christian community¹; and

4. That it is simply the name of a certain corporation or community, perhaps engaged in trading, like the Valaṅṅiyars, as Mr. Venkayya suggested.

The Rev. Mr. Peet opined, as already referred to, that the Maṇigrāmakkārs were originally Christians and that a sorcerer, Mānikkavāchakar, converted them to Hinduism. It is hard to believe that the conservative Hindus, who in these days of free thought refuse to take back even converted Hindus into Hinduism, would in those ancient times have consented to take wholesale communities of entirely alien religionists into their fold. Again, it is well known, that Mānikkavāchakar never visited the Malabar Coast; the religious discussion in which he took part was with the Bauddhas of Ceylon, and that was at Chidambaram, according to the *Vāḍaṇṇar-purāṇam*.

If *Maṇigrāmattār* in the Tiruvellaṅṅai inscription, were to be taken as the name of a Christian trading community of the Malabar Coast, how was it possible for Nārāyaṇa Āchchan, who, from his name, may certainly be taken to be a Hindu and not at all a Christian, to belong to the Christian community of traders of the Malabar Coast, but living then in Uṇaiyūr? Again, how could the tank mentioned in the Siam inscription bearing the distinctly Vaishṇava name of Śrī-Nāraṇam, meant evidently for the use of the Hindus, be placed under the protection of the Christian traders of Malabar then residing in Siam?

In dealing incidentally with the Siam inscription I beg to differ from the interpretation of Dr. Hultsch, and offer the following fresh reading of it as I am able to make out from the impression reproduced by Dr. Hultsch in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*.

1. [ya]varmatku [y]

2. . . . [m]ān tān naṅ[gu] rayai

3. . . [t]toṭṭa kuḷam [||*] pēr Śrī-

4. Nāraṇam [||*] Maṇikkirāmattār-

5. [k*]kum Śēṇāmugattārkkum

6. [ku]la[t*]tārkkum aḍaikkalam [||*]

Dr. Hultsch's remark, that the remnant of the Sanskrit name *ravarman* in the first line of the record might perhaps be that of Bhāskaravarman, is evidently due to his conviction that the Maṇigrāmattār were members of a trading community belonging to the Malabar Coast of the time of the Malabar king Bhāskara Ravivarman. That this notion of his was the cause of the mistake is corroborated by the following extract from his paper: "Maṇigrāmam occurs in Tamil inscriptions of the Malabar Coast; as shown by Rai Bahadur Venkayya, it is the designation of a trading corporation." Later on he adds: "We may thus conclude that in the eighth or ninth century there existed in distant Siam a colony of traders from the Western Coast of Southern India, who had built themselves a temple of Viṣṇu." Again, he remarks: "If the words which I have given are correct, they would imply that at the beginning of the inscription a lengthy passage is lost, which, if it had been preserved, might have completed and explained

¹ [The fact that some persons or a body of men were required to protect a certain gift or charity made to an institution of a particular nationality cannot by itself argue that the men belonged to that nationality. If this wrong premise is allowed to stand, Maṇigrāmattār can well be said to be Christians because they were required to protect the gift made to the Christian church of Tarusāppaḷi in the Sthāṇu Ravi plates.—Ed.].

"However little credit we may be disposed to give to the story about the conversion of the king of Ceylon, or to the identification of that king with the Gōthakābhaya of the *Mahāvamsā*, I see no reason for hesitating to believe the Indian tradition that Māṇikkavāṣagar visited Malabar and reconverted two families of Christians to Hinduism. The descendents of those families, who are still known as Maṇigrāmakārs, are not admitted to full privileges as caste Hindus. Some traditions place the reconversion as having occurred about A. D. 270. If that date be at all nearly correct, the Malabar Church must be considerably older. So far as I can appreciate the value of the arguments from the history of Tamil literature, there seem to be good independent reasons for believing that Māṇikkavāṣagar may have lived in the third century. Some authors even place him about the beginning of the second century.¹ If he really lived so early, his relation with the Church in Malabar would confirm the belief in its apostolic origin."

Evidently the name Saṅghamitra, occurring in the *Mahāvamsā*, could not belong to the Jain or Hindu community; but since he is called a Tamil heretic therein, we must take him to be a Mahāyānist, who, to the Hinayānist, is a heretic. There is nothing against his being a Tamil Buddhist, but it is impossible to identify him with a Tamil Hindu, as was attempted by Mr. K. G. Sessa Ayyar. The description of Saṅghamitra as "versed in the teachings concerning the exorcism of spirits and so forth" clearly evidences his mastery of the Bauddha Tāntrism and never points to a Hindu. Māṇikkavāṣakar refers to Varaguṇa-Pāṇḍya twice in his *Tiruchchirāmbala-kkōvai* and this Varaguṇa is the same as the Varaguṇa-Mahārāja who was crowned in A. D. 862; and I have long ago arrived at the conclusion that Māṇikkavāṣakar lived in the first half of the 10th century.²

No Tamil work dealing with the life of Māṇikkavāṣakar states that he went to the West Coast of the Madras Presidency. They are uniform in asserting that he went to Tirupperundurai, or the modern Āvaḍaiyārkōyil, in the eastern part of the Presidency. He must have gone to purchase horses brought down from Pegu and other places in the east—places which were familiar to the Tamils. It is only when the Arabs came to the West Coast in mediaeval times that horses were imported from Arabia. Till then the chief sources of the supply of horses must have been the Eastern Archipelago and Burma.

No. 10.—INSCRIBED BUDDHIST IMAGE FROM GOPALPUR.

By THE LATE PANDIT V. NATESA AIYAR, B.A., M.R.A.S.

The village of Gōpālpur is situated some three miles to the south-east of Bherāghāt popularly known as 'The Marble Rocks,' in the Jubbulpore District; it lies on the right bank of the Narmadā. The village contains only a few scattered houses: owing to its secluded position the place is seldom visited by travellers or tourists. Sir Alexander Cunningham, the pioneer archæologist, however, seems to have visited the spot in the winter of 1874; for in one of his reports he gives an account of an inscribed stone tablet of the Chēdi dynasty which, he says, was discovered there previously by Professor Hall.³ It was this fact alone which induced me to explore the place while I was encamped at Bherāghāt some eight years ago. Although, unfortunately, the inscription in question could no longer be traced, I was lucky enough to discover within a fortified enclosure, which, I learnt, was then in the occupation of a certain *sādhu*, named Vindhya-sūri, five elegantly carved stone images of the mediæval period. At

¹ *Ibid* pp. 73--79., and pp. 53--55; and Mackenzie, p. 138. The late Dr. Pope, shortly before his death, expressed his acceptance of the opinion that Māṇikkavāṣagar lived not later than the fourth century (*Tam. Ant.*, *ut. supra*, p. 54).

² See my article on the "Age of Māṇikkavāchakar" in the *Madras Christian College Magazine* for 1906.

³ *A. S. R.*, Vol. IX, p. 99.

No. 17.—SRIRANGAM COPPER-PLATES OF DEVARAYA II; SAKA-SAMVAT 1356.

By S. V. VISWANATHAN, M.A., MANNAEGUDI, AND THE LATE MR. T. A. GOPINATHA RAO, M.A.,
TRIVANDRUM.

This is another set of copper-plates of the Vijayanagara king Dēvarāya II in the possession of the authorities of the Śrī-Rāṅganātha temple at Śrīraṅgam (see above, Vol. XVII, No. 8). It was examined by the Assistant Archaeological Superintendent for Epigraphy, Madras, in his *Ep. Rep.* for 1906, and noted as No. 19 of App. A. We edit the inscription below from inked estampages kindly supplied by Rao Bahadur H. Krishna Sastri. The description of the plates as noted on his office copy runs as follows: "Three plates in a ring in the Rāṅganātha temple at Śrīraṅgam." The following further details may be added:—

The inscription is written on three¹ copper-plates with a ring hole at the top. The first and third plates are engraved only on their inner sides. They measure 11·3" in length including the arch at the top, and 7" in breadth. The hole has a diameter of ·75". The first and second plates are numbered at the left hand top corner with the Kannaḍa numerals 1 and 2 and the word *puṭa* in Nāgarī; the third plate bears the Kannaḍa numeral 3 just below the ring hole. The rims of the plates are slightly raised. The writing runs across the breadth of the plates, is legible and devoid of any erasures. The average height of a letter is ·25". The inscription is in the Nandi-Nāgarī characters. But the signature *Śrī-Virapāksha* at the end is in Kannaḍa. The Tamil letters *l* and *r* have been used in lines 51, 58, 65, the latter being sometimes expressed by a *rēpha* marked above the letter *ra* (e.g., in ll. 50, 51, 53). The languages employed are Sanskrit which is largely the language of the inscription and Tamil (*Dēśabhāṣā*) which is used in describing the details of the property granted. The latter is here and there interspersed with a few Kannaḍa words.

The orthographical peculiarities to notice in this inscription are:—the insertion of an *anusvāra* before *n* and *ṇ* and the labial *m*, e.g., *puṇṇya* for *punya* (ll. 4 and 12), *sāṁmrājya* for *sāmrajya* (l. 20) and *hiraṁṇya* for *hiranya* (l. 66); the doubling of consonant after an *anusvāra*, as in *bhrāmṭta* (l. 30), *imṭta* for *inda* (l. 47), *maṁṭchāl* (l. 49); and the omission of the *visarga* or the consequent doubling of *s* in *chatusṭmā* (l. 38) and *prāptai sarvair* and *āyai samanvitam* (l. 44).

The genealogy of the first Vijayanagara dynasty, given in the inscription, runs thus:

Saṅgama.
|
Bukka (I).
|
Harihara (II).
|
Dēvarāja (or Dēvarāya) I.
|
Vijayarāja.
|
Dēvarāja Mahārāja II.

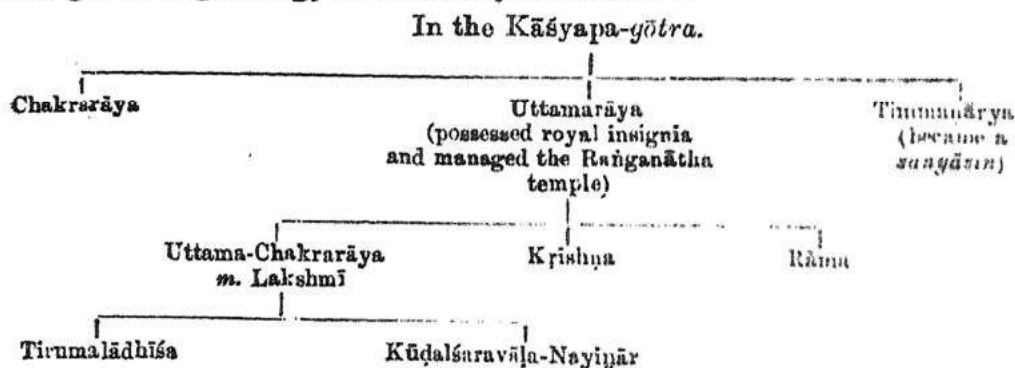
¹ Originally, it appears as if only two villages were granted by these three plates, but after reconsideration the number of villages was changed to five and a revised second plate was added without, however, destroying the original second plate for which this was substituted. Thus there are now four plates in the set, the second of which has to be deleted inasmuch as the revised fresh plate has to take its place. Care was taken to begin the revised second plate with the same word as in the old plate and end it similarly with the same word as in the old one, so that the passage might fit in with the context of the first and the third plates, though in the middle a few more verses in praise of Dēvarāja II and some lines regarding the additional villages were added. The odd plate which Mr. Venkayya noted under 'Remarks' in his *Ep. Rep.* for 1906, App. A., No. 20, was perhaps the original second plate.

The date of the grant is expressed by the chronogram *rasēskurāmachandra*=1356 of the Śaka era which corresponded to the cyclic year *Ānanda*, the Paurṇimā day of Vaisākha. On this day and on the occasion of the *Hēmāsvaratha-mahādāna*, the king granted the five villages of Kulamāṇikyanallūr *alias* Nāchchikurchochi, Tiruvarāṅganallūr, Rāmanārāyaṇanallūr, Kumārakkuḍi, and Rājanārāyaṇanallūr. These villages were situated in Chōla-maṇḍala and in the Trisirāppalli-rājya. The first three villages were on the southern bank of the river Kāvēri, in Rājagambhira-vaṇaḍu. The last two villages were on the northern bank of the Kāvēri,—Kumārakkuḍi being situated in the western half of Maḷa-nāḍu and Rājanārāyaṇanallūr being in the eastern half of the same division. Thus the villages given lay on either bank of the Kāvēri. Of these places, Nāchchikurchochi is the village Nāchchikkurichi in the Trichinopoly Taluk. The donee was *Valiyadimainilayitta-Perumāl-Uttamanambi*, son of Uttamanambi, who belonged to the Kāśyapa-gōtra Rik-sākhā and the Āśvalāyana-sūtra. He was the *sthānapati* of the Śrīraṅgam temple and the above said villages were evidently granted to him for conducting the daily worship of the god Śrīraṅganātha.

A large number of taxes and incomes accruing from the villages are enumerated in the inscription such as those on *nañjai* (wet-land), *puñjai* (dry-land), *kamuku* (areca grove), *karṇṇu*, *vaippu* (Mango-a), *tennamaram* (coconut trees), *koḷundu*, *vālai* (plantain trees), *karumbu* (sugarcane), *mañjaḷ* (turmeric), *iñji* (ginger), *señkalunēr* (flower) and other *vāṇ-payir* (minor cultivation); *vāsal-vari*, *pēr-kaḍamai*, *tuzi-kkaḍamai* (tax on looms), *mara-kkaḍamai* (tax on trees), *śekku-kaḍamai* (tax on oil mills), *māraḍai*, *maravaḍai*, *kuḷavaḍai*, *iḍatorai*, *pulvari*, *mandai-kaṇḍērram*, *oḷugu-nīr-pāḷḷam*, *uḷḷāyam*, *vil-paṇam*, *maghamai*, *mallāyi-maghamai*, *ina-vari*, *nāṭṭu-kāṇikkai*, *kaḍḍāyam*, *kirukula-viśēsham*, *arāsupōru*, *nallarudu* (good bull), *nal-kiḍā* (good sheep), *nal-paśu* (good cow), *palataḷi*, *ariśi-kāṇam*, *talai-perikkam*, *mādārikkai*, *rāyasavarttanai*, *avasavarttanai*, *kaṭṭigevarrttanai*, *karāṇike*, *jōḍi*, *māḍāṇai* (water tax), *nāṭṭukanakkuvari akkasālevai*, *āḷamañji*, *ūḷigam* (service), etc.

The above list includes taxes and customary dues levied in ancient times. We have not the means of knowing the proportion of the taxes to the produce, the right incidence of taxation, etc. It is clear, however, that no produce from the land or any other property was left untaxed. The various kinds of proceeds from the villages, as enumerated in our record, disclose how carefully municipal taxes were levied in South India under Vijayanagara kings. The incomes granted to the donee included *vari* (revenue taxes), *maghamai* and *saṅka* (tolls).

The donee *Valiyadimainilayitta-Perumāl-Uttamanambi* who, under the name Uttamanambi, has been already referred to in the Śrīraṅgam Plates of Harihararāya-Uḍaiyar III (above, Vol. XVI, page 223), is said in the *Kōyilolugu*—the temple history of Śrīraṅgam in Tamil—to have made some additions and repairs to the Rāṅganātha temple. The same work also refers to him by the names *Meynilaiyitta-Uttamanambi* and *Ellainilaiyitta-Uttamanambi*. Two other relations of his who, like himself, had been the managers of the temple were Periyakrishṇarāya-Uttamanambi and Tirumalainātha-Uttamanambi. The *Lakshmikārya*, a Sanskrit poem written by the latter, gives the genealogy of the family as under :—



In the above pedigree, Uttamarāya the brother of Chakrarāya must be identical with the donee of our grant. According to the *Kōyilolūgu*,¹ he set up an image of Garuḍa in front of the central shrine of Raṅgauātha in Śaka 1337 and replaced the image of Rāma, which was originally installed by Vikrama-Chōla but which was destroyed by the Musalmans. It is also stated that he obtained from Gajavēttai Prātāpa-Dēvarāyamahārāya for himself the sole management of the Raṅganātha temple, and the title Chakrarāya for his brother and that he was in power from Śaka 1340 to 1366.

The inscription states that the verses were composed by Rājāsēkhara. We do not find mention of the name of Rājāsēkhara in any of the hitherto known grants of the first Vijayanagara dynasty. We find that some inscriptions of the time of Dēvarāya II were engraved by one Muddappa.

TEXT.²

[Metres : vv. 1 and 2, 4 to 36, 43 to 46 and 48 *Anuṣṭubh* ; vv. 3, 37 and 42 *Sardulavikrīṭita* ; vv. 38 and 47 *Śalinī* ; vv. 39, 40 and 41 *Arya-Giti*.]

First Plate.

- 1 श्रोगणाधिपतये नमः । कल्याणायस्तु जगतां कारुण्यं कलभा-
- 2 ननं । अनादियूनोः शिवयोरानंदाद्वैतकं [द]ळं । [११*] स पायात्स-
- 3 ततं मायावराहो वदनेन यः । जगदात्मा जलनिधेर्वज्रगतीम्-
- 4 ददौधरत् । [१२*] कावेरीद्वयाभिरामपुळिने पुं(पु)ण्ये जगन्मंग(ळे) चं-
- 5 द्रांभोजवतीतटीपरिसरे धात्रा सम[१*]राधिते । श्रीरंगे भु[ज*]ने-
- 6 द्रभोगशयने लक्ष्मीमहीसेविते श्रिते यः पुरुषोत्तमः स भ-
- 7 गवानंरायणः पातु वः । [१३*] नमस्तुंगशिरसुंबिचंद्रचामरच[१*]र-
- 8 वे । त्रैलोक्यनगरारंभमू[ल*]स्तंभाय शंभवे । [१४*] अस्ति चौरार्णवी नाम
- 9 त्रिदशायुष्यकारणं । उत्तंसोपवनं शमोशुष्मां(वां)तप्रभवो ह-
- 10 रेः । [१५*] ततोजनि⁴ सुधासूतिश्च(स्त्र)हायः पुष्पधन्वनः । सुरारिवामनयनं
- 11 मूर्त्यंतरमुमापतेः⁵ । [१६*] तत्सुतोः सौम्यतो जाता बाहुजा बाहुशा-
- 12 लिनः । पुरुवरः प्रभृतयः⁶ पुं(पु)ण्यश्लोकपुरस्सरा⁷ । [१७*] तत्कुले मत्कु-
- 13 लनिधिर्यदुर्नाम वृषोजनि । तदंशे संगमो जज्ञे संगमस्म⁸-
- 14 संपदां । [१८*] तत्सुतो बुक्कभूपो[भू]त्⁹ शौर्यधैर्यनिवासभूः । महारा-

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XL., p. 141 ff.

² From ink-impressions supplied by M. R. Ry. Rao Bahadur H. Krishna Sastri.

³ Read °वाह्वा°.

⁴ तेः is a correction from तिः.

⁵ क. is inserted below the line.

⁶ नि of जनि is inserted above the line.

⁷ श्रु has in addition the consonantal sign of र.

⁸ श्रु is corrected from भौ Read श्रुश्री°.

- 15 जो हरिहरस्तसूनुरशिष्यमही ।[८*] देवराजोभवत्तस्य नंदनः
 16 साधुनंदन । दोहंडखंडितारतिमंडलखंडविक्रमः ।[१०*] ततो वि-
 17 जयराजोभूत्सर्वविद्यासुधांबुधिः । निजान्नामात्रनिर्व्यूढजग-
 18 द्रक्षाविचक्षणः ।[११*] स्वतस्सुलभसौरभ्यसारस्वतसरस्वतः । त-
 19 स्य हृष्यंति सुधियः सुधानिष्पंदया गिरा ।[१२*] तदात्मजो देवराय-
 20 महाराजः प्रतापवान् । सत्वसाधितसर्वोर्वीसां(सा)स्वाज्यःसंप्रका-
 21 शते ।[१३*] कूर्मण कुंडलोद्रेण कुंजरैश्च कुलाचलैः । दुर्वहां यो महीं
 22 धत्ते केयूरमकरोमिव ।[१४*] दारितारातिभूपालदुर्वसाविस्र-
 23 गधिनी । यस्य खड्गलता सूते सुरभिः कीर्त्तिमंजरी ।[१५*] यस्य को-
 24 र्त्तिमये दुग्धपारावारि प्रसर्पति । स्फुरंति बुद्बुदाकाराः[*] स्फा-
 25 रा ब्रह्मांडकोटयः ।[१६*] दिग्गजा येन संदृष्टा[*] सर्वाशालंघनोन्मुखी ।

Second Plate ; First Side.

- 26 कर्णताळसमीरण यस्य कीर्त्तिमवोजयन् ।[१७*] यस्यासिः शत्रुकोटीर-
 27 गाढाघातोदितध्वनिः । भाति स्वर्योषितामेष तवेत्युद्घोषयंनि(यन्नि)व ।[१८*]
 यद्रि[णे](णा)-
 28 स्वखुरंक्षय्यै^१ रजोभिररुणं नभः । विभाति वीरश्रीमुक्तैः क्रीडाश्रैरिव कं-
 29 कुमैः ।[१९*] यस्य कीर्त्यावदातेषु भुवनेषु महीजसः । अनीलं जायते
 30 सद्यश्चि(चि)त्रं तद्विषतां यशः ।[२०*] यस्य प्रतापसूर्यांशुसंतप्ता भ्रांता(त्त)दि-
 31 क्कटाः । भूयोपि वैरिभूपाला [यच्छ]कृत्रं मन्वते गतिं ।[२१*] यत्कीर्तिघनसा-
 32 रस्य ब्रह्मांडं तु करां(रं)डकं । यदीयमुखलावं(व)ण्यबिंदुरिंदोश्च मं[ड]-
 33 लं ।[२२*] यस्यातपचंद्रेण भाति नक्षत्रमंडलं । मध्ये ख[चि*]तमाहेंद्र-
 34 नीलोपलकळकिना ।[२३*] यत्करांभोजमासाद्य त्यागलक्ष्मोर्गरोय[सौ] [*]
 35 पशुदारुशिलासंगपरिवादं विमंचति ।[२४*] त्रिसिराप्यक्षिराज्ये-
 36 स्मिन् कावेर्या दक्षिणे तटे । राजगंभीरवळनाडंतरे चोळमं-
 37 डले ।[२५*] कुलमाणिक्यनङ्गूराननाच्चिकुर्चिपत्तिका । सप्तसप्ततिवे[ल्य]-
 38 [चं]वेलिनंचैस्सलान्विता ।[२६*] सिद्धसाध्यभुवा साधं^४ चतुसी(स्त्री)-
 मासमन्विता । तिरुव-
 39 रंगनङ्गूर्चं चतुस्त्रीमासमन्वितं ।[२७*] रामनारायणनङ्गूर् चतुस्त्रि(स्त्री)मा-
 40 समन्वितं । [एतद्ग्रा]मत्रयं चात्र कावेर्या उत्तरे तटे ।[२८*] मळना-
 डंतरे पृ[र्वी]-

^१ There is an extra length-sign for सा.

^२ Read गन्धिनी.

^३ Read द्रवाक्षुरक्षुरै.

^४ सुवा and धं are entered below the line, their omission being denoted by asterisks.

26 28 30 32 34 36 38 40 42 44 46 48 50 52

[illegible]

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 २४



- 41 ¹परयोः खंडयोर्धयोः [1*] कुमारकुडीति पश्येका ²पयिमे खंडके ततः
 1[1२६*] पञ्चि-
 42 राजनारायणनल्लूरपल्ली च पूर्वके [1*] एतद्ग्रामस्य शा(चा)त चतुस्सी-
 43 मासमन्वितं 1[1३०*] तटयोर्भयोरेतत्कावेर्या ग्रामपंचकं 1[1*] प्राप्त-
 44 स्सी(सी)मान्वितं प्राप्तैस्स(स्स)र्वैरायैस्स(स्स)मन्वितं । ³आयानां नामधेयानि
 लिख्यंते
 45 देशभाषया 1[1३१*] आयंककुटय विवरं । उभयसार्गं पीरंपाक⁴
 कुल्ल(ल)मा-
 46 णिकनल्लूरान नाच्चिकुच्चि⁵ तिरुवरंगनल्लूर रामनारायण-
 47 नल्लूर कुमारकु(कु)डिपल्लि राजनारायणनल्लूर इत्त(द) अन्न(न्नु)⁶ च[क]⁷-
 48 चेळुं मंचै(जै) पुंजै(जै) कमुकु कण्णं वैप्पु तंनमरं कीळुंद वाले⁸ ककंबु
 49 मंचळ⁹ । इचि¹⁰ । शेकेलुनीर्¹¹ उळ्पट्ट पल्ल वां(वा)न्पयिरुकडमरु¹² वाशलव-
 50 रि पेरुकडमै तर्रि(रि)क(क)डमै । मरक(क)डमै । चेक(क)कडमै । आवडे म-
 51 रवडे(डै) कुळवडे(डै) सुकं इडतोरि पुल्लरि मंदैकंटे(डै)¹³ आ-
 52 कु[कु]नीरुपाट्टं¹⁴ उळ्ळायं विल्लणं मघमै मल्लादमघम¹⁵ ।

Second Plate ; Second Side.

- 53 इनवरि ¹⁴नाट्टुकाणिकै(कै) । कडायं किरुक्कुळविसै(शे)यं अरुमायेरु¹⁶ न-
 54 लेरुदु । नल्लिडा । नल्लुशु । पल्लतळि । अरिशिकाणं यिरिडु¹⁶ अ-
 55 रिशिकाणं तले(लै)यारिक्कुं(कं) मादार्कि(कै) रायसवर्तने(ने) । अदमर[व]-

¹ र is entered below the line.

² प is inserted below the line.

³ या is entered below the line. In the original second plate of the duplicate inscription—not published here—the passage after अतुस्सीमासमन्वितं of line 39, begins with एतद्ग्रामस्य, and continues with the word प्राप्तैस्सर्वैरायैस्समन्वितं as in l. 44, thus omitting ll. 39-44.

⁴ पीरंपाक is probably *poramboke* = 'waste land'.

⁵ इत्त इरुंदुक्कु चिळुं is what we find in the original second plate.

⁶ Read वाले.

⁷ Read मंचळ.

⁸ चि is inserted below the line. Read इ'कि.

⁹ Read शेकेलुनीर्.

¹⁰ Read कडमैयु.

¹¹ After डे ग्राम is seen in the original.

¹² Read ओळुगुनीरुपाट्टं.

¹³ Between मल्लादमघमै and at the end of line 52 the original second plate has इत्त का देवार्गि व.

¹⁴ ना is inserted above the line.

¹⁵ शु is inserted below the line.

¹⁶ For यिरिडु we have यिरिडु in the original duplicate copy of the second plate.

ii. 852

54 56 58 60 62 64 66 68 70 72 74 76 78

न विविदुः सागिभैः मडायेकि मुमुनिवसेषम पुने पुन
 विमुमुनामिडा नलसरा पल तेलिमा विरा मागो विविदुः
 विरासागं तलेया विमोमा दारिके रायस वर्तने स वस
 क्षो। कटिगे व तेनै क गणि के जोडि नो राणि व विना इ का
 विमोरासाले विविमासमोकि ठलिगो उल उ इ नै मुने लो व मुनि
 ने विविप पु व विमिथि नै प मुल पाणा म कोणि मागो विमि
 इ म्याय गालु मागिणे नु विमायि इ म तो ग ते मुताम म नु स
 कि ते मा म स वेमा ता मा मा व इ इ लोय मा मा मा व इ क छि मे स
 म नै बा धा वि वर्क ती से पु मा म वे इ रे रा मे न नै इ वल ये पो न मा
 स्या व वे रा र पा रे मार व छ स कि मे पुणे म रा इ नै का ले रे व मा
 यो म हो प त्रिः सो गं ग्रा त प त यो कार प पा नु य क ल्हे नो मा रा
 लाय न स वा य स ते उ म रे वे रे म रा त्र म नै वि पु ज य त ग न कि रा दि
 ते व पु य डि ले नि न छि इ प उ मा उ त म नै वि जै त भि रा ड स रा य इ
 गी म नो वा डि त प रं बु म रे व यो म शी पो नो को य रा वे ड तो म नै वि
 तो न पु पा धि को रा तु व ल सा डि लो सा डि य मु त न को वि त ते र प नै स न
 म नो पु पु स वा गो नि धि तै र अ ल्प नि मां मी वि त गो स वा वि क ल्म मु म
 यो म ल्प प त्रि रे व म य पु प त्रिः स म नै त गो व ल तो न द्य पु म रे व म य
 तो डो ठे को नै लो पा म्प स मा म्प म्प म्प म्प म्प म्प म्प म्प म्प म्प म्प म्प म्प
 ते म्प ता मो डि रा नै वि क य डि तो त न य स डि ते रो इ ड मे उ मा म
 तो म्पि न व न ते म्पि नै लि म्प का कु रे प ग य न पु पा ले म्पि न त
 प व ग्गु मा नै म्प का कु रे व ग य न पु पा ला तो उ ते म नै पो ग के
 वे राः कार प पा नु य म्प कं थु र म स ल गो रु रो स म्प म्प म्प म्प
 मा म्प ता ता ठे स्यो रे व ग य न पु ते स स न म व नि
 ते ल पा वि ज त स्य पु म्प सो वि क य डि तो त न यो म्पि नो मा वि ता
 म्पि न पु म्प को ति वि नु ष वि न व न स्फु र म्प ता पा र य म्प
 इ म्पि म्पि मा म वे नु स्यो तो ना व क्वा ला व लो पो मा ना र ते रा वे

iii. 858

80 82 84 86 88 90 92

न विविदुः सागिभैः मडायेकि मुमुनिवसेषम पुने पुन
 विमुमुनामिडा नलसरा पल तेलिमा विरा मागो विविदुः
 विरासागं तलेया विमोमा दारिके रायस वर्तने स वस
 क्षो। कटिगे व तेनै क गणि के जोडि नो राणि व विना इ का
 विमोरासाले विविमासमोकि ठलिगो उल उ इ नै मुने लो व मुनि
 ने विविप पु व विमिथि नै प मुल पाणा म कोणि मागो विमि
 इ म्याय गालु मागिणे नु विमायि इ म तो ग ते मुताम म नु स
 कि ते मा म स वेमा ता मा मा व इ इ लोय मा मा मा व इ क छि मे स
 म नै बा धा वि वर्क ती से पु मा म वे इ रे रा मे न नै इ वल ये पो न मा
 स्या व वे रा र पा रे मार व छ स कि मे पुणे म रा इ नै का ले रे व मा
 यो म हो प त्रिः सो गं ग्रा त प त यो कार प पा नु य क ल्हे नो मा रा
 लाय न स वा य स ते उ म रे वे रे म रा त्र म नै वि पु ज य त ग न कि रा दि
 ते व पु य डि ले नि न छि इ प उ मा उ त म नै वि जै त भि रा ड स रा य इ
 गी म नो वा डि त प रं बु म रे व यो म शी पो नो को य रा वे ड तो म नै वि
 तो न पु पा धि को रा तु व ल सा डि लो सा डि य मु त न को वि त ते र प नै स न
 म नो पु पु स वा गो नि धि तै र अ ल्प नि मां मी वि त गो स वा वि क ल्म मु म
 यो म ल्प प त्रि रे व म य पु प त्रिः स म नै त गो व ल तो न द्य पु म रे व म य
 तो डो ठे को नै लो पा म्प स मा म्प म्प म्प म्प म्प म्प म्प म्प म्प म्प म्प म्प
 ते म्प ता मो डि रा नै वि क य डि तो त न य स डि ते रो इ ड मे उ मा म
 तो म्पि न व न ते म्पि नै लि म्प का कु रे प ग य न पु पा ले म्पि न त
 प व ग्गु मा नै म्प का कु रे व ग य न पु पा ला तो उ ते म नै पो ग के
 वे राः कार प पा नु य म्प कं थु र म स ल गो रु रो स म्प म्प म्प म्प
 मा म्प ता ता ठे स्यो रे व ग य न पु ते स स न म व नि
 ते ल पा वि ज त स्य पु म्प सो वि क य डि तो त न यो म्पि नो मा वि ता
 म्पि न पु म्प को ति वि नु ष वि न व न स्फु र म्प ता पा र य म्प
 इ म्पि म्पि मा म वे नु स्यो तो ना व क्वा ला व लो पो मा ना र ते रा वे

- 77 तलपारिजातस्य ।[१४१*]^१ भूषुश्रीविजयक्षितींद्रतनयो भूलोकचिंता-
 78 मणिः पुष्पकोर्तिर्विभूषितत्रिभुवनस्फूर्जन्प्रतापोदयः । आचं-
 79 दार्कमिमामवं(व)न्वसुमतीमाचक्रवाळाचलां श्रीमानाहतशात्रवो

Third Plate.

- 80 विजयते श्रीदेवरायो नृपः । [४२*] एकैव भगिनी लोके स-
 81 र्वेषामेव भूभुजंजां [१*] न भोव्या न करयाद्या [वि]प्रद-
 82 ता वसुंधरा ॥ [४३*] श्व(स्व)दत्तादि(द्वि)गुणं पुण्यं परदत्तानुपा-
 83 लनं [१*] परदत्तापहारेण स्वदत्तं निष्फलं भवेत् ॥ [४४*] स्व[द]-
 84 तां परदत्तां वा यो हरेत वसु(सु)ंधरां । षष्टिर्वर्षसह-
 85 स्राणि विष्टायां जायते क्रिमिः ।[१४५*] दानपालनया(यो)र्मध्ये
 86 दानाद्धे(च्छे)योलुपालनं । दानात्स्वर्गमवाप्नोति पालना-
 87 दच्यु[तं] पदं ॥ [४६*] सामान्योयं धर्मसेतुं^२ नृपाणां काले काले पा-
 88 लनीयो भवद्भिः । सर्वानेतां^३ भाविनः पार्थिवेद्रां^४भूयो
 89 भूयो याचते रामचंद्र[ः*] ॥ [४७*]—॥ अलक्तकलसका(च्छा)यमंगो-
 90 क्तमनोभवं । जा(अ)मृतांशुकळाचूडमव्यात्त्वां शंकरं
 91 महः ।[१४८*] इति तेने(न) महाराजेन दत्तमिदं धर्मशा-
 92 सनं । अत्र च तस्य महाराजस्य स्वहस्तलिखितं ॥—॥
 93 श्रीविरूप(पा)क्ष^५

Abstract of Contents.

- V. 1. Adoration to the Elephant-faced god (Gaṇēśī).
 V. 2. Adoration to the Boar *avatāra* (of Vishṇu).
 V. 3. May God Nārāyaṇa, who is pleased to recline on (the serpent) Śēṣha in (the island of) Śrīraṅga, on the bank of the tank Chandrapushkariṇī in the sands of the Kāvēri adored by Brahmā, and who is attended by the Goddesses Lakshmi and the Bhū (Earth), protect you.
 V. 4. Adoration to Śambhu.
 Vv. 5-8. Describes the descent of the family, as usual, from the Moon through Purūravas and Yadu to Saṅgama, the first historical king of the dynasty.
 Vv. 9-12. Saṅgama was succeeded by his son Bukka and Bukka by his son Harihara who was succeeded by his son Dēvarāja. Vijayarāja succeeded Dēvarāja I.
 V. 13. His son, the valiant Dēvarāja-Mahārāja shines in splendour as sovereign having conquered the whole world by his valour.

^१ Verses 39, 40 and 41 are omitted in the original second plate of the duplicate copy.
^२ Read धर्मसेतुं^०.
^३ Read "नेतामा".
^४ Read "द्राभू".

^५ It is doubtful if the new sentences preceding the *sign manu* l of the king form a verse.
^६ In Telugu-Kannada characters.

- 56 [तं]न(नै) । काङ्गिगवर्तने करणिके जोडि । नीराणिवरि । नाङ्गुनचकु[व]-
 57 रि । 'चंगमालिवरि । आक्रमंजि । छळिगं । उल्ल(ळप)ड । इनं^२ मुंगेखिरकं(कुं)
 [प]-
 58 तुवरि । प^३ वरि निधिनिसंपजलपापानप्रचीणिआगामिसि-
 59 हसाधंगकं आगामि गोभूजिरप्प[१*]दिअष्टभोगतेजस्वाम्यंकळ् स-
 60 हितमाक । सर्वमान्यमाक । आचंद्रार्कस्त्रायि आक । आचंद्रार्कस्त्रिरं सर्व-
 61 मान्य बाधाविषाजितं(तं) । रसेपुरामचंद्रेन्द्रे शके चानंदवत्सरि । पौर्न(र्ण)मा-
 62 स्यां तु वेशास्यां इमाश्वरथसंज्ञिके ।[१२*] पुष्पे महादानकाशे (१) देवरा-
 63 यो मञ्जोपतिः । श्रीरंगस्वामपतये (१) काश्यपान्वयजन्मने ।[१३*] आश्व-
 64 कायनसूत्राय सते व(वट)स्वद(द)वेदिने । उत्तमनंनिपुत्राय भग[व*]इक्ष्वाक्षि-
 65 ने ।[१४*] व^४ यडिम(मे)निलयिइपे(ह)माकुत्तमनंविषे [१*] भक्तिश्रद्धा-
 समायुक्तं छि-
 66 रं(र)भ्यादकपूर्विकं । एकाधिपत्यां भय स्वमतमुच्चेति दत्ता^५वान् ।[१५*]
 राजश्रीमोळिमा-
 67 निक्षेत्राजितपदांभुजः । देवराजो मञ्जोपाक्षो जीयादाचंद्रतारकं ।[१६*]
 विद्या-
 68 [ना] निक्षयाधिकोशसु(भ)वनं साहित्यसौहित्यभूर्ज^६ श्रीविभ्रमदर्पणीखिल-^७
 69 कलापुरस्य वाराणिधिः । सोदयंश्च निजाक(ग)वं वितरये संचारिकल्पद्रुमः (१)
 70 श्रीम[१*]नम्रपति देवरायनृपतिः सर्वोत्तरो वर्जतां ।[१७*] लक्ष्मा^८ पुष्पं
 देवरायति-
 71 तींद्रो भंजानोभो प्राज्यमां(मा)भ्यान्वयज्जमी । आकन्नात(तं) रक्षतादिप्रवर्गनिवंभू-
 72 तेरयत्तारो(रा)दिदाने[१*] ।[१८*] विजयचित्तींद्रतनयं खंडितदीर्घमंडलारा-
 73 ति । अनवरतमिंदुमोळिस्थायीदेवरायनरपालं ।[१९*] अलभत
 74 पंचग्रामानस्त्रायीदेवरायनरपालात् । उत्तमनंवी रंगच्छे-
 75 त्रेशः काश्यपान्वयाभाकेः ।[२०*] इदमखिलराजशेखरम[धु]कर[भं]-
 76 कारगीतमाहात्म्य^९ । श्रीदेवरायनृपते[१*] शासनमवनि-

^१ Read 'अक्षयान्वरि'.

^२ Read 'इनमुद्र भिन्न' as in the original of second plate in the duplicate copy.

^३ The original reads 'प'.

^४ The original reads 'व'.

^५ Read 'एकाधिपत्य' as in the original of the second plate in the duplicate copy and 'मुहेति'.

^६ Read 'ज'.

^७ A letter was here wrongly entered and omitted.

^८ Read 'लक्ष्मा'.

^९ Read 'महात्म्यम्'.

evidently the present name Vāyalūr is a relic. The current name Vyāghrapurīśvara, i.e., 'the lord of Vyāghrapurī,' is a Sanskrit translation from Pilavāyal which was somehow connected by mistaken analogy with Pulivāyal.

The importance of the record under publication was first brought to notice in my *Annual Report on Epigraphy* (Madras) for 1908-9, Part II, paragraphs 16 and 17. Since then Professor Jouveau Dubreuil of Pondicherry has discussed its contents in detail in Chapter II of his work "*The Pallavas*" published in 1917 and has given there the facsimile of a part of the inscription. The present paper supplying the deficiency by giving a complete facsimile of the record which was examined *in situ* attempts to discuss certain discrepancies in the readings of Professor Dubreuil and to examine certain other points in the chronology of the Pallavas to which the book of the Professor has given publicity.

The dilapidated temple of Vyāghrapurīśvara at Vāyalūr must have had its palmy days when its *prākāra* wall, subordinate shrines, *maṇḍapas* and *vimāna* were in a perfectly good condition. The central shrine, which is now the only standing structure, has the *gajapriṣṭha* or the elephant-back form peculiar to many Śiva temples in the Chingleput district and enshrines within it a stone *liṅga*.¹ On the back side of the *liṅga* and close to the rear wall is placed a stone panel containing the group of figures Śiva, Pārvati and Kumāra, generally known in iconography by the name Sōmāskanda. The existence of such Sōmāskanda panels is a striking characteristic of the Śaiva shrines of Pallava origin; but the panels, in these cases, are invariably cut or fixed into the wall behind the *liṅga*. What then could the existence of this detached panel in the Vyāghrapurīśvara shrine signify? Perhaps the original temple which was founded in Pallava times disintegrated in course of time and was rebuilt, as is found to be the case with many other South-Indian temples, in some later period, only to repeat once again a second course of dilapidation, such as it now presents to us. Still another characteristic, if one is required, of the Pallava origin of the temple, consists in the many Pallava pillars with large cubical sections intercepted by an octagonal middle, bearing medallions of lotus decorations on each face of the cube and plain-cut corbels.² These pillars are largely found in the east *gōpura*—the main outer entrance into the temple; and one of them—the one on the right side as one enters—has on it the subjoined record inscribed in 14 lines of writing, going round the pillar in the form of a spiral from top to bottom. Line 1 of the inscription begins on the south face of the upper cube and ends on the west. From line 2 which commences on the west, just below the lotus, and by the side of a creeper-device suggesting a branch of sprouts,³ the lines go on regularly descending so that the end of line 2 runs on to meet the commencement of line 3 on the west face until we reach line 14 on this face with which the inscription closes.

The alphabet is the usual Pallava-Grantha of the florid type used in the Rāmānuja-maṇḍapa, the Gaṇēśa temple and the Dharmarāja-ratha inscriptions,⁴ of Mahābalipuram, the Balipīṭha inscription of the Shore Temple in the same village⁵ and the Kailāsanātha temple inscription at Conjeeveram.⁶ The writing is for the most part well preserved and could be completely deciphered with the exception of three or four syllables in line 2 and some doubtful letters in line 12. As regards palaeography it may be remarked that the initial vowels *a* and *i*

¹ The *liṅga* of the Vyāghrapurīśvara temple is plain and does not show the eight or sixteen facets which is one of the special features of the Śiva-*liṅgas* set up by the Pallava kings after Mahēndravarmān I.

² See Dubreuil's "*Handbook of Dravidian Architecture*," p. 33, fig. 25.

³ The name Pallava which happens to occur here is by tradition connected with a bed of sprouts; see *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. II, p. 355.

⁴ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. X, Plates 2, 3 and 4.

⁵ *Annual Report on Epigraphy* (Madras) for 1916, Plates I and II, between pages 112 and 113.

⁶ *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. II, Plate IX, facing p. 248.

V. 14. He held in his arm, as a bracelet, the earth, which could not be supported even by the primeval Tortoise, the Serpent Lord, the Mountains and the Elephants.

[Vv. 15-24 describe his exploits and fame, which spread to all the eight quarters of the globe, his beauty and his charity.]

Vv. 25-31. The king granted the three villages of **Kulamānikyanallūr** *alias* **Nāchchi-kruchchi**, comprising 77 *vēli* (of dry land ?) and $\frac{1}{2}$ *vēli* of *nañjai* (wet land), **Tiruvaram-ganallūr** and **Rāmanārayananallūr**, all situated on the southern bank of the **Kāvērī**, in **Rājagambhira-valanādu** of **Chōla-maṇḍala**, and the **Trisirāppalli-rāja** together with the new villages of **Kumārakkudi** and **Rajanārayananallūr**, situated respectively in the western and eastern divisions of **Mala-nādu**, on the northern bank of the **Kāvērī**.

[Ll. 45 to 49, enumerate in the *dēśabhīṣā* (i.e. Tamil) the taxes and incomes due from the villages granted to the donee.]

Vv. 32-35. The grant was issued in the **Saka** year counted by the numerical words *rasa* (6), *ishu* (5), *Rāma* (3), and *Chandra* (1) (i.e., 1356), corresponding to the cyclic year **Ānanda**. On the full moon day of the month of **Vaiśākha**, king **Dēvarāja**, at the time of making the celebrated *mahādāna* gift called *Hāmāśvaratha*, to *Vaṭṭiyāḍimai-nīlayiṭṭa*-**Perumāḷ Uttamanambi**, son of **Uttamanambi**, the *sthānapati* of the **Srīrangam** temple who belonged to the **Kāśyapa-gōtra**, the *Āvalāyana sūtra* and the **Rig-Vēda**.

[Vv. 36-42 contain the praises of **Dēvarāja** (or **Dēvarāja**) and a prayer for his long life and increased prosperity and mention the name of the composer **Rājasēkhara**.

[Vv. 43-47. The usual admonitory verses.]

[V. 48. Benediction (by the donee).]

Ll. 91 to 93. Thus was the grant given and signed by the king with his own hand (*as*) **Śrī-Virūpa-(pā)ksha**.

NO. 18. THE VAYALUR PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF RAJASIMHA II.

By H. KRISHNA SASTRI, B.A., RAO BAHADUR, OOTACAMUND.

Vayalūr is a small village on the north bank of the river **Pālār** at its mouth and is situated three miles south of the historic town of **Sadrās** once the chief seat of the powerful Dutch Factory and 22 miles south-east by south of **Chingleput** on the South-Indian Railway. The village is also reached direct from **Madras** by the **Buckingham Canal** and would then be 43 miles due south of it, past **Malababpuram**, the famous "Seven Pagodas" of **Pallava** antiquities.

The **Śiva** temple of **Vyaghrapurīśvara** at **Vāyalūr** was first examined by the Epigraphical Department, **Madras**, in 1909 and its lithic records were then completely secured.¹ The earliest of these, from the palaeographical and historical points of view, is No. 368 of 1908 which is published for the first time below with a facsimile plate.² The other records of **Vāyalūr**, which are not quite so interesting as the present one, range in date from the 10th to the 16th Century A.D. and mention the village by its surname **Jananathanallūr**; and the god of the temple also is therein called **Tiruppilavāyil-udaiya-Nayavar**, i.e., 'the lord of **Tiruppilavāyil**,' thus supplying the proper name **Tiruppilavāyil** or **Tiruppilavāyal**, i.e., 'the mouth of the sacred cave' of which

¹ The meaning of this Tamil attribute is 'he who established his title as the hereditary servant (of **Rājā-nātha**)' and corresponds to the Sanskrit *Pāṇḍya krama-mūla-bhṛtṛya* which occurs in the *Lakṣmī-Kāṇḍa* referred to above.

² These are registered as Nos. 362 to 368 in Appendix B to the *Epigraphical Report* for 1909, p. 39 f.

³ From impressions prepared by myself with the help of my friends Messrs. Venkoba Rao and Srinivasa Rao.

occur in ll. 1, 2 and 10 and the Dravidian / in ll. 3 and 4. The punctuation symbol used in the inscription is a triple vertical joined at the top, the component lines being often of varying lengths. Two other symbols of an ornamental type occur in line 9, evidently also being used as punctuations; but these are not quite distinct. In the matter of orthography, the use of the *anusvāra* and its change into the class-nasal in compound letters is generally correctly observed, e.g.—*Āṅgirāḥ* in l. 1, *Koṅkaṇiḥ* in line 3 and *Skanda* in l. 4. The doubling of consonants after a conjunct *r* occurs throughout. There is one mistake of spelling in *śrīta* for *śrūta* (l. 10); and wrong *sanḍhi* in *jīyat-ma* for *jīyān-ma* (*ibid.*) and *nō sa khalu* for *°nas-sa khalu* (if my reading is correct in l. 11). In line 10 the form *yubdha* for *yuddha* is apparently a mistake of the scribe.

As stated in the *Annual Report on Epigraphy* (Madras) for 1909¹ the record is a very interesting one on account of the long list of Pallava names it supplies. When I drew up the report, I was not able to give the whole list, for want of time and a satisfactory estampage. Also the Vēlūrpālaiyam plates which give, though summarily, a similar list of names in the ancestry of the Pallavas, had not then been published, and consequently, the big list of the Vāyalūr record did not attract much attention. Thanks to the scholarly work of Professor Dubreuil in the field of South-Indian Epigraphical research and especially in the study of the Pallava dynasties, we now possess a full statement of the contents of this valuable inscription and its bearing upon Pallava chronology.

The Purāṇic names in the list from Brahmā to Aśoka (ll. 1 and 2) are found in the Kāśākuḍi plates of Nandivarman Pallavamalla²; and up to the eponymous Pallava, the predecessor of Aśoka, they are found also in the Kūram plates³ of Paramēśvaravarman I and the Udayēndiram Plates.⁴ Among the names of other early kings which the Kāśākuḍi plates incidentally mention are those of Virasimha and Viṣṇusimha which do not find a place in the Vāyalūr list. The Vēlūrpālaiyam plates⁵, which are later, give the Purāṇic names in the same order up to Aśokavarman correctly, but after a gap supply us with the three names *Kaṭabhartṛi*, *Chūtapallava* and *Virakūroha* in the order of father and son exactly as we find in l. 3 of our inscription. After these comes the name of *Skandaśishya* which does not figure in the Vāyalūr record. It looks, therefore, as if the authors of the Kāśākuḍi, Udayēndiram, and the Vēlūrpālaiyam plates, all of which are admittedly later than the Vāyalūr record, but not very much later, drew these stray names for airing their knowledge of early Pallava chronology purely from memory and were not always correct. The Vāyalūr record after mentioning Aśoka gives eight names, *vis.*, *Harigupta*, *Bhūṭadatta*, *Sūryavarman*, *Viṣṇugōpa*, *Dhṛitaka*, *Kaṇḍa*, *Jyāmalla* and *Ripumalla*⁶ which do not appear in the later grants. After these come the thirty-six names listed by Professor Dubreuil on p. 20 of his "*Pallavas*" with the small difference that the name *Koṅkaṇika* is actually found on the estampage to be *Koṅkaṇi*.

Monsieur Dubreuil tries to attribute to the Vāyalūr list the credit of supplying a complete genealogical succession from even the time of the eponymous founder Pallava, including practically all the names mentioned in the Prākṛit and the Sanskrit copper-plate grants hitherto discovered and in the later stone inscriptions. In doing this he finds many difficulties in his way but attempts to get over them by finding accidental coincidence in the order of the names. In *Virakūroha*, *Skandaśishya*, *Kumāraviṣṇu* and *Buddhavarman* of the Vēlūrpālaiyam plates for instance, he finds coincidence with the set of names Nos. 29 to 32 (11 to 14)⁷ of the Vāyalūr

¹ Part II, paragraph 17, p. 76 f.

² *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. II, p. 342.

³ *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 144.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 363.

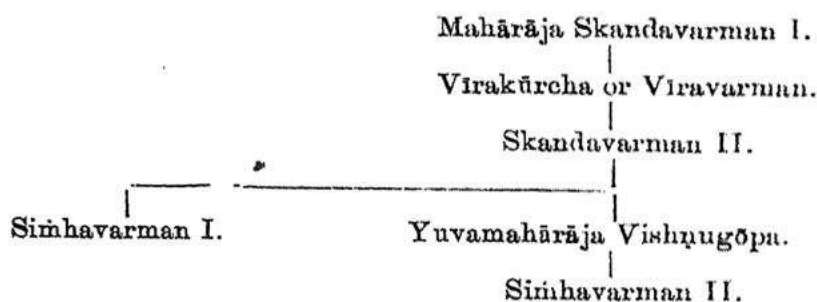
⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 501.

⁶ Professor Dubreuil reads by mistake the two names *Jyāmalla* and *Ripumalla* as *Jyāmalla* and *Ekamalla*, and *Sūryavarman* as *Āryavarman* (see his "*Pallavas*," p. 20).

⁷ Here and below, M. Dubreuil's numbers are given in brackets.

list. Here, however, it has to be observed that Virakūcha, whom Dubreuil selects as the first of the ruling Pallava kings, perhaps from a statement made about him in the Vēlūrpālaiyam plates, was the son of Chūtapallava and grandson of Kālabhartṛi—thus corresponding to No. 23 (5) of the Vāyalūr list and not to No. 29 (11). Also the three names that succeed this Virakūcha are Chandravarman, Karāla and Vishṇugōpa and not Skandasishya, Kumāravishṇu and Buddhavarman as Dubreuil puts it down. Again, his presumption that the Chendalūr plates must be a copy of some ancient record, suits his purpose very well; since the inconvenient names Skandavarman, Kumāravishṇu and Buddhavarman which these plates give, occur in that order in Nos. 30, 31 and 32 (12, 13 and 14) of the Vāyalūr list; but here again he forgets that the fourth name that occurs in the Chendalūr plates is a second Kumāravishṇu and not as is to be expected No. 33 (15) Skandavarman of the Vāyalūr list. The partial coincidence in the earlier Pallava names mentioned in the Vāyalūr list with those of the Chendalūr and the Vēlūrpālaiyam plates serves no practical purpose and the agreement, if any, could be attributed only to an accident by what we may call the *kākatālīya-nyāya*. It does not, therefore, give to the Vāyalūr list any more completeness than what could be claimed for the Kasakudi or the Vēlūrpālaiyam accounts. Perhaps Dubreuil also, though he has not expressed himself clearly on this point, meant the same thing when he said “we should not rely too much on the order of succession of the kings given in the Vāyalūr inscription after Virakūcha (11).”¹

Passing on after 32 (14) Buddhavarman to eight other kings and in the interim identifying Vishṇugōpa 37 (19) with Vishṇugōpa of Kāñchi, the well-known Pallava (?) contemporary of Samudragupta about the end of the 4th Century A.D., Professor Dubreuil says that from Viravarman 41 (No. 23) the Vāyalūr inscription becomes trustworthy, evidently again in the sense that it supplies a complete list of kings in the order of succession down to Rājasimha Narasimhavarman II. This is also extremely doubtful. The Sanskrit grants even though we may exclude the Chendalūr plates, which according to the Professor must be a copy of an older inscription giving some early names that have to be placed before the time of Viravarman, supply us with the names of only six kings whose succession in the order given below may be taken as certain :—



Of these, the Yuvamahārāja Vishṇugōpa may not have ruled. The information obtained from the Udayēndiram² and the Churā³ copper-plates, both of which are decidedly later by reason of their palæography and are otherwise also untrustworthy, cannot be used, as has been done by Professor Dubreuil, for the purpose of obtaining a continuous Pallava succession after Simhavarman I or Simhavarman II. If this could be done, there is no reason why the names Simhavarman, Nandivarman and Simhavishṇu which occur in the Amarāvati pillar inscription of about the 12th Century A.D.⁴ should not be utilised for a similar purpose. Again, the assumption, in the first place, of two simultaneously ruling families, one at Kāñchi and the other in the Telugu country, and in the second place, the statement that Simhavarman 43 (25) of the

¹ “The Pallavas,” p. 23.

² *Epigraphical Report* (Madras) for 1914, p. 82.

³ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 144.

⁴ *S. I. I.*, Vol. I, p. 25.

Uruvupalli plates probably resumed possession of Kāñchi are not founded on any sure ground. We very well know that the early Pallava kings while ruling at their capital Kāñchi had their Viceroy at Dhāññakaḍa (Dhāñnyakaṭa) in the Telugu country. Why the later kings succeeding Skandavarman II should have chosen a different course of administration, dividing the kingdom between two ruling dynasties and why, even if this were so, the Vāyalūr inscription whose definite purpose is to describe the ancestry of king Rājasimha-Narasimhavarman II of the Palakkāḍa branch should go out of the way to include the names of the collateral Kāñchi branch 43 to 46 (Nos. 25 to 28) which according to Professor Dubreuil was altogether unconnected with it, are questions that require to be explained satisfactorily before we could follow the theory of Professor Dubreuil postulating two separate dynasties simultaneously ruling in the Telugu country and in the Tondā-maṇḍalam. Again, in the set of names enumerated one after the other from Nos. 43 to 50 (25 to 32), what authority does the Professor discover to presume that while the first four ruled in a given order, the second five (omitting the first of them) ruled, not after them as should be expected, but simultaneously with them? Do not these kings possibly stand to each other in the relation of father and son as the first and the last sets of names in the list suggest or again, as the partial coincidence in the order Virakūrc̥ha to Buddhavarman (Velūrpālaiyam plates) and full coincidence in Skandavarman to Nandivarman (Udayēndiram plates), indicate? In fact, therefore, the list of the names given by the Vayalur inscription remains to be as indefinite as those supplied by the Kāśākūḍi, Udayēndiram and the Velūrpālaiyam plates and there is not the least possibility of finding therein a succession list either whole or partial except after No. 49 (31) Simhavarman, the father of Simhavishnu. Professor Dubreuil's arguments are thus seen to be vitiated by wrong identifications and gratuitous assumptions and by his acceptance as genuine material of what still remains only tentative and requires further careful examination and scrutiny.

One positive and important result, however, derived from a study of the Vāyalūr list, is that certain conclusions arrived at in my contribution on the Vēlūrpālaiyam plates require correction. The identification of Kalabhartṛi with Kāṇagōpa on page 503 of the *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Volume II, is now untenable since both these names occur in the Vāyalūr list as Nos. 21 and 28 (3 and 10); similarly, the identification of Chūtapallava with Skandavarman and Virakūrc̥ha with Viravarman of the Pīkīra and the Māṇḍaḍūr grants cannot any more be upheld. The three kings Kalabhartṛi, Chūtapallava and Virakūrc̥ha mentioned in the Vēlūrpālaiyam plates must be some traditionally known very early kings of the Pallava family. Skandaśishya (possibly same as Skandavarman), Kumāravishnu and Buddhavarman, who are mentioned in order of succession next in the Vēlūrpālaiyam plates, do not find the same place in the Vāyalūr list. There must evidently be a mistake due to the carelessness of the author of the Vēlūrpālaiyam plates in describing the relationship of Skandaśishya to Virakūrc̥ha. Perhaps these three kings also must have been some forgotten old kings with whom the later genealogy derived from the Sanskrit copper-plate grants cannot be connected. Consequently, the probable period of about the middle of the 4th century or thereabouts for kings Simhavarman and his son Skandavarman, who, one after another, were crowned on their thrones by Āryavarman and Mādhavavarman II of the Western Gaṅga dynasty and the beginning of the 7th century fixed for Mahēndravarmān I, the author of the rock-cut shrines of South India, must remain still as the only two milestones in Pallava chronology.

The two verses recorded in lines 9 to 14 of the inscription are respectively in the *Vasantatilakā* and the *Sragdhara* metres and are rather corrupt. They give the king the already known titles Rājasimha, Kshatrasimha, Yuddhārjuna, Atyantakāma, Śrīmēgha, Mahāmalla, Raṇajaya and Śrinidhi. The adjunct महेश्वरशिखामणिदीप्तनीलिः which occurs in these verses and which, literally rendered, means 'one whose diadem shines with the head-jewel, viz. Mahāśvara (Siva),' is rather perplexing. Comparing this with titles like Śivachūdāmaṇi etc.

and the verse यस्याङ्गभराक्रान्ता, etc. which occurs in the *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Volume I, Nos. 18 and 19 (v. 3) and अभिवेकजलापूर्ण' etc. in *ibid.*, Nos. 21 and 22 (v. 2)—all with reference to king Rājāsīmha—it looks as if the king did actually wear a figure of Śiva or rather his symbol, the *liṅga*, on his head. This fact is evidently also hinted in the verse गुह्यभरनामनि राजन्येन लिङ्गेन लिङ्गिनि etc. (*ibid.*, No. 33, v. 2), which refers to the conversion of the Pallava king Mahēndravarma I Guṇabhara from Jainism to Śaivism. Again, v. 4 of No. 34 in the same volume speaks of "Śiva fixed in the mind, being worn on the head." All these references clearly point to the existence of a *liṅga*-cult long before the revival of the Vira-Śaiva faith under the auspices of the famous Kālachuri minister Basava (Chenna-Basava) in which the wearing of the *liṅga* plays a prominent part. Again, the sense of the two verses, particularly that of the second, is such that it suggests the occasion for the engraving of this record to be the accession of king Rājāsīmha to the throne. This, if it were so meant, would indeed have been a fitting opportunity to eulogise his many acts of heroism, charity and piety, and to proclaim to all subjects his assumption of power over his hereditary dominions.

TEXT.¹

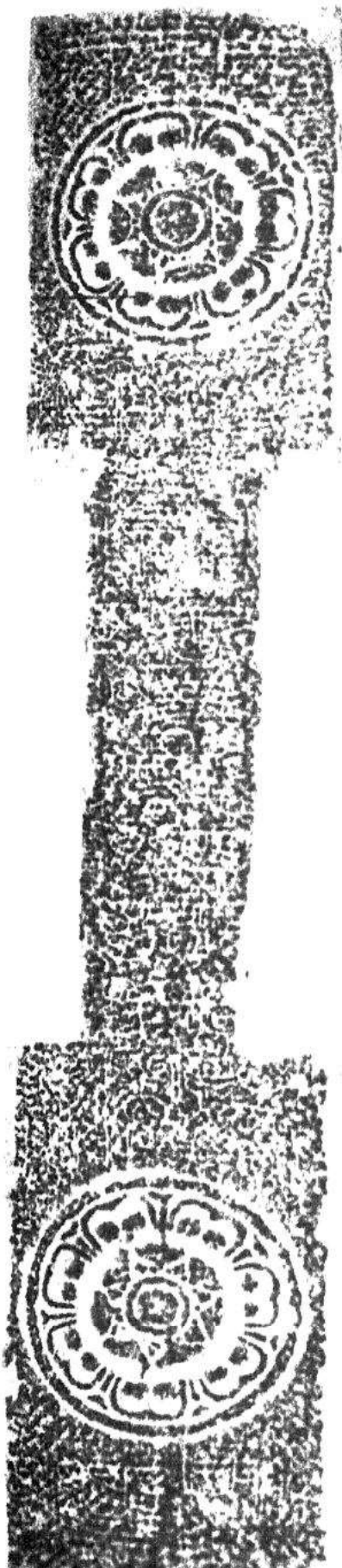
- 1 ब्रह्मा ॥ अङ्गिर[ः ॥] बृहस्पतिः ॥ शंयुः ॥ भ[र]द्वाजः ॥ द्रोणः ॥
अश्वत्थामा ॥*
- 2 पञ्चवः ॥ अशोकः ॥ हरिगुप्तः ॥ [भूत]दत्तः ॥ [सूर्य]वर्मा
[॥] . . . विष्णु]गोपः ॥ धृ-
त-
- 3 [कः] ॥* [क]किन्दः ॥ ज्यामङ्ग[ः] ॥ रि]पुमङ्गः ॥* [विमलः
॥ कोङ्कणिः [॥ क]ाकभर्ता ॥* चूतपञ्चवः[ः] ॥ वीरकृ[ष्णः] ॥
चन्द्रवर्मा
- 4 ॥ कराकः ॥ विष्णुगोपः ॥ स्कन्दमूलः [॥] काणगोपः ॥ वीरकृष्णः ॥
[स्क]न्दवर्मा[ः] ॥ कुमारविष्णुः
- 5 ॥ बुद्धवर्मा [॥] स्कन्दवर्मा ॥ कुमारविष्णुः ॥ बुद्धवर्मा ॥ स्कन्दवर्मा
॥ विष्णुगो-
- 6 पः ॥ विष्णुदा[सः] ॥ स्कन्दवर्मा[ः] ॥ सिंहवर्मा ॥ वीरवर्मा ॥
स्कन्दवर्मा ॥ सिं-
- 7 हवर्मा ॥ स्कन्दवर्मा ॥ नन्दिवर्मा ॥ सिंहवर्मा [॥] सिंहवर्मा
विष्णुगोपः ॥
- 8 सिंहवर्मा ॥ सिंहविष्णुः ॥ महेंद्रवर्मा ॥ नरसिंहवर्मा ॥ महेंद्रव-
- 9 र्मा ॥ परमेश्वरवर्मा ॥² श्रीपञ्चवान्वयकुलाचलराजसिंहो

¹ Direct from the stone.

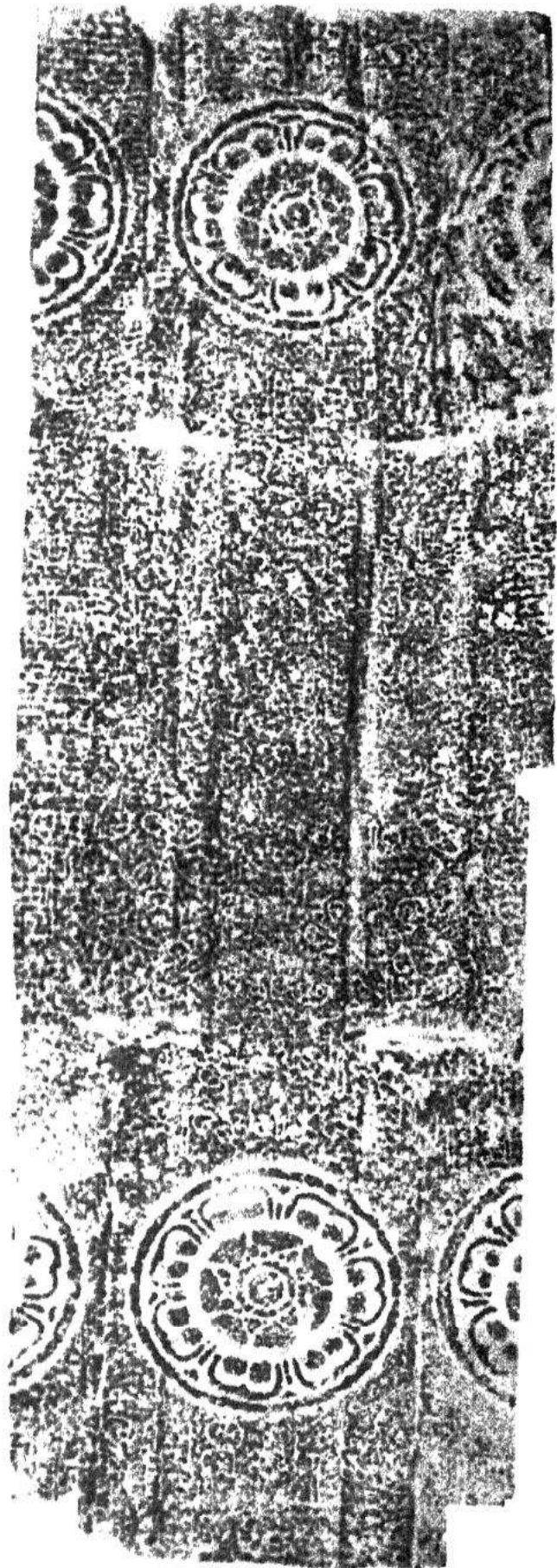
² This symbol which is evidently intended as a mark of punctuation is followed by another which is rather complicated. It is seen on the facsimile plate though indistinctly.

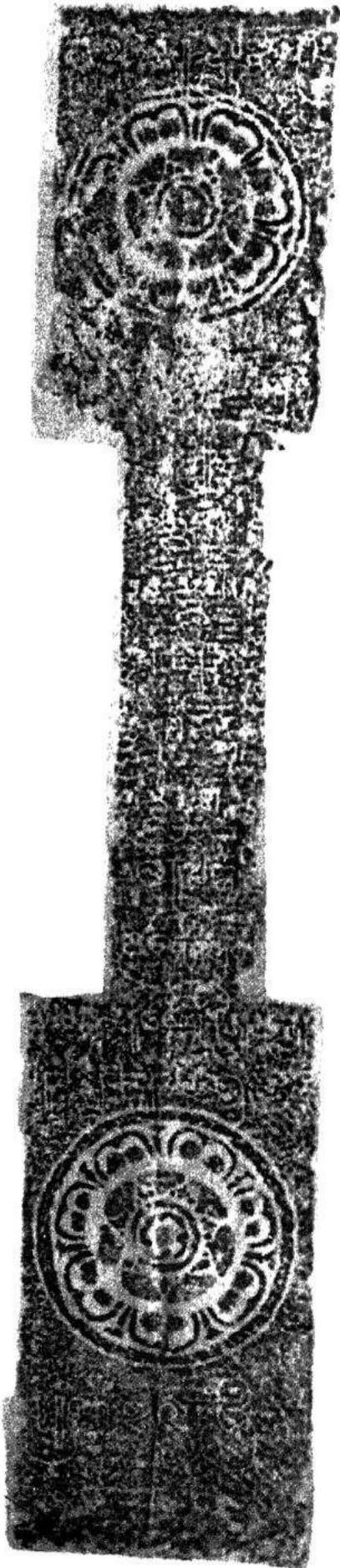
Vayalur Pillar Inscription of Rajasimha II.

South Face

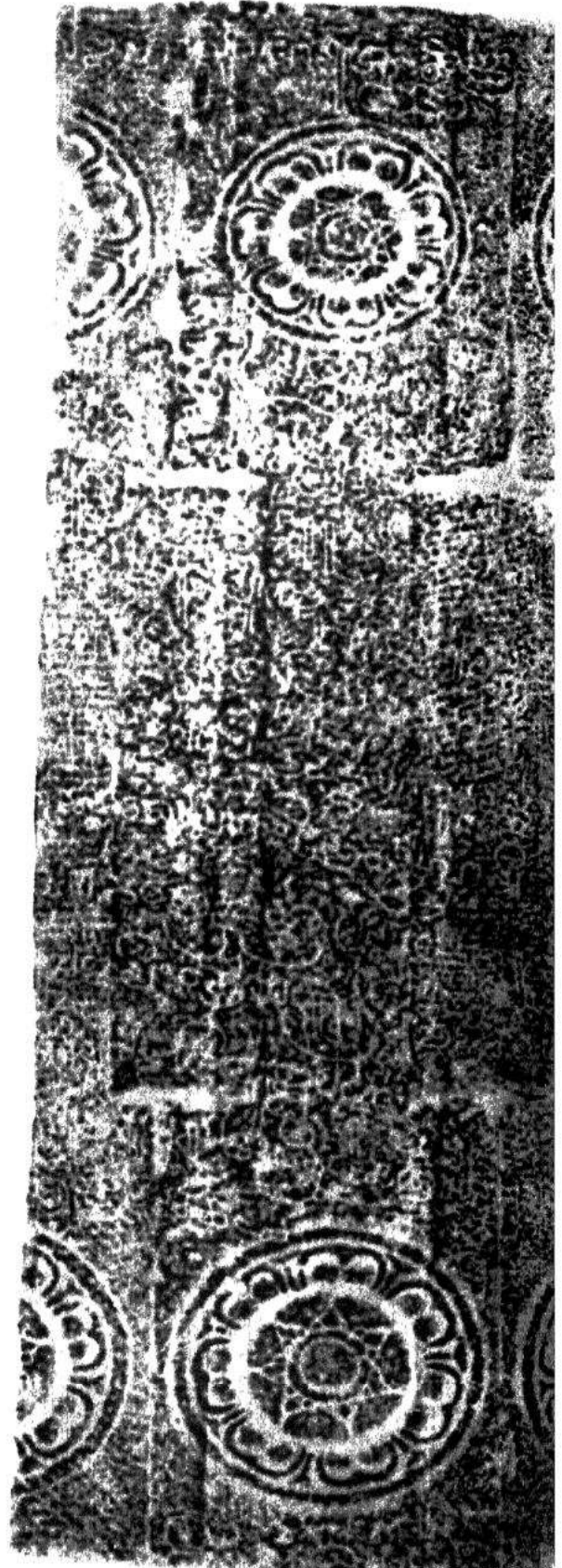


East Face





West Face



- 10 यः चत्रसिंह इति ¹विश[त]पुण्यकीर्तिः [1*] जीयात्महै²खरशिख[1]मणिदीप्त-
मौलि[य्य]-
11 बार्ज्जने[1] [स] ख[लु]³ लोकनरेन्द्रसिंह[: ॐ] [१*][श]भोः पादार[विन्दइय]-
परिचरणे नित्यमत्य-
12 न्तकामः श्रीमेघो विप्रसख्याकरविभवकरे⁴ [व्यो]मरद्वोषच[न्द्रः]⁵ [1*] राग्या-
न्त[1]राव[गा]हवि-⁶
13 दोतमहामह्यब्द[:*] प्रजानां रक्ष[1]दीक्षाधिकारं वहतु रणजय[:*] श्रीनि-
14 धिद्वोपलक्षम् ॐ[२*]

TRANSLATION.

(Ll. 1 to 9)

- | | |
|---------------------|------------------------|
| 1. Brahman. | 28. Kāṇagōpa. |
| 2. Āṅgiras. | 29. Virakūrchā. |
| 3. Bṛihaspati. | 30. Skandavarman. |
| 4. Śaṁyu. | 31. Kumāravishṇu. |
| 5. Bharadvāja. | 32. Buddhavarman. |
| 6. Drōṇa. | 33. Skandavarman. |
| 7. Āsvatthāman. | 34. Kumāravishṇu. |
| 8. Pallava. | 35. Buddhavarman. |
| 9. Aśoka. | 36. Skandavarman. |
| 10. Harigupta. | 37. Viṣṇugōpa. |
| 11. Bhūtadatta. | 38. Viṣṇudāsa. |
| 12. Sāryavarman. | 39. Skandavarman. |
| 13. | 40. Siṁhavarman. |
| 14. Viṣṇugōpa. | 41. Viravarman. |
| 15. Dhṛitaka. | 42. Skandavarman. |
| 16. Kaṇḍa. | 43. Siṁhavarman. |
| 17. Jyāmalla. | 44. Skandavarman. |
| 18. Ripumalla. | 45. Nandivarman. |
| 19. Vimala. | 46. Siṁhavarman. |
| 20. Kōṅkaṇi. | 47. Siṁhavarman. |
| 21. Kāṇabhartṛi. | 48. Viṣṇugōpa. |
| 22. Chūtāpallava. | 49. Siṁhavarman. |
| 23. Virakurcha. | 50. Siṁhavishṇu. |
| 24. Chandrarvarman. | 51. Mahēndrarvarman. |
| 25. Karāṇa. | 52. Narasiṁhavarman. |
| 26. Viṣṇugōpa. | 53. Mahēndrarvarman. |
| 27. Skandamūla. | 54. Paramēśvaravarman. |

¹ Read विश्व^०.² Read "बार्ज्जनसुक्ल^०".³ Read जीयात्महै^०.⁴ Read करो.

⁵ It is difficult to rectify this corrupt passage. श्रीमेघ is perhaps a mistake for वंश and रद्वोष corrected into रद्वोष perhaps stands for रद्विकर, an ocean. Among the numerous titles of Rājāsīmha given in the Conjeevaram inscription the only one which ends in *chandra* is Udayachandrah. [Analogy with परिचरणे...कामः and the epithets like *avanidivakara*, *chandradanda* and *udayachandra* would suggest that the reading might be श्रीमेघो विप्रसख्ये करविभवकरे श्रीमरद्वोष चन्द्रः — Ed.].

⁶ This is again corrupt. Metrically one long and one short syllables are wanting. श्रीवाहवदित हामह्यब्दः appears to be a possible emendation of the latter part of the compound. Can the first part be रन्तादाच

(Ll. 9 to 11.) Be he victorious, the royal lion (*Rājasimha*) on (the top of) the chief mountain of the glorious Pallava race, whose spotless fame as the lion of warriors (*Kṣatrasimha*) is widely known, whose crown is resplendent with the crest-jewel, viz. Mahāśvara (*Śiva*), the lion among lords of kings (*Narēndrasimha*) of the whole earth, and an Arjuna in battle (*Yudhārjuna*).

(Ll. 11 to 14.) May he exercise the royal prerogative and take up the vow of administering (his) subjects up to the extremities of his kingdom, as even to include the thousand-islands,¹ he, who is known by the name "the great wrestler" (*Mahāmalla*) on account of his (skill in) hand-to-hand fight, who is excessively devoted (*Atyantakāma*) ever to serve at the pair of the lotus-feet of Śambhu (*Śiva*), who is the blessed cloud (*Śrī-Māgha*) that makes the mass of crops, the Brahmans, prosperous, who is the Moon to the ocean of (his) race, "the victorious in battle" (*Raṇajaya*) and "the storehouse of prosperity" (*Śrinidhi*) !

No. 19.—BRAHMI INSCRIPTION ON A WOODEN PILLAR FROM KIRARI.

By HIRANANDA SASTRI, M.A., M.O.I.

Kirārī is a small village in the Chhattisgarh Division of the Central Provinces. It lies some ten miles to the west of Chandarpur and about twenty miles to the south-east of Kharsīā, which leads to the Jogimārā cave, so well known for its very ancient fresco-paintings as well as early Brāhmī inscriptions. The river Mahānadi flows some four miles to the south of it. Outside this village there lies a large and old tank called Hirābandh which is rather an embankment meant to collect the overflowing rain water at the time of floods. Owing to draught this tank had dried up and in April 1921 the agriculturists of the village began digging its bed to throw the fertilizing silt over their fields. On the 29th or 30th of that month they hit upon a wooden pillar which they removed from the mud and placed in the sun, not knowing the disservice they were doing thereby to the cause of Indian Epigraphy for, the moment the pillar began to dry a good deal of its surface peeled off carrying with it the major portion of the invaluable record which was incised on the pillar. Noticing that the pillar bore some letters on it some of the villagers called their Pandit, named Lakshmīprasāda Upādhyāya, to see if he could read the writing. Failing to make it out he very carefully took an eye-copy of all the letters which he noticed on the pillar at the time of his arrival, not omitting even the faintest traces of a letter over it. Apparently, he was not aware how the record ran, which side came first or which was the top or bottom of the letters. Like a true copyist he wrote out each line separately on sheets of paper available to him at the time according to the maxim of writers :—

यादृशं पुस्तकं दृष्टं तादृशं लिखितं मया । यदि शुद्धमशुद्धं वा मम दोषो न विद्यते ॥

¹ This is a doubtful translation of the word *दीपलक्षम्*. I propose to take it as an *avyayibhāva* deriving it from *दीपा* लक्ष्यन्ते यस्मिन् कर्मणि इति. [*दीपा*: लक्ष् यस्मिन्, etc., is another suggestion—H. S.] If this interpretation is correct, it shows that the Pallava rule must have extended in the time of Rājasimha even to the distant islands in the ocean. The word *दीपलक्षम्* may also be corrected into *दीपलक्षत* and with *या* repeated we may translate 'up to the thousand islands.'

Could there be a reference by *dhevanī* in the word *दीपलक्षम्* to the Laccadive Islands called *लक्षदीप* in Sanskrit? The exact relation that might have then existed between the Pallava king Rājasimha and the Laccadive Islands has nowhere been found. In this connection it may not be out of place to point out that Dr. Vogel in his learned contribution on the Yūpa inscriptions of king Mūlavarmā from Koetei (East-Borneo) (*Nederlandsch-Indië*, 1918, p. 192) asks :—"Supposed the powerful Pallava princes of Kāñchīpura had equipped armadas and carried their arms to the remote shores of Champā and Java, may we not assume that their conquests on the far side of the ocean would have been extolled in their *prastāva* with no less effusion than we find lavished on their victories over the Chālukyas?" Here we have, though not a *prastāva*, at least a significant hint that the Pallava dominion was ambitious enough to extend to the distant islands.

Inscription No. III.

The slab bearing this inscription was secured from the village of *Hasanābād* close to ancient remains of *Kosam*. It was lying near a well and would appear to have been used sharpening tools and other utilitarian purposes. The slab is rounded at the top and a portion of it is broken off at the bottom. Its present dimensions are 2' 10" in height and the same width, the thickness being only 3". Only four lines of the inscription now remain in the upper round portion of the stone, but that originally the record covered some more space of the slab obvious from the traces of *akṣaras* which have survived in the rest of the defaced surface. The characters are similar to those of inscription No. II, like which the record is composed in *Sanskrit*. The only information of any interest obtainable from the inscription is the name of the ruler which on the analogy of the ruler's name in the preceding epigraph has been read *Mahārāja Śrī-Bhadram[ēgha]*. It is gratifying to note that in this inscription it is possible to make out the date with a considerable degree of certainty and it is the 5th day of the fortnight of the rainy season in the year 88. The era unfortunately is not given but if, as seems likely, it was the Gupta era, the corresponding Christian year would be 407 A.D. This, however, is a mere conjecture. *Śivamēgha* mentioned in Inscription No. II and *Bhadram[ēgha]* of the present inscription presumably belonged to the same dynasty about which we at present know nothing more.

TEXT.

- 1 . . Mahārājasya śrī-Bhadram[ēghasya]
- 2 [Samvatsa]rē 80 8 varsha paksha 3 divasa 5
- 3 sya Śamarasya(?) puttra Him[i]ṅgana
- 4 ayayādāvadāra¹.

No. 21.—TWO COPPER-PLATE GRANTS OF KRISHNADEVARAYA.

BY THE LATE T. A. GOPINATHA RAO, M.A., TRIVANDRUM, AND K. AMRITA RAO, M.A., MADRAS

The two inscriptions edited below are engraved upon two sets of copper-plates belonging to the Ranganāthasvāmin temple at *Śrirāṅgam*. They are edited for the first time from impressions prepared under the supervision of one of us.

A.—INSCRIPTION OF SAKA-SAMVAT 1436.

This record (No. 23 of the *Madras Epigraphist's Copper-plate Collection* for 1905-06) is engraved upon three plates, which are strung together on a ring which bears a circular seal. On the seal are shaped in half relief a boar, the sun and the moon—the usual Vijayanagara emblems. The first side of the first plate and the second side of the third are left without writing, and the rims of the plates are raised. The writing is consequently very well preserved. The plates are numbered with the Telugu-Kannada numerals 1, 2 and 3 engraved on the second side of the first, and on the first side of the second and third plates respectively to the right of the ring-hole.

The alphabet in which the epigraph is written is *Nandināgarī*, and the language is *Sanskrit*. At the end of the inscription is the word *Śrī-Virapākṣa*, the sign-manual of the king, written in the Telugu-Kannada alphabet. The inscription almost always employs the *anusvara*, wherever the nasals have to be used. The *t* in conjunct consonants is usually doubled unnecessarily, as in *prattya* in ll. 4 and 52, in *kirttya* in ll. 28 and 44, in *vrajādittya*¹ in l. 41, in *avarttya*¹ in l. 55, in *ittiyukṣa* in l. 60, *ittya* in l. 62 and *nittya* in l. 65. There occur also omissions of letters in some places, due to the carelessness of the engraver, e.g., *t* in *vyatānti* in

¹ My attention has been kindly drawn to the existence of the first *dā* in this word by Mr. H. Krishna Sastri. The meaning of the compound is uncertain. It may perhaps be interpreted as *ārya-yādava-dārāḥ*, the wife of the noble Yādava, who ever he was.

l. 21, *āt* in *Nṛsiṃhāndrāt* in l. 25, *t* in *akārshīt* in l. 31, the secondary *ā* symbol in *yā* in *hiraṇyā* in l. 40, *t* in *lāṅgalyatānt* in l. 41 and so on; these omissions are supplied in the transcript with an asterisk. The *visarga* is also omitted in a large number of instances where it is wanted and there again it is inserted similarly in our transcript. Besides these cases, there are here and there verbal errors, and the corrections of these are effected in foot-notes.

In both the records the genealogy of the king Krishnadevarāya is given as follows:—

The Moon

Budha

Purāravas

Āyā

Nahusha

Yayāti, m. Dēvayāni

Turvasu

Pitama, m. Dēvaki

Iśvara, m. Bakkaṇḍ

Narasa,

who, having built a bridge across the Kāvēri, defeated the enemy, took him prisoner and captured Śrīraṅgaṭṭana; defeated the Chōra, the Chōla and the Pāṇḍya, Mānabhaṇḍa, the lord of Madhura, the Turushkas, the Gaṇapati and others.

By Tippāji

Vira-Nṛsiṃha

By Nāgalādōvi

Krishnadevarāya



The record is dated S. 1436, which corresponds to the cyclic year Bhāva, in the reign of Krishnadeva-Mahārāja of Vijayanagara. In this year, on a Wednesday which coincided with the Gō-dvādāśī tithi in the month Kārttika, the nakshatra for that day being Bharanī, the king granted the village of Ennakudi to the Brāhmaṇa Allala-Bhaṭṭa. Regarding this date the Hon'ble Mr. L. D. Swamikannu Pillai, Dewan Bahadur, writes:—

"S. 1436, Bhāva, Wednesday, Gō-dvādāśī-tithi in the month Kārtika, Bharanī nakshatra.

Āvina Sukla Dvādāśī is called Gō-dvādāśī (*Ind. Ephemeris*, p. XIX); but in A.D. 1514-15—S. 1436, Bhāva, Āvina Śu. 12 fell on Saturday, 30th September, 1514, and the nakshatra was Śatabhishaj. The day intended was probably Mārgaśīra Śu. 12, Wednesday, 29th November, A.D. 1514, when the nakshatra was Bharanī."

The name *Gō-dvādāśī* occurs in other documents also. We meet with it, for instance, in the ancient record of the Āy chieftain, Vikramāditya Varaguna (*Trans. Arch. Series*, Vol. I, p. 192); what observances there are on this particular *dvādāśī* is not known. On the date specified the king Krishnadevarāya, being in the presence of the god Virūpākṣa in the temple at Vijayanagara (Hampi), standing upon the bank of the Tūṅgabhadra and near the hill Hēmaṇḍa, granted the village of Ennakudi under the name of Krishnarājapuram to Allala-Bhaṭṭa, son of Varadarājarya, of the Ātraya gōtra, of the Āpastamba śūtra and of the Yajna śākhā, who was a master in the six systems of philosophy. The occasion on which this

grant was made was the giving of the *mahādāna* called the *Gō-sahasra*. The village granted is said to be situated in the *Chōlamanḍala-rājya*, that is, that province of the empire which was known by the name of *Chōlamanḍala*; the village was in the western portion of the division called the *Uyyagondachōlēndra-vaṇanāḍu*, which belonged to the [Tiruv]ārūr-chāvaḍi and was situated in the *Tirumihachchūr-paṭṭu*; the village was situated on the bank of the river *Kāvērī* and was to the east of *Karkaktai* (?), to the south of the canal *Nāṭṭāvākkāl*, to the west of *Pēlaikuḍi* (*Mēlaikkūḍi*) and to the north of the river *Virāntanāru*.

It is not quite patent how a document issued to a private person found its way into the treasury of the temple of *Raṅganāthasvāmin* at *Śrīraṅgam*. Perhaps the donor, a *Śrīvaiṣṇava*, was a native of *Śrīraṅgam*, and he may have either deposited the copper-plates in the temple treasury for safe custody or have presented the village with its original deed of gift to the god *Raṅganātha*. As regards the donee, nothing can be said definitely, as no distinguishing family names are affixed to his name; to which of the *āchārya-purusha* families he belonged is not easy to ascertain.

At the end of the document it is stated that the composer of the inscription is *Sabhāpati* and the engraver *Mallaṇāchārya*, the son of *Virāṇāchārya*.

The names of places, etc., which occur in the document are:—*Uyyagondachōlēndra-vaṇanāḍu*, [Tiruv]ārūr, *Tirumihachchūr*, *Enpakūḍi*, *Karkaktai*, *Pēlaikuḍi* and the rivers *Kāvērī*, *Virāntanāru* and *Nāṭṭāvākkāl*. Of these *Uyyagondachōlēndra-vaṇanāḍu* is the same as *Uyyakkondachōla-vaṇanāḍu*, an ancient division of the *Chōla* days. *Tiruvārūr* is a town of great importance for the large *Śiva* temple situated in it; it is in the *Negapatam Taluk* of the *Tanjore District*. *Tirumihachchūr*, same as *Tirumiyachchūr*, a place whose praises are sung by the *Śaiva* saints *Tiru-Jñānasambandha* and *Appar*, is situated in the *Nannilam Taluk*. The river *Kāvērī* is too well known to need any comment. The *Nāṭṭāvākkāl* is the same as the *Nāṭṭār*, which runs through the *Nannilam Taluk* and the French territory of *Kāraikkāl*. The river *Virāntanāru* seems to be the same as the *Virāṣōḷanāru*, which runs through the *Māyavaram Taluk* and disembogues south of *Tranquebar*. We are not able to identify *Karkaktai* (here the reading itself appears to be wrong) and *Pēlaikuḍi* (*Mēlaikkūḍi*) and *Enpakūḍi*.

The portions of the inscriptions A and B which contain the genealogy of *Kṛishṇadēvarāya* are similar to those found in other inscriptions of this king. For instance, vv. 1-28 of A are identical with those of the *Conjeeveram Plates* of *Kṛishṇadēvarāya* edited in Vol. XIII, pp. 126-129. Vv. 9-11 found in A are omitted in B. Therefore vv. 1-8 of B agree with vv. 1-8 of A, and vv. 9-24 of B with vv. 12-23 of A. Since the genealogical portion of the inscriptions A and B have been printed in the *Epigraphia Indica* more than once, they are omitted in the transcripts of the texts given below.

A.

TEXT.¹

[Metres : v. 28, *Bragdhara*; vv. 29-45½, 47½-50½, *Anushtubh*; v. 46½, *Giti*; v. 51½, *Śalini*.]

Second Plate : Second Side.

- 63 * * * * * स्तुत्यै[र*]दा[यः]
 64 [सु]घोभिः स विजयनगरे रत्नसिंहासनस्तः² क्षमापालान् कण्णराय-
 65 क्षितिपतिरधरोक्तरय नोत्था नृगादीत्³ [र*] चा पूर्वाद्रेरथास्तः(ः)क्षितिधर-

¹ From inked impressions prepared under the supervision of Mr. T. A. Gopinatha Rao.

² Read अ.

³ Read अ.

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- 66 कटकादा च हेमाचलाता¹(1)दा सेतोरथिसार्थः(ः)श्रियमिह बहलीकृत्य
 67 कोर्त्था समिधे(ः) ॥[२८*] शालिवाहननिर्नते² शकाब्दे सचतुः[*]शतैः
 षट्ति³[श]-
 68 ता च संयुक्तैः संख्याते दशभिः[*] शतैः ॥[२९*] भावसंवत्सरे मास-
 कार्तिके बुधवा-
 69 सरे । गोदादस्यां च पुण्यायां भरण्यां समये शुभे ॥[३०*] तुंग-
 भद्रापग[र]-
 70 तीरे हेमकुटोपशोभिते । श्रिविरूपाक्षदेवस्य संनिधौ मुक्ति[दा]-
 71 इ⁴नि ॥[३१*] आच्येयगोत्रजाताय वरापस्तंबसु⁵त्रिणे । यशस्विने यक्षुः[*]-
 72 शाखा[ध्या]यिने गुणशा[लि]ने ॥[३२*] ष[ड्]शंन्यंबुधेः पारदृश्वने श्रु⁶त-
 73 शोभिने । श्रीमद्वरदराजाय्यसुनवे सुनृ⁷तीक्ष्णये ॥[३३*] गोसहस्र⁸मह[र]-
 74 दाने विश्रुते शुभदायिनि । आचार्य्याय विशुंधा⁹य वाचाय्याय म-
 75 हात्मने ॥[३४*] पुरुषा¹⁰यै¹¹ सरस्वत्यै पुं¹²ण्यशीलाय धीमते । प्रज्ञाल-
 76 भट्टवेषाय शेषाय गुरवे धिया । ॥[३५*] चोलमंडलराज्यांतर्भू¹³तदक्षि-
 77 णरोधसि । पुण्ये(र) कवेरकन्याया दृश्यमाननिजस्थितिं । ॥[३६*] आरु¹⁴-
 78 रुचावडेरंतर्भावं चापि समाश्री¹⁵तं । विख्यातमुख्यपोडश्रीचो[लं]¹⁶-
 79 [द्र]वळना[डु]के । ॥[३७*] तस्यैव पश्चिमो भाग इति ख्यातिमुपाश्रीत¹⁷[र] । [र]-

Third Plate : First Side.

- 80 [म्ये] तिरूमिहचरुपट्टुके¹⁸ विहितस्थितिं । ॥[३८*] कर्कतैग्रामतः प्रा[चं]
 81 नाट्टावाक्क[र]*लप्रदेशतः । दक्षिणत्वं श्रितं¹⁹ पेलैकुडिग्रामाच्च पश्चि-
 82 मं । ॥[३९*] वीरांतनात्तुशी²⁰माया उत्तरस्यां दिशि स्थितं । कण्णरायपुरं चे-
 83 ति प्रतिनाम समाश्रितं ॥[४०*] ग्राममेणकुडीत्याख्यां विख्यातामाश्रितं
 84 वरं । सर्वमा[न्यं] चतुः[*]सीमास²¹युतं च समंततः । ॥[४१*] निधिनिक्ष²²-
 पपाषाण-
 85 [सि]द्धशा²³ध्यजलान्वितं । अक्षिण्यागामिसंयुक्त²⁴मेकभोग्यं सभूर-

¹ Read ला.

⁴ Read °ग्यां च.

⁷ Read सु.

¹⁰ Read स.

¹³ [The actual reading on the plate is पुंरुपायै.—which has to be corrected into पुंरुपायै.—Ed.]

¹² Read पु.

¹⁶ Read °मुख्यशीडश्रीचोले°.

¹⁸ Read र शत.

²³ Read श्रु.

² Read °श्रिते.

⁵ Read कू.

⁸ Read सु.

¹¹ Read °शुद्धा.

¹⁴ Read रु.

¹⁷ Read °सुपान्ति.

²⁰ Read सु.

²¹ Read सु.

²⁴ Read सु.

³ Read षट्ति°.

⁶ Read यि.

⁹ Read °सुनवे सुनृ°.

¹⁵ Read श्रि.

¹⁹ Read श्रि.

²² Read तिरूमिहचरु°.

²⁵ Read सु.

²⁶ Read सु.

²⁷ Read सु.

- 86 ॥ ४३* ॥ वापीकूपतट^१कौस कच्छेनापि [स]मन्वि[तम् १*] पुत्रपौत्रादि-
निः[र्भी]ग्य[म्] क्र-
- 87 मादाचंद्रतारकं [॥ ४३*] दानस्याधमनस्यापि विक्रयस्यापि चोचितं । प-
- 88 रीतः प्रयते[ः*] शिन^२गधै[ः*] पुरोहितपुरोगमैः [॥ ४४*] विविधैः[वि]बु-
धैः[ः*] श्रोतप-
- 89 विक्रैरधिकैर्गिरा । कृष्णदेवमहारायो माननीयी मनस्विना^३ [॥ ४५*] स-
- 90 हिरं'स्यपयोधारापूर्व[कं] दत्तवान्मुदा [॥ ४५॥*] तदिदमवनीवनीपकविनु-
- 91 तधरायस्य कृष्णरायस्य [१*] शासनमतिवले^४शासनतत्करदान-
- 92 ॥ सा[प]दानस्य [॥ ४६॥*] कृष्णदेवमहारायशासनेन समापति[ः*]
अमा-
- 93 शोभ^५[दुस]र्द्धं तदिदं ताव्रशासन^६ [॥ ४७॥*] त्वष्टा श्रीमन्नराचार्य[१*]
वीर[रा]-
- 94 शर्यनंदन[ः*] आकलयमन्त्रतेजैकां हृत्तिं शासन^७लेखक[ः ॥ ४८॥*]
- 95 दानपालनयोर्मध्ये दाना[च्छे]योनुपालनं [१*] दानास्व^८गमवा-
- 96 प्रीति पालनादचू^९तं पदं [॥ ४९॥*] स्वदत्ताद्विगुणं पुंण्य^{१०} परदत्ता-
- 97 नुपालनं [१*] परदत्तापहारेण स्वदत्तं निष्फलं भवे[त्] [॥ ५०॥*]
- 98 सामान्योयं धर्मसेतु^{११}नृपाणां काले काले पालनोयो भव[द्भिः] [१*]
- 99 सवा^{१२}नेतान् भाविनः पार्थिवेद्रान् भूयो भूयो याचते रामचंद्रः [॥ ५१॥*]
- 100 श्रीविष्णुपाद [॥*]^{१४}

ABSTRACT OF CONTENTS.

(Vv. 25 to 28.) King Kṛṣṇarāya ruled the earth, being seated upon the jewelled throne at Vijayanagara, in as glorious a fashion as (the ancient kings) Nṛiga and others granting ample sums of money to suppliants throughout the length and breadth of the land, from Seta to the Mēra mountain, from the Mountain of the rising Sun to that of the setting Sun.

(Vv. 29-35.) In the year one thousand four hundred and thirty-six of the Śaka era, corresponding to the (cyclic) year Bhāva, in the month of Kārtika, on a Wednesday, the Gō-dvādaśī tithi and the Bharanī nakṣatra, the king granted, in the presence of the god Virūpākṣa, on the bank of the river Tūṅgabhadrā and near the Hēmakūṭa hill (at Vijayanagara), the village of Enṇakuṭi under the new name of Kṛṣṇarāyapuram, to Allāla-Bhaṭṭa, son of Varadarājya, of the Atrāya gōtra, Āpastamba sūtra and Yajñs śākhā, who was a master

^१ Read टा^२ Read र^३ Read तार शासनम्.^४ Read चू.^५ Read शी.^६ Read चि.^७ Read ल.^८ Read न.^९ Read द्विगुणं पुण्यं.^{१०} Written in Telugu-Kannada characters. Read श्रीविष्णुपाद.^{११} Read खिना.^{१२} Read न्यू.^{१३} Read त्स.^{१४} Read शूट.

The village itself seems to have been situated on the bank of the rivulet called the Rushi river. In the Tamil portion the boundaries of Veḍambūr-Yēkānibarapuram are given as follows:—Tirukaḷambūr on the east; Tirukaḷambūr and Vēlaṅguḍi on the south-east; Vēlaṅguḍi, and Śēdirāyanallūr on the south; on the south-west Śēdirāyanallūr and Mānāvarinallūr; on the west Mānāvarinallūr; on the north-west the same (?); on the north Koṅgarayanellūr, and the same on the north-east. It was divided into thirty-two shares and distributed among Brāhmaṇas who had different *gōtras*, *sūtras* and *śākhās*. The names of the Brāhmaṇas, however, are not given as promised. One share each was given to the gods Viṣṇu and Śiva in the village; and the *śāsana*-engraver Mallanāchārya gets, as usual, one share for his work.

Regarding the date, the Hon'ble Mr. L. D. Swamikkanu Pillai, C.I.E., kindly furnishes us with the following note:—

"Ś. 1450, Sarvajit; Monday, Utthāna-Dvādaśī, in the month of Kārttika.

Kārttika Śu. 12 is called Utthāna-Dvādaśī (*Ind. Ephemeris*, p. XIX). In A.D. 1527=Ś. 1450 (current) Sarvajit, Utthāna-Dvādaśī or Kārttika Śu. 12 fell on Monday, 4th November A.D. 1527: the *tithi* commenced at 19 *ghaṭikās* after mean sun-rise on Monday and came to end on Tuesday at 15½ *ghaṭikās* after mean sun-rise."

At the end of the inscription we are told that the composer of the document was Sabhāpati, and the engraver Mallanāchārya, son of Viraṇāchārya.

The following are the names of places, etc., mentioned in the record:—Ēkāmbarapuram, Vaḍambūr or Veḍambūr, Tiruvālūr, Śūttavaḷichōḍa-vaḷanāḍu, Ālaṅguḍi, Mānāvarinallūr, Koṅgarāyanellūr, Tirukaḷambūdūr or Tirukaḷambūr, Śēdirāyanallūr, Vēlaṅguḍi and the rivers Kāvērī and Rushi. Of these Tiruvālūr has already been identified with the town of that name in the Negapatam Taluk; Śūttavaḷichōḍa-vaḷanāḍu, which is one of the divisions of the Chōla days, takes its name from the village whose modern spelling is Śittamalli and which is situated in the Mannārguḍi Taluk; Ālaṅguḍi, Koṅgarāyanellūr, Tirukaḷambūr and Vēlaṅguḍi are in the Nannilam Taluk of the Tanjore District. We are not able to identify Vaḍambūr, Ēkāmbarapuram, Mānāvarinallūr, Śēdirāyanallūr and the river Rushi.

B.

TEXT.¹

[Metres: v. 25, *Sragdharā*; vv. 26-43, 45-46, *Anuṣṭubh*; v. 44, *Śalini*.]

(Lines 1 to 52 have been omitted, as they agree with the text of the Conjeeveram Plates of the same king published on pp. 126-29 of *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIII.)

Second Plate: First Side.

- 53 * * * सुयोदार्थ² सुधीभिः स विजयनगरे रत्नशि³हासन-
54 [ख] [ः*] क्षापालः⁴ क्षणाय(ः)क्षितिपतिरधरीकृत्य नीत्या नृगादी-
55 [न्] । [आ]पूर्वाद्रेरथास्तक्षितिधरकटकादा च हेमा[च]लाता⁵[दा से]-
56 तार(ः)र्थिसार्थ(ः)श्रियमिह बह्वकीकृत्य कौर्ति⁶ समिधे ॥ [२५*] शालिवा-
57 [ह]ननिर्नो[त*] शकादे सचतु[ः*]शतै[ः*] । पंचाशद्वर्ष⁷कै[युक्तै*]ः सख्या-
त⁸ [द*]शभि[ः*] श[तै]ः । [२६*]

¹ From inked impressions prepared under the supervision of Mr. T. A. Gopinatha Rao.

² Read सुयोदार्थः.

³ Read शि.

⁴ Read क्ष.

⁵ Read क्षापालान्.

⁶ Read त.

⁷ Read संख्याते.

⁸ Read क्षापालान्.

⁹ Read शी.

in the Six Systems of philosophy and the *Śrūta* (i.e. the *Vēdas*), who was ever veracious, who officiated as priest during the *Gōsahasra-mahādāna*, who was pure, praiseworthy, the goddess *Sarasvatī* in male form, of good conduct and intelligent and in wisdom like the teacher *Śeṣha* (i.e. the serpent *Ādiśeṣha*).

(Vv. 36 to 45½.) The village granted was in the *Chōlamanḍala-rājya*, on the south bank of the *Kāvērī*. It belonged to the (jurisdiction of the) *Ārturu-chāvaḍi* (*Tiruvārūr*) and was in the *Tirumihachchūru-paṭṭu* the western half of *Uyyagondachōlēndra-vaṇaṇāḍu*. It was situated to the east of the village of *Karkaktai*, to the south of the *Nāṭṭavākkāl*, to the west of the village of *Pēlaikuḍi* (*Mēlaikuḍi*?) and to the north of *Vīrāntanāru*. It was granted with the enjoyment of the eight items of proprietorship, such as *nidhi*, *nikshēpa*, etc., as a freehold to be enjoyed by the donee and his descendants as long as the Moon and the Sun subsist, with the rights of gift, sale, mortgage, etc., by the illustrious *Kṛishṇadēva-Mahārāya*, who was surrounded (at the time of the gift) by his *Purōhitas* and a number of *Brāhmaṇas* well versed in the *Śrauta* learning, with pouring of water together with gold.

(V. 46½.) This is the *sāsana* of king *Kṛishṇarāya*, whose income from land is praised by suppliants for munificence, which is equal to that of the tree (*Kalpa-vriksha*) of Indra's region.

(V. 47½.) The copper-plate document was composed by *Sabhāpati* at the command of *Kṛishṇadēva-Mahārāya*.

(V. 48½.) *Mallanāchārya*, the son of *Vīranāchārya*, the artificer, who engraved this document on the copper-plates, obtained one share in the gift.

(Vv. 49½ to 51½.) The usual admonitory verses.

Line 100. (Sign-manual of the kings of Vijayanagara, the word) *Śrī-Vir[ū]p[ā]ksha*

B.—INSCRIPTION OF SAKA-SAMVAT 1450.

This inscription also is engraved on a set of three plates, of which the first side of the first and the second side of the third plates are left unengraved; the rims of the plates are raised. The writing is very well preserved. This set also, like the other set A above, has a ring and seal. The plates are not numbered.

The alphabet in which the record is engraved is *Nandināgarī*, and the languages *Sanskrit* and *Tamiḷ*; the earlier portion, describing the genealogy, the praises of the donor and the donee and the village granted, is in the *Sanskrit* language, while the latter portion describing the boundaries, etc., of the village granted, is in *Tamiḷ*. The sign-manual, *Śrī-Virūpāksha*, at the end of the document is written in the *Telugu-Kannaḍa* alphabet. The orthographical peculiarities of this epigraph are almost the same as those of the other. In addition to those already detailed under A, this inscription introduces *visargas* in a number of places where they are superfluous, and in these instances they are marked off in the transcript by round brackets. The engraver has done his business in a rather slovenly manner, allowing many omissions and errors to occur in the document.

The inscription belongs to the reign of *Kṛishṇadēva-Mahārāya* and is dated *Śaka* 1450 which corresponded to the cyclic year *Sarvajit*. In this year, on a *Monday*, which was also the *Uthāna-dvādaśī tithi* in the month of *Kārttika*, the king made a grant of an *agrahāra* to a number of *Brāhmaṇas* of various *gōtras*, *sūtras* and *Vēdas*. The village granted was *Vaḍambūr-Ēkāmbapuram*—its name being changed into *Kṛishṇarāyapuram* at the time of the grant. The village was situated on the south bank of the river *Kāvērī* in the *Tiruvālūr-sīmā* of the *Chōla-manḍala*, belonged to the *Śuttavālīchōḍa-vaṇaṇāḍu* and was in the *sthala* (sub-division) of *Ālaṅguḍi*; it was bounded on the west by *Mānavarinallūr*, on the north by *Kōṅgarāyanellūr*, on the east by *Tirukalambūdūr*, and on the south by *Vēlaṅguḍi*.

- 58 सर्वजिह्वसरे श्लाघ्ये कार्तिक्ये¹ चंद्रवासरे । उद्या²नद्वादशीति-
 59 [द्य]यापुं³ख्यकाले शुभे दिने ।[२७*] तंगभद्रानदीतीर(३) विरूपाक्ष⁴
 संनि-
 60 धौ । अग्रहारचकीर्षायो⁵ परमप्रीतिमां(१)⁶ तदा ।[२८*] विचित्राणि
 च [गो]-
 61 [त्र]ाणि [सूत्राणि*] विविधानि च । शाखाश्च विविधास्त्वानि⁷ नामानि
 विवि-
 62 [ध]ानि च ।[२९*] विभ्राणेभ्या⁸ द्विजाति[भ्यो] वेदविद्भ्यो विश⁹ षत[ः।*]
 भूदान-
 63 [प]ात्रभूतेभ्यो विश्रुतेभ्योधिमेदिनी¹⁰ ।[३०*] चाडमंडलसंमध¹¹तिरु-]
 64 [व]ालूरिसीमनि । ¹²शुत्तवळीचोडवळना[डु]आलंगुडिस्थले ।[३१*] क[र]-
 65 वेरिदक्षिणङ्गागे सर्वसस्यापशोभिते¹³ । मानवारोचने[कू]रुमा-¹⁴
 66 च्यां दिशिमुपाशितुं¹⁵ ।[३२*] कोग¹⁶रायाख्यने[कू]रुदक्षिण[स्यां दिशि]

Second Plate: Second Side.

- 67 [स्थि]तुं¹⁷ । ¹⁸तिरुकळं श्रीबूदूरुपक्षमायां दिशि स्थित¹⁹ [॥ ३३*]
 68 वेलांगुडिवर(१)ग्रामादुदीच्या दिशिमा²⁰श्रितं [।*] रुषीन[द्या]-
 69 ख्यतत्तीरग्रामपक्षमत²¹श्रितं ।[३४*] वडंबूरिसमं²² नाम येकां-
 70 वरपुरं तथा । प्रतिनाम क्रिष्णरायपुरमित्यभिशाभितं²³ ।[३५*] आ[म]-²⁴
 71 आसार्थं मस्यव²⁵ चारुग्राममहोत्तकं । ²⁶तग्रामपूर्वदिग्भागे सुच[च]-
 72 [वलि]मासक²⁷ ।[३६*] निधिनिक्षपपाषाणसिध²⁸साध्यजलान्वचः²⁹ । अक्षि-
 73 ख्यागामिसंयुक्तं समस्तवलयान्वित[म्*] [॥ ३७*] पुत्रपौत्रादिभिः(ः)भोग्यं क्र[मा]-

¹ [The reading is चंद्र and must be corrected into चंद्र.--Ed.]

² Read °त्या.

³ Read प्याः पु.

⁴ Read °अस्य.

⁵ Read यां.

⁶ Read °मांसं.

⁷ Read °स्त्राणि.

⁸ Read भ्यो.

⁹ Read श्रे.

¹⁰ Read विशु° and °मेदिनि.

¹¹ Read °वील° and °संबड°.

¹² Read °नाडावा°.

¹³ Read कावेर्या दक्षिणे भागे सर्वसस्तीपशोभिते.

¹⁴ Read मानावरिनङ्ग as in ll. 84 and 86 below.

¹⁵ Read प्राचीं दिशिमुपाशितम्.

¹⁶ Read क.

¹⁷ Read वम्.

¹⁸ Lines 80 and 82 below read तिरुकळंबूर without the penultimate consonant डू.

¹⁹ Read पश्चि° and °स्थितम्.

²⁰ Read °दीचीं दिशिमा°.

²¹ Read क्षितःस्थि° [स्थ at the beginning of the line must be changed into स्थ°.—Ed.]

²² The anusvāra on म is merged slightly in the top line of the next letter. Read एकां.

²³ Read प्रतिनाम्ना कक्ष and शोभितम्.

²⁴ There is a dot on आ resembling an anusvāra.

²⁵ Read °मस्येव.

²⁶ Read तद्गम°.

²⁷ Read सुक्षेमावलमसक.

²⁸ Read निक्षेप and सिद्ध.

²⁹ Read °नितम्.

- 74 [दा]चंद्रतारकं । सहि[र*]ण्यपयोधारापूर्वकं दशबान्धदा¹ । [। ३८*] तत्र
75 [दा]भिंशतिं² त्रित्तिकला[इ]त्वा समाहितः । त्रित्तिमंतो विलि[ख्य]-
76 ते [वे]दवेदांगपारगाः ॥ [३९*] श्व⁴ग्रामदेवयोश्चैव शैववैष्णवयो⁵रपि
77 । पूजानैवेत्यभोगार्थं⁶ त्रित्तिराद्या [स*]मर्पितं ॥ [४०*]

Third Plate : First Side.

- 78 तैस्त⁷समन्विताश्चिह्ने दिक्षु प्राच्यादिषु⁸ क्रमात् । सोमनुसा⁹ यज्ञा-
79 रश्च लिख्य[न*]ते दैवभाषया ॥ ४१*] वेडंबूरुयेकांबरपुरतुक्कु¹⁰ प्रतिनाम-
80 मान क्रि¹¹णारायपुरतुक्कु¹² येस्ते¹³ विवर¹⁴ [।*] किळकि¹⁵ तिरुक्कळंबूरिस्ति¹⁶
81 येस्ते चंदु¹⁷ मनेरु नडुविलु वामनमुद्रक¹⁸ ॥ आ[ग्ने]यत्त[कु]¹⁹ ति[र]-
82 कळंबूरि²⁰ वलाकंडि वेडंबूरि[ल*] यस्ते चंदु¹⁷ [कु]कुडिन वामनमुद्रक¹⁸-
83 लु ॥ ²¹तिर्क वै[ला]कुडि शेरिरायनल्लर²² वेड(।)बूरि[न*] येस्ते चंदु¹⁷ कुडि-
84 न वामनमुद्रक²³ ॥ तैमल्लमूले²⁴ शेरिरायनल्लर²⁵ मानावरी²⁶
85 नल्लर वेडंबूरि[न*] येस्ते चंदु¹⁷ कुडिन²⁷ मुक्कशि²⁸ वामनमुद्रक²⁹ लु²³ ॥
86 मेक्कु मानावरिनल्लर[र*] येस्ते चंदु¹⁷ कुडिन²⁷ वामनमुद्रक²³ ॥ ते-
87 कु²³ वडमल्ल मूलशार²⁹ येस्ते चंदु¹⁷ कुडिन वामनमुद्रक²³ ॥ वड[कु]-
88 शार [को]गरायनेल्लर[र*] यस्ते चंदु¹⁷ कुडिन वामनमुद्रक²³ ॥ वडके-
89 डकमूले³⁰ कोगरायनेल्लर वेडंबूरि³¹ येस्ते चंदु¹⁷ कुडिन वामनमुद्रक²³-
90 कल्लु²³ ॥—॥ येक्केव³² भगिनो लोके सर्वधामा³³व भूभुजां [।*] न भोज्या
न कर-

- 91 ग्राह्या विप्रदत्ता³⁴ वसुंधरा ॥ [४२*] दानपालनयोर्मध्ये दानाच्छ्रेयोनुपा-
92 लनं । दानात्स्वर्गमवाप्नोति पालनाद[च्यु]तं पदं ॥ [४३*] सामान्योयं ध-

¹ Read °मुदा.

⁴ Read श्व.

⁶ Read वृत्ति° and °र्पिता.

⁸ Read प्राच्यादिषु. The secondary ā symbol of प्रा looks like a line representing a stop rather than like the secondary symbol.

⁹ Read सोमानीसा°.

¹² Read °तुक्कु.

¹⁵ Read किळक्के.

¹⁶ Read नडुविलु and °मुद्रकळ.

²¹ Read तेक्के वे°.

²⁴ Read तेमल्लमूले.

²⁸ Read मुक्कशि.

³¹ Read वेडंबूरि.

³⁴ Read ता.

² Read चाचिंशतं वृत्तीः कल्पयित्वा.

⁵ Read यो.

⁷ Read तैस्तेस्ते° and °दिक्षु.

³ Read वृत्ति°.

¹⁰ Read पुरतुक्कु.

¹³ Read ए°.

¹⁶ Read तिरुक्कळंबूरि.

¹⁹ Read °ग्रतुक्कु°.

²² Read शेरिरायनल्लर वेडंबूरि.

²⁵ Read ल्ल.

²⁹ Read वडमल्ल मूल शार.

³² Read एक्केव.

¹¹ Read क.

¹⁴ Read °र.

¹⁷ Read एस्ते चिन्नु.

²⁰ Read तिरुक्कळंबूर वेलांकुडि.

²³ Read मुद्रकळ.

²⁷ Read चिन्नु कुडिन.

³⁰ Read वडकिळक्कु मूल.

³³ Read ने.

- 93 मशतुं नृ^१पाणां [काले*] काल^२पोलनीया भवद्भिः । सर्वानेतां^३ भाविनः [पा]-
 94 र्थिवेद्रा^४ भूयो भूयो याचते रामचंद्रः ॥[४४*] कृष्णदेवमहारायशासने-
 95 न सभापतिः । युक्तवान्मुदसंदत्तं तदिदं तांबुशासनं ॥[४५] मल्लणाचा-
 96 [र्य]वर्यः[*] श्रीवीरणाचार्यनंदनः । आकल्पमश्रुतायेक^५ त्रित्ति^६ शास-
 97 नलेखकः ॥—॥ [४६*]
 98 श्रीविरूपक्ष^७ ॥[*]

ABSTRACT OF CONTENTS.

(Verses 26-40.) In the year one thousand four hundred and fifty of the Śaka era, corresponding to the (cyclic) year Sarvajit, on Monday in the month Kārttika and the Utthana-dvādaśī tithi, the king Krishṇadēva-Mahārāya granted as an *agrahāra* the village of Vaḍambūr-Ēkāmarapuram to a number of Brāhmaṇas of various *gṇtras*, *sūtras*, *śākhās* and of different names, who are well versed in the *Vēdas*, fit to receive land-grant and well known. The village granted was in the Tiruvālūr-sima and belonged to the Chōla-maṇḍala; it was situated in the Ālaṅguḍi-sthala in the Śuttavaḷichōḍa-vaḷanāḍu, on the south of the river Kāvēri. It stood to the east of Mānāvarinallūr, to the south of Koṅgarāyanellūr, to the west of Tirukalambūdūr and to the north of the village of Vēlāṅguḍi, on the river Rushi. The village was divided into thirty-two shares and given to learned Brāhmaṇas by the pouring of water together with gold. One share was given to each of the gods Śiva and Viṣṇu in that village. (The rest of the plate is left unengraved, perhaps it was meant to fill up the names of donees.)

[V. 41 states that the boundaries, etc., will be given in the language of the country in which the village is situated.]

(Ll. 79-90.) The details of the boundaries, of Krishṇarāyapuram *alias* Vaḍambūr-Ēkāmarapuram are :—

- On the east the boundary line joins the boundary of Tirukalambūr and touches the stone bearing the *Vāmana-mudrā* in the middle of Munnēru.
- On the south-east the stone bearing the *Vāmana-mudrā* at the point where Tirukalambūr and Vēlāṅguḍi join the boundary of Veḍambūr.
- On the south the stone bearing the *Vāmana-mudrā* at the point where Vēlāṅguḍi and Śēdiyarāyanallūr join the boundary of Veḍambūr.
- At the south-west corner the stone bearing the *Vāmana-mudrā* at the meeting point where Śēdiyarāyanallūr and Mānāvarinallūr join the boundary of Veḍambūr.
- On the west the boundary line joins the boundary of Mānāvarinallūr and touches the stone bearing the *Vāmana-mudrā*.
- At the north-west corner the stone bearing the *Vāmana-mudrā*.
- On the north the boundary line joins the boundary of Koṅgarāyanellūr and touches the stone bearing the *Vāmana-mudrā*; and
- On the north-east the stone bearing the *Vāmana-mudrā* at the point where Koṅgarāyanellūr meets the boundary of Veḍambūr.

[V. 41-43. The usual admonitory verses.]

[V. 44 states that Sabhāpati composed the document at the command of Krishṇadēva-Mahārāya.]

[V. 45. Allots one share to the engraver of the *śāsana*, Mallapāchārya, son of Viranāchārya.]

(L. 98.) *Śrī-Virūpāksha*, (the sign-manual of the king.)

^१ Read °सुतं.

^२ Read कालि पालनीयो.

^३ Read तान्.

^४ Read °वेन्द्रान्.

^५ Read °उक्तवान्मुदसन्दत्तं तदिदं तांबुशासनं.

^६ Read °तमिका.

^७ Read वृत्ति.

^८ Written in Telugu-Kannada script. Read °विदुषाक्ष.



- 39 निं च गच्छति ॥[२० ॥*] न विषं विषमित्वाद्भ्रं(र्भ)द्वस्त्रं विषमुद्भ(च)ते ।
विषमेकाकिनं ह[न्ति] व्व(त्र)द्वस्त्र(स्त्रं) पुत्रपौत्रि(त्र,कं ॥[२१ ॥*] गर्भस्त्र-
(स्त्र)रः सुक-
- 40 विरल्लह ईशभक्तस्तान्ने(स्त्रं) चक(को)रनयनां(नो) लिखितं सुधाचिः । योद्वास
(य)लः सकलसि(ग्रि)ह्यनिधिः सुवु(वु)द्विकुलीर्ण(ण्)वा-
- 41 न्म भु(य)भप(पं)त्ति सव(द)चरं च ॥[२२* ॥]१॥ य ॥ या यां[य] ।
चेदीस(य)स्त्र सं ८३१

No. 12.—TAKKOLAM INSCRIPTION OF RAJAKESARIVARMAN (ADITYA I).

By K. V. SUBRAHMANYA AYYAR, B.A., M.E.A.S., OOTACAMUND.

Takkōlam, which is now a petty village in the North Arcot District¹ and a flag station on the Arkonam-Chingleput line of the South Indian Railway, was an important place in ancient times. It occurs under the name Tiruvūral in the *Dēvāram*, and is stated to have been situated in Tonḍai-nāḍu.² It is celebrated for its Śiva temple, referred to in the hymns of the Tamil Śaiva saint Tirujñānasambandar,³ who flourished in the middle of the seventh century A.D. Even at the present day, its Śiva temple is an old structure of the Chōla times, referable to the 9th century A.D., to judge from the inscriptions⁴ engraved on the walls of the central shrine. Besides being a place of pilgrimage, it is historically important as one of the ancient battle-fields of South India. In the middle of the 10th century A.D., it witnessed a sanguinary encounter⁵ that took place between the Chōlas on the one side, and the Rāshṭrakūṭas allied with the Gaṅgas on the other, the bone of contention being Tonḍai-maṇḍalam,—the plum of the Pallava dominions,—which had been snatched away by the Chōlas from the Pallavas⁶ in the third quarter of the 9th century A.D. The Chōlas were under the banner of the great Parāntaka I, the general being the valiant Chōla prince Rājāditya, while the contending Rāshṭrakūṭa was the famous Kṛishṇa III,⁷ allied with the Gaṅga Būtuga II.⁸ In the encounter, Būtuga managed to get into the *howdah* of the

¹ Regarding the situation of Takkōlam, see *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. V, p. 167.

² Tiruvūral is included in the first *Tirumūṟi* and is stated to be a place in Tonḍai-nāḍu.

³ Of the eleven verses composed by this saint verses 6 and 7 are lost and the rest are preserved in the *Dēvāram*.

⁴ The inscriptions of Takkōlam are registered as Nos. 1 to 19 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1897 and Nos. 243 to 277 of the same collection for 1921. The kings represented in them are Rājakesarivarman (No. 5 of 1897 and Nos. 255 and 260 of 1921), Parāntaka I (Nos. 8 to 12 of 1897 and Nos. 245, 246, 248, 249, 251 to 254 and 261 of 1921), Kaṇṇarādēva (No. 2 of 1897), Parakēsarivarman (No. 6 of 1897 and No. 250 of 1921), Pārthivēndrarvarman (Nos. 4, 7, 13 and 14 of 1897), Rājarāja I (No. 3 of 1897 and Nos. 247, 257, 258 and 259 of 1921), Rājendra-Chōla I (No. 15 of 1897 and 256 of 1921), Vimalāditya (No. 1 of 1897), Rājakesarivarman Vijayarājēndradēva (No. 262 of 1921), Rājakesarivarman Virarājendra (No. 19 of 1897), Kulōttuṅga I (No. 18 of 1897 and Nos. 243, 263 and 268 of 1921), Tribhuvanachakravartin Kulōttuṅga (Nos. 16 and 17 of 1897), Tribhuvanachakravartin Rājarāja (Nos. 265 and 266 of 1921), Vijayagandagōpāla (Nos. 264 and 267 of 1921), Rājanārāyaṇa-Sambuvārāya (No. 271 of 1921), Dēvarāya (No. 270 of 1921) and Sadāśiva (Nos. 269 and 272 of 1921). One bears no king (No. 273 of 1921).

⁵ This battle is mentioned in the Ātakūr stone inscription (see *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, p. 55).

⁶ This fact was first surmised by Mr. Venkayya in editing the Tirukkalukkuṅṅam inscription of Rājakesarivarman, dated in the 27th year of reign (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 279), and subsequently proved to be correct by a statement in the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates (*S. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 419, v. 49).

⁷ Kṛishṇa III is invariably referred to in Tamil Inscriptions by the appellation "*Kachchiyum Taijajiyum-kōṇḍa Kaṇṇarādēva*," (Kaṇṇarādēva, the capturer of Conjeeveram and Tanjore). The Doḍḍaśivaram inscription (No. 112 of 1899) refers to his having been encamped at Mēlpāḍi in the North Arcot district.

⁸ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, pp. 55 and 57.

elephant on which Rājāditya rode, engaged him in a hand-to-hand fight and put him to death, thus securing victory to his overlord.¹ Soon after, Kṛishṇa III is said to have marched through Tondai-maṇḍalam.²

To fix the date when the Rāshtrakūṭa invasion of the Chōḷa country took place,³ we may briefly state here the events of the period :—

- (1) A number of stone inscriptions of Parāntaka I have been found dated in years 40 and later and of these the latest known so far is one belonging to the 46th year of reign.⁴ His accession being in A.D. 907, the last date takes us to A.D. 953. In the face of the existence of this record which has been recently examined and found to be clearly of the 46th year and of another dated in the 45th year, we cannot place Parāntaka's death before A.D. 952-3.
- (2) The Kanyākumari inscription states that Parāntaka I himself fought with Kṛishṇarāja and defeated him earning thereby the title Vira-Chōḷa, though it does not state when and where the encounter took place.⁵ If the success attributed to Parāntaka I is to be taken seriously, we must regard this event as having happened before A.D. 944 when, as will be shown in (3) below, Kṛishṇarāja was occupying Tondai-maṇḍalam.
- (3) The Rāshtrakūṭa king Kṛishṇa III occupied Tondai-maṇḍalam in at least A.D. 944, for there is a clear record of his at Siddhalingamaṇḍam in the South Arcot District dated in the 5th year of his reign mentioning his conquest of Kachohi and Tañjai.⁶ Records of Kṛishṇa III show that he reigned for 28 years⁷ and one of them states in unmistakable terms that he died in A.D. 967.⁸ Therefore, it is certain that his reign lasted from A.D. 940 to 967 and that his fifth year fell in A.D. 944.⁹
- (4) A few years after his occupation of Tondai-maṇḍalam, Kṛishṇa III had to fight against the Chōḷas at Takkōlam. We have definite information in contemporary records as to when this happened and the whole course of events that followed. The Śōḷapūram record is dated in A.D. 949, which is stated to be two years after Kṛishṇa III had fought with Rājāditya and entered Tondai-maṇḍalam.¹⁰ Who it was that killed Rājāditya in the battle and what kind of entry is referred to here are clearly learnt from the Ātakūr stone inscription. It states¹¹ that at the time when Kṛishṇa III was fighting against the Chōḷa, Būtuga II (the Gaṅga ally of the

¹ *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. III, Md. 41 and *J. R. A. S.* for 1909, p. 443.

² *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VII, p. 195.

³ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XV, p. 52. Some of the statements therein made fall self-condemned.

⁴ Madras Epigraphical collection Nos. 384 of 1903, 232 of 1894, 82 of 1896, 520 of 1905, 310 of 1906, 225 of 1915, 345 and 353 of 1918 belong to the 40th year; No. 88 of 1892, 419 of 1903, 184 and 313 of 1906 and 149 of 1916 belong to the 41st year; No. 465 of 1918 belong to the 45th year and No. 15 of 1895 to the 46th year.

⁵ *Trav. Arch. Series*, Vol. III, p. 143, v. 48.

⁶ No. 375 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1909.

⁷ Quite a large number of inscriptions of the 28th year of this king have been found: see Nos. 125 of 1906 and 354 of 1902 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.

⁸ No. 236 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1913 from Kolagallu is dated in Śaka 320. Kṛishṇa, Phalguna, Śa. di. 6, Sunday, and states that Kṛishṇa III died in this year and Kottiga succeeded him. The date equivalent is Sunday, February 17th, A.D. 967.

⁹ Since the Deol grant of Kṛishṇa III is dated in 940 A.D. and does not mention his conquest of the Chōḷas, that event should have happened after this date and most probably in A.D. 944.

¹⁰ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VII, p. 195. The actual words used are "Sensī Śrī gāṇḍa iṇḍa Śāḷa vīrṣam eṇṇāṇṇ-ē' ipai-ōṇṇa chakravartī Kāmarādēva-cailabhan Rājāditya iṇḍa Tondai-maṇḍalam pūṇḍai-āṇḍu."

¹¹ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, p. 57, l. 20 and *J. R. A. S.* 1909, p. 445.

Rāshtrakūṭa king) made the *howdah* of the elephant on which Rājāditya was mounted the battle-field, fought with Rājāditya, stabbed him with a dagger and killed him. In token of appreciation, Kṛishṇa III gave Būtuga the Banavase 12,000, Belvola 300, Purigere 300, Kisukād 70 and Bāgenād 370. The same record further informs us that Kṛishṇa III having attacked Mummaḍi-Chōḷa Rājāditya and having fought and killed him at Takkōlam was going in triumph. Thus, it is clear that this entry into Tonḍai-maṇḍalam which took place a few years after the Rāshtrakūṭa occupation of that part of the Chōḷa dominions was the final triumphant march or state procession in the conquered territory when all obstacles had been overcome. It will be noted that Rājāditya died long before his father's death. Accordingly, we see that the Tiruvālaṅgādu plates do not state that he became king while they do say so with regard to his brothers.²

- (5) Twelve years after Kṛishṇa III had his state entry into Tonḍai-maṇḍalam, i.e., on the 9th day of March 959 A.D., he was encamped with his victorious army at Mēlpāḍi in the Chittoor district when he established his followers in the southern provinces, took possession of the estates of the provincial chiefs and began to construct temples to Kālapriya, Gaṇḍamārtanḍa, Kṛishṇēśvara, etc.³

The events of the period, in the order of occurrence, may be given thus :—

1. Before A.D. 944 . . . Parāntaka I fought with the Rāshtrakūṭa king Kṛishṇa III and gained victory.
2. A.D. 944 . . . Kṛishṇa III occupied Tonḍai-maṇḍalam.
3. A.D. 947 . . . Battle of Takkōlam : Rājāditya killed by Būtuga and the triumphant march of Kṛishṇa III into Tonḍai-maṇḍalam.
4. A.D. 953 . . . Last year of Parāntaka's reign known so far.
5. A.D. 959 . . . Kṛishṇa III's encampment at Mēlpāḍi and the establishment of Rāshtrakūṭa subordinates in the several provinces of Tonḍai-maṇḍalam.
6. A.D. 967 . . . Death of Kṛishṇa III.

The subjoined inscription is engraved on the west wall of the central shrine in the Jalaṇāthēśvara temple at Takkōlam.⁴ It is written in the **Tamiḷ** and **Grantha** characters of the ninth century and is in the **Tamiḷ** language. The record is in a good state of preservation. The Grantha letters used are *svasthi śrī* (l. 1), *sūryya graha* (l. 5) and *māhēśvarakṣhai* (l. 11). The *vū* in *Tiruvūral* (l. 6) is shaped as in Grantha. A careful comparison of the characters employed in this record with those of Parāntaka I found in the same place, shows that this inscription must belong to a slightly earlier period. It is worthy of note that while the Parāntaka inscriptions in this place do not use the *puḷḷi* or *virāma*, it is invariably marked by a small vertical line over the letters⁵ throughout this inscription, wherever necessary. The characteristic **Tamiḷ** letters that

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 55, l. 2.

² *South-Ind. Insers.*, Vol. III, p. 419, v. 54.

³ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, p. 281. It is stated in this inscription that Kṛishṇa III erected a high column of victory at Rāmēśvaram after making the Chēra, Chōḷa, and Pāṇḍya his tributaries (V. 35 of the Karhad-plates).

⁴ No. 5 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1897.

⁵ It is also marked in the Tirukkālukkunram inscription of the same king (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III, plate facing page 284).

show an earlier type are *śa*, *ma* and *ta*. The marking of the secondary *i*-symbol from right to left like a circle over the letter is another archaic feature that is worthy of note. The etymology and orthography of the record do not call for any remarks.

The inscription is dated in the 24th year of the reign of Rājākēsarivarman without any distinguishing epithets and registers the grant of a silver water-vessel with a spout, made to the temple of Tiruvūral-Mahādēva by Piridipadiyār, son of Māramaraiyar, on the occasion of a solar eclipse which occurred on the first day of the bright fortnight in the month of Āṇi. The donor Piridipadiyār is no doubt identical with the Gaṅga Prithvīpati II, son of Mārasimha, who is referred to by the name of Māramaraiyar here.¹ It was on this Gaṅga chief that the Chōḷa king Parāntaka I (A.D. 907 to 953) conferred later on the Bāṇa kingdom which he had obtained by defeating the then reigning Bāṇa chief, along with the feudatory title Śembiyaṇ Māvali-Vāṇarāyaṇ.² Since before Parāntaka I the only Chōḷa king that bore the title Rājākēsarivarman was Āditya I, this inscription must belong to him. Palaeographical considerations and the fact that Prithvīpati II figures as donor in this record point to the same conclusion.

The importance of this inscription consists in the fact that it can, with certainty, be ascribed to the Chōḷa Āditya I; that it enables us to fix the date of his accession to the throne which has not hitherto been done; besides, it also reveals the fact that the Gaṅgas under Prithvīpati II assumed a subordinate position under, or were at least friendly towards, the Chōḷas even during the reign of Āditya I, as they certainly were in the time of Parāntaka I.

It is reported in the Udayēndiram grant that the Gaṅga king Prithvīpati I, grandfather of the donor of our record, fought on the side of the Pallava Aparājita against the Pāṇḍya king Varaguṇa in the battle at Śrīpurambiyam and secured victory for his ally, though he himself lost his life in the strife.³ The Pāṇḍya king Varaguṇa, who was defeated in this battle, is no doubt Vatruguṇavarman, the eldest son of Śrīmāra Parachakrakōlāhala.⁴ Of his reign an inscription had been found at Aivarmalai⁵ in the Madura district dated in the 8th year and Śaka 792, from which it is learnt that he ascended the throne in A.D. 862. It is clear that the battle of Śrīpurambiyam must, therefore, have been fought some time after that date, perhaps in about A.D. 870. The victor in this battle, *i.e.*, the Pallava king Aparājita, continued his rule for some time⁶ when he had to encounter a more formidable foe in the Chōḷa Āditya I. The Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates state that Āditya I defeated the Pallava Aparājita, gained victory and took possession of his dominions.⁷ This must have happened in about A.D. 870.

The statement made in this inscription that in the 24th year of the king's reign there was a solar eclipse in the month of Āṇi is of the utmost importance, for it enables us to fix the year of his accession to the throne as will be shown presently. Keeping A.D. 907, the year of accession of Parāntaka I, as the last year of the reign of Āditya I, we have to look for the date meant in the

¹ Prithvīpati I, having died in the battle of Śrīpurambiyam, it is impossible that he might be meant in this record though Māramaraiyar may be equated with Śivamāra or Mārasimha.

² See *S. I. I.*, Vol. II, page 384. See also Sholingur inscription of Parāntaka I (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, page 224), where the following words अलभत पदमयं प्रसादं वःशाधि राजपदलंभनसाधनं are used with reference to the title obtained by Prithvīpati II from Parāntaka I.

³ See *S. I. I.*, Vol. II, p. 384, v. 18, and *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, p. 87.

⁴ *A. R. on Epigraphy* for 1907, Pt. II, page 66 f.

⁵ No. 705 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1905.

⁶ The inscriptions of Aparājita range in date from the 2nd to the 18th year of reign (see No. 435 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1905 and No. 351 of the same collection for 1908).

⁷ *S. I. I.* Vol. III, p. 419, v. 49.

inscription. From Mr. L. D. Swamikkannu Pillai's *Indian Ephemeris*, it is seen that before A.D. 907 the following are the dates when solar eclipses occurred in the month of Āṇi:—

1. Saturday, 5th June 829 A.D.
2. Thursday, 5th June 848 A.D.
3. Saturday, 16th June 866 A.D.
4. Friday, 6th June 867 A.D.
5. Saturday, 27th May 876 A.D.
6. Wednesday, 16th June 885 A.D.
7. Friday, 7th June 894 A.D.
8. Wednesday, 28th May 895 A.D.

It may be noted at the start that as Parāntaka I had had a long reign extending to 46 years, Āditya I, his father, could not have reigned as long. And if the fact that the Pallava king Aparājita and his Gaṅga ally Prithvīpati I fought at Śrīpurambiyam in the Tanjore district not far from the new capital of the Chōlas, without the Chōlas taking any part in it, against the Pāṇḍya king Varaguṇa,—which event must have taken place after A.D. 862, the year of accession of Varaguṇa and somewhere about 870,—could suggest anything, it is that the Chōlas had not formed themselves into a power to count for much. For these reasons, we cannot place the date of accession of Āditya I, prior to A.D. 862. As such, we can safely leave out of consideration the first six probable date-equivalents of the details given in our record, since they give an accession date earlier than A.D. 862. Thus, the only two probable equivalents of the day of the solar eclipse in Āṇi given in this inscription are 7th June 894 A.D. and 28th May 895 A.D. which would place the accession of Āditya I in A.D. 870 or 871 and give him a rule of 36 or 37 years. The only other equivalent that is worthy of consideration is 16th June A.D. 885. This would place Āditya's accession in A.D. 861 and give him a long reign of 46 years. In the absence of any evidence to show that Āditya I was a mere boy at the time of his coronation, one would rather hesitate to adopt this as a probable date for the reason that the reigns of Āditya and his son Parāntaka I would cover a period of 92 years.¹ Sometime after his accession to the throne Āditya I should have thought it opportune to try issues with the Pallava victor of Śrīpurambiyam, i.e., Aparājita. While the Tiruvālaṅgālu plates state that Āditya fought with the Pallava Aparājita and defeated him,² the Kanyākumāri inscription goes further and explicitly declares that he killed him and got possession of the territory.³ It is very likely that Aparājita, after having reigned for 18 years, lost his life and his kingdom in the encounter with the Chōla Āditya I.

Here it becomes necessary to consider certain inscriptions of Rājakesarivarman which have been thought, perhaps on palæographical grounds, to be of an earlier date than A.D. 907 and consequently as belonging to Āditya I, noticed on page 96, para. 20 of Part II of the *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1915 and for which 5 possible equivalents are noted on page 72 of the same report. Of these equivalents, the only one that agrees with one of the equivalents of the present record is the first which places the accession in A.D. 861 and which also we consider as highly improbable. I think these inscriptions of Rājakesarivarman should belong to some sovereign in the Chōla line who came after Parāntaka I and not to one that preceded him. My reasons for thinking

¹ South Indian history affords an odd example where the reigns of two consecutive sovereigns together lasted for more than a century. This is the case of Nandivarman Pallavamalla and his son Dantivarman; but in this case we are assured that Nandivarman Pallavamalla was crowned king while he had not reached the teens.

² *S. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 419, v. 49.

³ *Trav. Arch. Series*, Vol. III, p. 155, v. 55, where it is stated that Āditya, called also Kōḍaṇḍarāma, pounced upon and killed in battle the Pallava king who was seated on a rutting elephant.

that they are later than the time of Parāntaka are (1) that in two of these records,¹ which palaeographically indicate the same period, there occurs a village called Uttamaśīli-chaturvēdimaṅgalam which should have been so termed after Uttamaśīli, one of the sons of Parāntaka I as we know it from his inscriptions; and (2) that these two inscriptions mention a chief named Vēlāṇ Viranārāyaṇa *alias* Śembiyaṇ Vēdi-Vēlāṇ, who must have been so called after Viranārāyaṇa, one of the surnames of Parāntaka I. The only two Rājakesarivarmans to whom they could be assigned in my opinion, are Sundara-Chōla and Rājarāja I, both of whom coming after Parāntaka I bore the title Rājakesarivarmaṇ. The equivalents of the details of dates given in these records for either of these two kings are noted below :—

| No. and year. | Details of date. | Equivalent for Sundara-Chōla. | Equivalent for Rājarāja I. |
|-----------------------|-------------------------------------|-------------------------------|----------------------------|
| 74 of 1914 | 56th yr. Makara, Friday, Punarvasu. | 4th Jan. 964 A.D. | 2nd Jan. 991 A.D. |
| 101 of 1914 | 7th „ Makara, Tuesday, Ārdra. | 27th Dec. 964 „ | 19th Jan. 992 „ |
| 104 of 1914 | 76th „ Makara, Thursday, Māla. | 14th Jan. 964 „ | 11th Jan. 994 „ |
| 105 of 1914 | 76th „ Śiṃha, Saturday, Rōhiṇi. | 15th Aug. 963 „ | 12th Aug. 993 „ |
| 127 of 1914 | 6th „ Makara, Tuesday, Svāti. | 23rd Dec. 962 „ | 17th Jan. 993 „ |
| 130 of 1914 | 6th „ Makara, Tuesday, Ārdra. | 27th Dec. 964 „ | 19th Jan. 992 „ |
| 133 of 1914 | 5th „ Mithuna, Wednesday, Svāti. | 4th Jan. 961 „ | 27th May 991 „ |

The part played by the Gaṅgas in the political affairs of the Tamiḷ country calls for some remarks. In the beginning of the 9th century A.D., the Western Gaṅgas of Talakkāḍ were hard pressed by the Rāshtrakūṭas who under Dhruva II raided the Gaṅga territory, actually took possession of a part of it and twice kept in prison Śivamāra II, the then reigning Gaṅga sovereign. Not long after Śivamāra II was set at liberty and reinstated on his throne by the Rāshtrakūṭa Gōvinda III he passed away, and the country became subject to the rule of Rājamalla Satyavākya I, who tried to regain possession of the territory lost under the late king, and when he was effecting this, he found a fierce opponent in Baṅkēśa, a general of the Rāshtrakūṭas.² Fortunately for the Gaṅga this general was recalled owing to certain internal dissensions in the Rāshtrakūṭa realm, thus affording the Gaṅgas a breathing time. Rājamalla's successor Nītimārga had to face the rising of the Bāṇas who took up the place of the Rāshtrakūṭas in causing disturbance to the Gaṅgas, and this he did effectively by gaining a victory over the Pallava army at Rājarāmaḍu and capturing from the Bāṇas Mahārājara-nāḍu called also the Mahārājavāḍi (in the Cuddapah district).³ We find Rājamalla occupying the North Arcot district which should have been previously held by the Bāṇas and where their inscriptions are actually found.⁴ While this was the case with the Gaṅgas, the country of Drāviḍa was not in a state of

¹ Nos. 104 and 105 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1914.

² *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, p. 26.

³ *Ep. Carn.*, Kl. 90. Nj. 269, and Mb. 228.

⁴ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, page 140.



quiet. The successors of Nandivarman Pallavamalla could not command his strength or tact. A general like Udayachandra was also absent from the scene. The Pallava dominions were exposed to the rushing tide of the Pāṇḍya aggression which was ever threatening to sweep off at least the southern parts of it since the time of Arikēsari Māgavarman.¹ Seeing that the Pallavas were becoming weaker, the Bāṇas also appear to have aimed at independence. The trouble caused to the Pallavas which is evidently manifested by the Pāṇḍya king Varaguṇa-Mahārāja marching as far north as Araiśūr on the banks of the river Pennai,² and the pressure that was brought to bear on the Gaṅgas by the Rāshtrakūṭas and the Bāṇas, as we have seen already, appear to have brought about a union of the Pallavas and the Gaṅgas at this period. The Chōlas were then holding, be it noted, a subordinate official position under the Pallavas and this is in evidence in the Vēlūrpālaiyam plates which state that the Chōlamahārāja Kumārāṅkuśa was one of Nandivarman III's principal officers.³ The position of the several powers of South India at the time of which we are speaking is clearly brought out when the Śiṅṅamaṇūr plates state that Śrīmāra Parachakrakōlāhala fought at Kuḍamūkku, i.e., Kumbhakōṇam against the allied armies of the Gaṅga, Chōla, Pallava, Kāṇṇa and others.⁴ Not long after, we notice the Gaṅga Prithvīpati I, son of Śivamāra II, forming an alliance with the Pallava Aparājita and fighting against the latter's foe, i.e., the Pāṇḍya Varaguṇa.⁵ We can well imagine that friendly relations must have existed between the Gaṅgas and the Chōlas, the latter of whom held then a subordinate position under the Pallavas, while the former were their allies.⁶ This relationship should have continued even after the downfall of the Pallava power which was brought about by Āditya I: it is not unlikely that the Gaṅgas aided the Chōlas in the endeavour. The aim of the Gaṅgas must have been to secure help against the Bāṇas which they needed badly and which was fully obtained in the reign of Āditya's successor Parāntaka I. These circumstances clearly show the interest taken by the Gaṅgas in the affairs of the Tamiḷ country and account for Prithvīpati II figuring as donor in our record and the subsequent acquisition by him of the rule of the Bāṇa kingdom together with the title Śembīyaṇ Mahāvali Vānarāyaṇ from the hands of Parāntaka I.

TEXT.

1. Svasthi(sti) śri [||*] Kōv-Irāsakē-
2. śaripaṇṇma[r*]kku iyāṇḍu
3. irubattu-nālāvadu A-
4. pi-ttalai-ppiraiyāl
5. tiṇḍiṇa Sūryya-grahaṇat-

¹ The Pāṇḍya king Arikēsari Māgavarman is said to have gained a victory over Pallavamalla. Varaguṇa-Mahārāja is reported to have advanced as far north as Araiśūr on the Pennar and to have encamped there. Śrīmāra Parachakrakōlāhala called also Pallavabhaṇjāna is said to have fought the battle of Kuḍamūkku against the Pallava and others.

² *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, pp. 86 and 91.

³ *S. I. I.*, Vol. II, p. 512, v. 26 and the Tamiḷ portion which follows it. It is said of him that he was the heroic head-jewel of the Chōla race, that his glory was well known, that he had the liberality of Karṇa and that his conduct was upright.

⁴ *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1907, p. 68, para. 23.

⁵ *S. I. I.*, Vol. II, p. 384, v. 18 and *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, page 87.

⁶ All the circumstances so far known seem to suggest that Vijayālaya, the first member of the revived Chōla line, could not have had any independence. There is no question of his valour or chivalry. At the same time there is nothing to suspect the statement of the Tiruvāṅgāḍu plates that he captured the town of Tanjāpuri. What looks probable is that he might have done it being under the employ of the Pallava. Perhaps, he was left to protect the Pallava interest in the southern portion of their dominions, i.e., the Tanjore district, which was exposed to attacks for years by the aggressive Pāṇḍyas.

6. ti-nāṇṇu Tiruvūṇal-Mādēva-
7. rḱku Māramaraiyar magaṇār
8. Piridipadiyār kuṭutta ve-
9. ||i-kkeṇḍi nīrai muṇṇū-
10. rru-orubatt-eḷu kaḷaṇju
11. idu paṇ-Māhēśva[ra*]-rakshai [||*]

TRANSLATION.

Hail ! Prosperity ! On the day of the solar eclipse which occurred on the first moon in the month of Āṣi in the 24th year of (the reign of) king Rājakēśarivarman, Piridipadiyār (i.e., Prithvīpati), son of Māramaraiyar (i.e., Mārasimha), presented a silver ean with a spout weighing three hundred and seventeen kaḷaṇju, to (the temple of the god) Mahādēva at Tiruvūṇal. This (gift shall be under) the protection of all Māhēśvaras.

No. 13.—A FURTHER NOTE ON THE BEZWADA PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF
YUDDHAMALLA.

By J. RAMAYYA PANTULU, B.A., B.L.

Mr. C. R. Krishnamacharlu's note¹ on the inscription, named above, and his readings or interpretation of it cannot be accepted except in one case. He says that the word "bayanna" in the 3rd line of the 4th verse (l. 27 of the inscription) must be read as *mayanna* (*mba* does not scan well) and not as *maiyunna* as proposed by me. Apart from the difficulties of construction, Mr. Krishnamacharlu's reading offends the law of prosōdy in a very important respect. It was shown in the original article that the verses of the inscription are in the Madhya-akkara metre. The scheme of this metre requires an *indra-gaṇa* at the place where *bayanna* stands. *Bayanna* is a *ja-gaṇa* and a *ja-gaṇa* cannot be an *indra-gaṇa*. The possible contention that *ja-gaṇa* may have been regarded as an *indra-gaṇa* at the period when the inscription was composed upsets the whole scheme of the metre adopted in the inscription. The emendation *maiyunna* meets this difficulty and renders the passage quite natural and clear. Admitting that emendations should not be proposed where the original reading can possibly be adopted, it may be contended that this is a case in which the original wording of the inscription cannot be adopted and an emendation is necessary.

As for the contention that the verse should be so interpreted as to mean that it was king Yudhamalla, and not the god Kumārasvāmi that went on a pilgrimage from Chēbrōlu to Bezwada, it must be admitted that this interpretation is literally possible, though the interpretation offered already is the more probable one. Chēbrōlu does not appear to have ever been a Chalukyan capital.

The second point in the note concerns the prose passage in lines 29-36. The restoration of the lost letters suggested herein is problematical and rests upon emendations in other parts of the passage.

The third point is in regard to the reading and interpretation of the word 'vēṛṇu' in lines 39 and 40. The exact reading is certainly vēṛṇu but the interpretation put upon it by Mr. Krishnamacharlu cannot be accepted. 'Eṇu' is unknown to Telugu. In Kanarese, it is a verb meaning 'to be complete', and it can hardly be used in Telugu as an adverb in the way suggested.

The fourth and last point is in regard to the reading and interpretation of the concluding portion of the inscription consisting of the last two letters of line 44 and lines 45 and 46. The deci-

¹ [See above, Vol. XV, p. 364 f.—Ed.]

phering of this passage is quite correct. Mr. Krishnamacharlu takes the last two syllables *kunda* as a noun meaning 'a pillar', and interprets the passage *nripula kunda* as meaning 'pillar for kings (that recognize and maintain his charity)'. The Kanarese word *kunda* is identical with the Telugu word *kundamu* and means the same thing, viz., 'a pile of bricks or tiles'. This is not exactly a pillar. *Nripula kunda* means *kunda* of *nripulu* (kings) but not *kunda* for *nripulu*. 'Pillar of kings' does not give any sense. Yuddhamalla, apparently, erected this pillar for the purpose of having the inscription engraved thereon and not to the honour of unnamed future kings whom he wants to maintain his charity. How does this pillar serve the latter purpose? Is there any other instance of such a pillar being erected?

The passage, so far as it goes, scans exactly to the *Madhya-akkara* metre and the last syllable *da* which, for purposes of *yati*, matches with *ta*, the initial syllable of the passage, certainly suggests that the passage is part of a verse line, and a glance at the estampage cannot fail to show that the engraving is abruptly left off at this point.

No. 14.—THE KANDUKURU PLATES OF VENKATAPATIDEVA I : SAKA 1535.

By G. V. SRINIVASA RAO, B.A., MADRAS.

These five copper-plates were secured on loan from M. R. Ry. Uddi Narasimhacharya of Kandukuru, Madanapalle Taluk, Chittoor district, in 1921-22.¹ They have raised rims and curved tops with a ring-hole, about $\frac{1}{2}$ " in diameter, bored in the middle. They measure $9\frac{1}{2}$ " in height together with the projections and $7\frac{1}{2}$ " without them and are $6\frac{1}{2}$ " wide. To the ring, which is circular in shape with a diameter of $2\frac{1}{2}$ ", is attached, by a hole at the back of it, a sliding circular seal measuring $1\frac{1}{2}$ " in diameter. On this is represented in high relief a boar, advancing to the proper left, and a dagger pointing downwards, both cut upon a horizontal double line supported by a vertical line in the centre. Above the boar are the figures of the sun and the crescent. The plates with the ring and seal weigh 307 tolas. The ring had been cut when the plates were received in the office of the Assistant Archæological Superintendent for Epigraphy at Madras.

The inscription is engraved on the inner sides of the first and last plates and on both sides of the rest. The leaves are numbered in Telugu numerals incised to the left of the ring-hole on the first written side of each plate. The alphabet of the grant is Nandi-Nāgarī except the sign manual 'Śrī-Veṅkaṭeśa' at the end which is in Telugu, and the language is metrical Sanskrit. The portion in lines 148 to 152 is, however, in the Telugu language and is evidently an addition made after the original grant was completed.

The inscription shows the various orthographical peculiarities usually seen in the Vijayanagara grants, such as (1) the invariable use of *anusvāra* in place of the nasal and vice versa, (2) the treatment of the second letter as adjunct to the *rēpha* in conjunct consonants, (3) the omission of the *visarga* generally before the letters *śa* and *sa*, and also in a few other cases, (4) the omission of the first member in double consonants, (5) the superfluous use of an *anusvāra* before nasals, (6) the use of a stroke in addition to a hook after the vowel *i* to denote length as in consonants, (7) the occasional use of the letter *a* followed by *i* to denote *ai* sound in consonants, (8) the substitution of their mere vowels for the letters *ya* and *va* and vice versa.²

The grant was issued by Veṅkaṭapatidēva of the Karpāṭa dynasty and is dated in Śaka 1535, Pramāthin, Vaiśākha, śu. 12, which regularly corresponds to A.D. 1613, April 21,

¹ No. 9 of Appendix A to the *Madras Epigraphical Report* for 1921-22.

² See *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 236, Vol. IV, p. 299, Vol. XI, p. 327 and Vol. XVI, p. 241.

Wednesday, and is, therefore, nearly three months earlier than the British Museum plates of the same king.¹ After the usual invocatory verses, the inscription begins with the genealogy of the king which agrees with that given in all the other grants of the dynasty up to Tirumala I. Like the Dalavāy-Agrahāram plates² and the Viṣṇupākkam grant,³ this record also mentions the two sons of Tirumala by Veṅgaḷāmbā, viz., Śrīraṅgarāya and Veṅkaṭapatiḍēva.

In the course of the narration of his ancestry and its panegyric, the document mentions **Bukka** as having firmly established **Sāluva-Nṛsiṃha** on the throne, and his son **Rāmarāya** as having put to flight Kāsappaḍaya and captured the hill-fortress Ādavani 'protected by Sapāda's army of 70,000 Sindh horse' as well as Kandanavōlu. Kāsappaḍaya has been surmised to be identical with Kāchapa-Nāyaka of Ādavani⁴ who figures as a subordinate of Sāluva Narasiṅgarāya in Śaka 1420.⁵ Possibly Kāchapa, for selfish ends, made common cause with the Mussalmans who invaded the Vijayanagara dominions in Śaka 1425,⁶ and Rāmarāya continued his allegiance to the political successors of the Sāluvas under king Krishṇarāya.⁷ Sapāda has been identified with Yūsuf Adil Shāhi of Bijāpūr who is said to have borne the name *Savae*.⁸ The next important member of the line was **Tirumala**, the brother of **Alīya Rāmarāya**, who was the first to adopt the title 'Samrāt'. His successor was **Śrīraṅga** and after him came **Veṅkaṭa**, the donor of the grant and the last powerful king of the family. He was born about Śaka 1471 (A.D. 1549-50) if we can rely on the testimony of Barradas who says that he was 67 years⁹ at the time of his death which, according to Floris, took place in A.D. 1614.¹⁰ He figures as a subordinate of king Sadāśiva in A.D. 1567-68.¹¹ We learn from the *Vasucharitramu* and the *Chikkadēvarāya-vamśāvali* that during his father's time he was the Viceroy of the Chandragiri-rājya comprising the Tuṇḍīra, Chōḷa and Pāṇḍya countries, and had his capital at Chandragiri while his brother Śrīraṅga governed the Telugu districts from Penukoṇḍa. When the latter came to the throne, Veṅkaṭapati continued to be the Viceroy¹² and held the charge of the Telugu country also. This is gathered from No. 541 of 1909 which states¹³ that in Śaka 1502 (A.D. 1580) the Golkonda Sultān Hazrat Ibrāhīm Pādīshāh acquired Uddagiri (i.e., Udayagiri) by driving out Veṅkaṭarāju and captured the regions around Vinikoṇḍa, etc., and Koṇḍaviḍu.¹⁴ In the same year Śrīraṅga was taken captive by the Sultān who, with the help of the Haṇḍe chiefs, gained effective possession of the territory lying to the north of Penukoṇḍa. This event is mentioned in No. 70 of 1915 dated Śaka 1506 (A.D. 1584) which states that Ahōbalaṃ had been in the occupation of the Muhammadan chief Vībhurāmu and his Haṇḍe allies for about 7 years. Probably it is these reverses that account for a grant of land in A.D. 1579 to a temple at Mahābalipuram by Gōbūri Tirumalai-Nāyakkar for the merit

¹ *Ibid.*, Vol. XIII, p. 231 f.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. XII, pp. 159 ff.

³ *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, pp. 269 ff.

⁴ *Mad. Ep. Report* for 1920-21, Part II, paragraph 12.

⁵ No. 719 of the *Mad. Ep. Collection* for 1917.

⁶ Brigg's *Ferishta*, Vol. III, p. 348.

⁷ The *Krishṇarāya-vijayam* mentions Āravīṭi-Bukkarāju as one of the chiefs who attended the coronation of the king. (*Sources of Vij. Hist.*, p. 129).

⁸ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVI, p. 243, footnote 6.

⁹ Sewell's *Forgotten Empire*, p. 224.

¹⁰ Sewell's *List of Antiquities*, Vol. II, p. 251.

¹¹ Nos. 240 of 1897 and 163 of 1905 of the *Mad. Ep. Collection*.

¹² In No. 383 of 1919 dated Śaka 1496 in Śrīraṅga's reign he confirms certain appointments made by Tātā-chārya.

¹³ *Mad. Ep. Report* for 1910, Part II, paragraph 64.

¹⁴ These, according to the copper-plate grant No. 23 of 1910-11, had been conquered by Śrīraṅga in Śaka 1498. *Ibid.* for 1911, Part II, paragraph 57.

of Venkātapati.¹ The Telugu work *Rāmarājīyam* states that Venkāṭa chased the Golkonda army back and defeating it on the banks of the Penner settled, with his vanquished and suppliant enemy, the river Krishna as the boundary line between their territories. His faithful feudatories who helped him on these and other occasions were the Maṭṭa chief Ananta who calls himself 'the right hand of the Karṇāṭa emperor,'² and the Tanjore chief Achyutappa as well as his son Raghunātha who 'brought all the Karṇāṭa territory once more under Venkātadēvarāya.'³ But he had his own internal enemies to contend against; for we hear of a revolt of the Nandyal chief Kṛishṇama having been quelled by Venkāṭa early in his reign⁴ and of Kṛishṇappa-Nāyaka of Gingee having been imprisoned by the emperor and subsequently set free.⁵ Virappa-Nāyaka of Madura also seems to have aimed at independence. The *Chikkadēvarāya-vamśāvali* informs us that shortly after his accession, Venkāṭa sent his nephew Tirumala against Madura, but the latter received bribes from the chief and retired with his army to Śrīraṅgaṭṭaṇa. In spite of this, Venkātapati should have asserted his authority over Virappa as evidenced by later grants.⁶ We get some interesting glimpses into the history of this period from certain Jesuit letters⁷ noticed by the Reverend Father Heras of Bombay. About A.D. 1607 Venkāṭa had removed his seat of government to Vēlūr⁸ though Chandragiri was still 'the royal city.' Towards the close of his reign Venkāṭa had to yield to the rising chief Rājā-Uḍaiyar of Mysore on whom he had to confer the viceroyalty of Śrīraṅgaṭṭaṇa, as his attentions were diverted again by the troublesome Golkonda chiefs who threatened his dominions in the north. It was on this occasion that Raghunātha-Nāyaka of Tanjore came to his rescue and saved the kingdom from the Muhammadan invasion. It is probable that Muttu-Virappa-Nāyaka of Madura was also trying to shake off the Vijayanagara sovereignty, and therefore espoused the cause of Jaggarāya in the war of succession after Venkāṭa's death.⁹

The object of the document is to record the grant of some garden lands and fields at **Chandragiri** and **Gollapalle** for the worship of the god and the goddess at Tirupati during certain festivals specified in it. The grant was made by Venkātapatidēva at the request of *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Gōbūri Śēshādrirāja*, the son of Venkāṭarāja and the grandson of Pāpa-Timmarāja of the Solar race and the Kāśyapa-gōtra. Very little is known of these Gōbūri chiefs so far except the names of some individual members of the family. They first figure in the reign of Kṛishṇarāya at the time of his expedition against Kaliṅga,¹⁰ but came into prominence during the rule of Sadāśiva and his successors and had frequent matrimonial alliances with the latter.¹¹ We meet with a certain

¹ *Mad. Ep. Rep.* for 1910, Part II, paragraph 56.

² *Ibid.* for 1916, Part II, paragraph 75.

³ *Sources of Vij. Hist.*, p. 285.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 243.

⁵ तदाख्यो (तदख्येना) वार्तवराधिनाथः

रथैकतानो रघुनाथभूपः ।

आराधितं कृष्णनाथकं तं

अमीचयैकैकदेवरायात् ।

(*Raghunāthābhyaṇḍayam* of Rāmabhadraṁbā, Canto VII, verse 73).

⁶ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XII, pp. 159 ff. Copper-plates Nos. 9 of 1905-06 and 9 of 1911-12 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.

⁷ *Mythic Society Journal*, Vol. XIV, pp. 130-140 and 312-317.

⁸ This is probably in consequence of the revolt of Liṅgama-Nāyaka whom, according to *Bahulaśvacharitam*, Chenna defeated on behalf of Venkāṭa.

⁹ Sewell's *Forgotten Empire*, p. 230.

¹⁰ *Sources of Vij. Hist.*, p. 131.

¹¹ According to the *Rāmarājīyam*, Koṇḍamma, one of the five queens of Venkāṭa I, was a daughter of Ōbarāja, while two more daughters of his, Narasiṅamma and Baṅgāramma, were respectively married to Rāma and Venkāṭa II, the grandsons of Aḷiṇṇa-Rāmarāja. Other members of the family who had marriage connections with the Ārayiḍu chiefs were Gōbūri Veṅkaḷa, the father of a certain Pāpamma married to Śrīraṅge III, the adopted son of Gōpāla who was himself the son-in-law of (Gōbūri) Giriappa, and Yatirāju whose daughter Koṇḍamma was married to Rāma IV.

Ma'āmaṇḍalēśvara Gōbūri Ōbayadēva-Mahārāja as a subordinate of Sadāśiva in Śaka 1469 in an inscription at Ahōbālam,¹ though we cannot say for certain whether he is the same chief who is referred to as *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Gōbūri Aubhaṭarājayya in No. 543 of the Epigraphical collection for 1915, dated in Śaka 1482, from the Bellary district. About this period some more chiefs of the family are brought to our notice, who were connected with the Kurnool, Cuddapah and Chingleput districts. For instance, we find a certain Koṇḍrāju in Śaka 1473 at Koilkuntla,² a Narasārāju in Śaka 1478 at Toṇḍūru,³ a Gīriyapparāju in Śaka 1529 at Dudyāla,⁴ a Gōbūri Tirumalai-Nāyaka in Śaka 1501,⁵ and a *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Gōbūri Ōbarājayyadēva-Mahārāja.⁶ Barradas⁷ mentions a certain Ōbo Rāya as the brother-in-law of Veṅkaṭa and a Chinnaobrāya (Chinna-Ōbala-Rāya) as a brother of the traitor Jaggarāja who also belonged to the Gōbūri family,⁸ and whose daughter Bāyamā was married to Veṅkaṭa. This Ōbarājayyadēva should evidently have been different from Ōbayadēva, the subordinate of Sadāśiva, and possibly his grandson. He has been surmised⁹ to be a son of Tirumalai-Nāyaka of the Kunnattūr inscription with whom again, if we may hazard a guess, Pāpa-Timmarāja, mentioned above, and Timma, who married Ōbāmbā, the sister of Tirumala I,¹⁰ and was the father of Narasa, might be identical. In that case Veṅkaṭarāja, the father of Śēṣhādrirāja of the present grant, Ōburāja or Ōbalarāja and Narasa should have been brothers.

Of the places mentioned in the grant, Tirupati is called Śēṣhāchala and Phanīśvaragiri. Tanigatūru is a village in the Proddutūr taluk of the Cuddapah district. Chandragiri is too well known to require identification. Veṅkaṭājammapēṭa seems to have been a part of Chandragiri itself. The name Toṇḍavāḍi-taṭāka seems to be connected with the modern Toṇḍavāḍa near Chandragiri and Gollapalli is a few miles further east. I am unable to identify Gōpidēvīpāḷya. Like the Maṅgalampāḍ charter of the same king¹¹ this grant was also composed by Chidambara-Kavi and incised by Kāmāyāchārya.

TEXT.

[Metres : Verses 44-69 and 73-76, *Anuṣṭubh* ; vv. 70-72, *Āryā* ; v. 77, *Śalīrā*.]

Fourth Plate ; First Side.

111 * * * ¹²बाणशक्तिक-

112 ऊर्वेदुगणिते शकवत्सरे । प्रमाधीश¹³भिषे वर्षे मासि वै-

113 शाखनामनि ।[188*] पक्षे वक्रक्षे पुण्यर्क्षे पुण्यायां द्वादसी(शो)तिथौ । श्री-

114 वैकटेशपादात्मसन्निधौ श्रेयसासिधौ¹⁴ ।[189*] श्रीरामाकुच

¹ No. 63 of the Mad. Ep. Collection for 1915.

² Rangacharya's *Madras Inscriptions*, Kl. 110.

³ *Ibid.*, Cd. 635.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Kl. 401.

⁵ No. 255 of the Mad. Ep. Collection for 1909. See *Ep. Rep.* for 1910, p. 105, para. 56.

⁶ No. 332 of Mad. Ep. Collection for 1909.

⁷ Sewell's *Forgotten Empire*, pp. 223 and 228.

⁸ *Sources of Vij. Hist.*, p. 263.

⁹ *Mad. Ep. Rep.* for 1910, Part II, para. 56.

¹⁰ *Sources of Vij. Hist.*, Genealogy on page XIV.

¹¹ *Nellore Inscriptions*, Part I, p. 26.

¹² In lines 1 to 111 the first forty verses of the Viṣṭāpākkam grant (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, pp. 272-276) are reproduced with two other verses (Nos. 29 and 30) which occur in the Penagalūru grant as vv. 21 and 32 (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVI, p. 250).

¹³ Read प्रमादीश⁰ [The name of the year is Pramādīn.—Ed.]

¹⁴ Read श्रेयसासिधौ.

- 115 कस्तूरीचिह्न(ङ्क)श्रीवल्लक्षणणे । पूषातुष्ठांशुनेत्राय शेषाच-
 116 लकुटुविने ।[184*] स्वामिपुष्कर(रि)णीतीरधामनित्यविहारिणे ।
 117 इंदिराया जगन्मातुर्मदिराह(यि)तवक्षसे ।[185*] शयनालीनदु-
 118 ग्धाब्धिशैवाललतिकोपमां । वहते वारिजाक्षाय वक्षसा
 119 वनमालिकां ।[186*] शंखं चक्रं च वहते 'श्याभ्यामुज्ज्वलं' इवा ।
 120 दृशविति ज्ञापयते चंद्राकौ वामदक्षिणे ।[187*] महनीय(य)तरं र-
 121 त्रमकुटं नूभि(भि) विभ्रते । चक्षुर्भूतैर्दुमार्तीडजो(ज्यो)तिश्चक्रमि-
 122 वाश्रितं ।[188*] श्रीमहेंकटनाथाय श्रीनिवासाय विष्णवे । श्री-
 123 (श्री)वेंकटाचलेन्द्रस्य शिखराभरणाह(यि)ते ।[189*] प्राचीभागपरिष्का-
 124 रे शोणस्वल्पशिलोच्चयात् । नटलक्ष्मी[न*]रसननायकोद्यान-
 125 दक्षिणे ।[190*] विशालरथवीथ्याय वायव्ये दिशमाश्रिते । शयस्कर-
 126 जोयगारितोटादुत्तरदिग्भवे ।[191*] श्रीमद्भूवरिशेषाद्विरा[जा]-
 127 रामे मनोरमे । दीपयंतं दिशो दीप्त्या महार्घमणिमंट[पं] ।[192*]

Fourth Plate; Second Side.

- 128 ²पतिमासं भूषयतः फणोश्चरगिरीशितुः । विविधा-
 129 पूषनेवेद्यविभञ्जो(वो)त्सादनाय च ।[193*] तत्रैव स्वामिनो ज्ञं-
 130 न्ध³वसंतोत्सवयोरपि । नानागंधोपचाराय नैवेद्याय
 131 विशिष्य च ।[194*] 'सुकोटितीर्थनाञ्चारितेऽपदिष्योत्सवेषु च । शर-
 132 प्यर्थं च सततपुष्पदामार्पणाय च ।[195*] रमास्यदं चंद्रगिरि-
 133 राजधानीप्रसाधनं । गोपिदेवीपाक्ष्यराजवोधी⁴निधिपथा-
 134 दपि ।[196*] श्रीवेंकटाजंमपेटादपि प्राचीदिगाश्रयं । श्रीमद्भूउ(वु)ल-
 135 बंडाच्च दक्षिणस्यां दिशि स्थितं ।[197*] तीडवाद्रि(डि)तटाकांतसीमांता-
 136 दपि पश्चिमं । बु(उ)त्तरं श्रीगोपराजकाक्वाकेदारवैभवात् ।[198*] तंग ।
 137 टूरि कौंडुभट(ट्ट)मान्यकेदारकं विना । सूर्यका[कवा]सुभगतोदचे-
 138 चकदंबकं ।[199*] गोक्षपण्यासुक्कवडकात्वाकै(के)दारकाण्यपि । सर्वमा-
 139 न्यं चतुर्म्सी(स्त्री)मासहितं च समं[त*]तः ।[200*] निधिनिक्षेपपाषाण-
 सिद्धसाध्य-
 140 जलान्वितं [1*] च[चि*]ण्यागामिसयुक्तं⁵ देवभोज्यं सभूखं ।[201*]
 परीतः प्र-

¹ Perhaps a mistake for , करार्या

² Read प्रति°.

³ Read त्रक्ष.

⁴ सुकोटितीर्थ is the name of a tank at Tirupati. Almost every temple in South India has a tank or a well with a sacredness attached to it. The literal meaning of the first part of the word is 3 crores and the belief is that the tank has the collective virtue of so many sacred waters of the country. Compare the *Kōti-tīrtha* at Rāmeśvaram and the *Sarva-tīrtha* at Conjeevaram.

⁵ Read वीयपी°.

⁶ Read संपुङ्गं.

- 141 यतैः[*] स्निग्धैः प्ररोहितपुरोगमैः । विविधैर्विबुधैः[*] श्रौतपायिकैर-
 142 धिकैर्गिरा ।[६४*] कास्व(श्च)पान्वयदीपस्य कास्व(श्च)पोकल्पशास्त्रिनः । श्रो-
 143 सूर्यवंशरत्नस्य श्रीमतामग्रयादने ।[६५*] श्रीमन्महामंडलेश्वर-
 144 स्य सारस्य शास्त्रिनः । प्रतीतिमत्पापतिमराजपौत्रस्य रा-
 145 जतः ।[६६*] श्रीवेङ्कटमहोपालपुत्रस्यामित्रकारिणः । श्रीमहोद-
 146 रो(रि)शेषाद्रिराजस्य रवितेजसः ।[६७*] विशेषज्ञानभरितां विप्रसि-
 147 मनुपालयन् । श्रीवीरवेङ्कटपतिमहारायमहोपतिः ।[६८*] सहि-
 148 रण्यपयोधारापूर्वकं दत्तवान्मुदा^१ ॥ [६९*] श्रीवेङ्कटेश्वरस्वामिभ्यः क[६]-
 149 ड श्रेयिनदि धर्मकर्त श्रे(से)नामोदलारि लक्ष्यगारिकि^२ प्रतिसंवत्सरानकुम्ब
 ग २४

150 वरहालु । तोटवाक(कि)ट चलिबिद्रकुम्ब

Fifth Plate.

- 151 तोट श्रेषेवालकु ग्रासालुम्ब ई कास्वरोस्वलोनु क-
 152 ड्ड ग्रायनवधरिचिनाम् ॥ श्री ॥
 153 श्रीवेङ्कटपतिरायचित्तिपतिवर्यस्य कीर्त्तिधुर्यस्य^३ ॥
 154 ग्रासनमिदं सुधोजन^४कुवलयचन्द्रस्य भूमि(है)द्रस्य(१) ॥ [७०*] श्री-
 155 वेङ्कटपतिरायगिरा 'सिवसूर्यकवीन्द्रभागिनियत-
 156 या [१*] कलितोन्नतिचिदंबरकविरवदत्ताम्बग्रासनश्रीका-
 157 न् ।[७१*] श्रीवेङ्कटपतिरायस्त्रापतिदेशेन कामयाचार्यः ।
 158 गणपयतनयः[*] ग्रासनमलिच्छदिदं वीरणानुजस्तामं ।[७२*] दा-

Ll. 159-167 give five imprecatory stanzas *Dānapālanayōr*, etc. etc.

168 श्रीवेङ्कटेश

ABRIDGED TRANSLATION.

(Vy. 44-69.) In the Śaka year computed by the arrows (5), Śakti (3), arrows (5) and moon (1)—(i.e., 1535)—in the (cyclic) year called *Pramādin*, in the month known as *Vaiśākha*, in the bright fortnight, in an auspicious asterism on the sacred *tūlā* of *Dvādaśī*, at the holy lotus-feet of (god) Śrī-Veṅkaṭeśa, the abode of all happiness,—to the (same) glorious Viṣṇu known as *Veṅkaṭanātha* and *Śrīnivāsa*, and living at *Śeṣhāchala*, ever sporting in his residence on the banks of the *Svāmi-Pushkarinī* (tank), whose chest is made the abode of *Indirā*, the mother of

^१ Read 'वायिनः'.

^२ The second half of this verse is wanting though the sense is complete.

^३ This word is written below the line.

^४ Read कीर्त्तिधुर्यस्य.

^५ The letter seems to be a correction from ग.

^६ Read त्रिवस्य^७.

^७ In Telugu characters.

| No. | No. of lines. | Division. | Name of village. | The body of persons with whom money was invested. | AMOUNT INVESTED. | |
|-----|---------------|------------------------|---|---|------------------|------|
| | | | | | Kāśu. | Pon. |
| 1 | 8—19 | Kuḍa-nāḍu . . . | Korkai . . . | Crār . . . | 96 | 8 |
| 2 | 19—48 | Do. . . . | Nallūr | Do. . . . | 168 | 6½ |
| 3 | 48—69 | Do. . . . | Śāliyam | Do. . . . | 24 | 5½ |
| 4 | 69—82 | Valudi-vaḷanāḍu . | Varagunamangalam . | Sabhai . . | 110 | 0 |
| 5 | 82—95 | Do. . . . | Iranavāḷimangalam included in Triyambakamangalam. | Do. . . . | 32 | 0 |
| 6 | 96—104 | Do. . . . | Alambattam included in Gangaimangalam. | Crār . . . | 16 | 0 |
| 7 | 104—114 | Do. . . . | Mānavirapaṭṭinam . | Nagerattār . | 120 | 0 |
| 8 | 114—127 | Śrivalḷabha-vaḷanāḍu . | Kaṭṭāraimangalam . | Sabhai . . | 94 | 5 |
| 9 | 128—140 | Parāntaka-vaḷanāḍu . | Tinṇi included in Paraiśumangalam. | Do. . . . | 25 | 0 |
| 10 | 140—153 | Do. . . . | Māramangalam . . . | Do. . . . | 152½ | .. |
| 11 | 154—164 | Do. . . . | Tenṇekka....llūr . . | Do. . . . | 60 | 0 |
| 12 | 164—173 | Amṇaguna-vaḷanāḍu . | Avanipaścākaramangalam | Do. . . . | 60 | 0 |
| 13 | 173—182 | Kuḍa-nāḍu | Puliyūḍai | Do. . . . | 120 | 0 |
| 14 | 182—192 | Do. . . . | Kiranūr | Do. . . . | 214 | 0 |
| 15 | 192—201 | Do. . . . | Śaḍaṅgavikuriḱchi . | Do. . . . | 90 | 0 |
| 16 | 201—210 | Do. . . . | Kaṇṇuḷmangalam . . | Do. . . . | 16 | 0 |

| INTEREST. | | | | | Object for which the interest was utilised. | Fine in case of default. |
|---------------------------|--------------|---------------|---------------|--------------|--|---|
| Rate per <i>kāsu</i> . | AMOUNT. | | | | | |
| | <i>Kalam</i> | <i>kuruṇi</i> | <i>nāḷi</i> . | <i>uri</i> . | | |
| 2 <i>kalam</i> | 193 | 9 | .. | .. | For supplying daily 16 <i>nāḷi</i> of rice on ordinary days and 96 <i>nāḷi</i> for 3 days in the year. | 25 <i>kāsu</i> and double the quantity at default. |
| Do. | 337 | 3 | 4 | 1 | For supplying daily 1 <i>nāḷi</i> and 1 <i>uri</i> of ghee, 6 <i>nāḷi</i> of curd, 16 plantains, 4 <i>palam</i> of sugar, 40 <i>palam</i> of vegetables, 1 <i>uḷakku</i> and 2 <i>śevidu</i> of <i>kāyam</i> and double this quantity for 3 days. | 50 <i>kāsu</i> and double the quantity at default. |
| Do. | 49 | 2 | 1 | 1 | For supplying daily 2 <i>nāḷi</i> of <i>payaru-paru</i> for <i>kummāgam</i> , 3 <i>paru</i> of betel leaves and 56 nuts, together with double the above quantity for 3 days. | 5 <i>kāsu</i> and double the quantity at default. |
| Do. | 220 | .. | .. | .. | For supplying daily 2 <i>nāḷi</i> and 1 <i>uri</i> of ghee for 5 lamps and 1 <i>uḷakku</i> of ghee for 1 chain of lamps. | 12½ <i>kāsu</i> and double the quantity at default. |
| Do. | 64 | .. | .. | .. | For supplying daily 4 <i>nāḷi</i> of cow's milk and 4 <i>nāḷi</i> of curd. | 5 <i>kāsu</i> and double the quantity at default. |
| Do. | 32 | .. | .. | .. | For supplying daily 8 tender cocoanuts. | Do. |
| Do. | 240 | .. | .. | .. | For supplying daily 10 <i>nāḷi</i> of flowers. | 25 <i>kāsu</i> and double the quantity at default. |
| Do. | 189 | .. | .. | .. | For supplying daily 1 <i>uri</i> of <i>pori</i> and 3 <i>uḷakku</i> of <i>maṇḍu</i> and 16 <i>anai</i> of white cloth for the year. | Do. |
| Do. | 50 | .. | .. | .. | For supplying daily 2 <i>nāḷi</i> of rice for <i>bali</i> , and for four <i>anai</i> of <i>pudam</i> at the rate of 2½ <i>kānam</i> for 1 <i>anai</i> and 8 <i>anai</i> of <i>pudam</i> at the rate of 2 <i>kānam</i> for 1 <i>anai</i> to be supplied during the year. | 5 <i>kāsu</i> and double the quantity at default. |
| Do. | 305 | .. | .. | .. | For supplying daily incense at 1½ <i>kānam</i> , for 8 <i>anai</i> of white cloth at 7½ <i>kānam</i> each <i>anai</i> for 1 year, for curd at 2 <i>nāḷi</i> of paddy per day and for drummers at 4 <i>kalam</i> 10 <i>kuruṇi</i> 1 <i>nāḷi</i> and 1 <i>uri</i> per month or 57 <i>kalam</i> per year. | Omitted. |
| Do. | 120 | .. | .. | .. | For supplying during the year 4 <i>anai</i> of <i>udai-āḍai</i> at 3 <i>kāsu</i> per <i>anai</i> . | 12½ <i>kāsu</i> and double the quantity at default. |
| Do. | 120 | .. | .. | .. | Ditto | Do. |
| Do. | 240 | .. | .. | .. | For supplying 8 <i>anai</i> of <i>udai-āḍai</i> at 3 <i>kāsu</i> per <i>anai</i> . | 25 <i>kāsu</i> and double the quantity at default. |
| Do. | 428 | .. | .. | .. | For supplying daily 4 <i>nāḷi</i> of ghee for an ointment, and 3 <i>palam</i> of sandal at 1 <i>tulam</i> of sandal for 1 <i>kāsu</i> . | 50 <i>kāsu</i> and double the quantity at default. |
| Do. | 180 | .. | .. | .. | For supplying daily 7½ <i>kānam</i> of <i>karpūram</i> (1 <i>kāsu</i> fetching 5 <i>kūḷaṇḍu</i>). | 25 <i>kāsu</i> and double the quantity at default. |
| Do. | 32 | .. | .. | .. | To supply daily 8 tender cocoanuts at 1 <i>nāḷi</i> of paddy for 1 cocoanut. | 5 <i>kāsu</i> and double the quantity at default. |

- 206 nāli-nell-āga-ttirumañjaṇam ādi-arula ilanir valuvai utpada niva-
207 di iru-nālipukku¹ nāli-ilanirukku nāl-ilanir-āga niyadi idum ila-
208 nīr eṭṭu [*] i-ppariṣu śeluttādu kurtukkārpaḍil i-ttēvark-
209 kēy aindu-kāṣu daṇḍanum paṭṭu=chcheluttādu viṭṭa mudal=irattiṇ²=ku-
210 ḍuppadu [j*]

No. 18.—THE BHADRENIYAKA GRANT OF ŚILADITYA I: G.E. 292.

By the late Mr. R. D. BANERJI, M.A.

These two copper plates were purchased along with five others by the Trustees of the Prince of Wales Museum of Western India from the widow of the late Dr. Gerson da Cunha of Bombay. The place where they were found originally is not known.

These plates measure 11½ by 8½" and are joined together by means of a thick copper wire which passes through them. Only one side of these plates has been used for writing the record which consists of thirty-two lines, nineteen being engraved on the first and thirteen on the second plate. A copper seal which is oval in shape is affixed to the ends of the copper wire and bears the legend "Śrī-Bhaṭṭakkaḥ" which is usually found on the seals of the dynasty to which Śilāditya belonged.

The inscription has not been incised very carefully and consequently it contains many mistakes. Only a portion of it is incised neatly but the engraving of the rest (ll. 13-19) is very thin. It is written in Sanskrit and, with the exception of the three imprecatory verses in the second plate, the whole of it is in prose. The alphabet belongs to the Western variety of the Northern script of the seventh century A.D. As regards orthography, signs for *i* and *ī* have not always been distinguished, probably owing to the carelessness of the writer: *anusvāra* and *visarga* have been omitted in several places, e.g., *sa[m*]akta* (l. 5), *sāmānya[m*]* (l. 28), *atīśayāna[h*]* (l. 6), *-kāryya-phala[h*]* (l. 7), etc. : *ñ* is used for *anusvāra* in *cañśa* (ll. 3, 27) and *n* in *ansa* (l. 14) and *anyāś=cha* (l. 18); *n* takes the place of *ṇ* in *pranat°* (l. 4). In addition to the usual *daṇḍa* a dot has been used in two places to mark the punctuation, *cf.* l. 29 after *Vyāsena* and l. 33 after *Vatrabhāṭṭā*. The *upadharmāniya* occurs thrice, in ll. 10, 19 and 23, and the *jihvāmūliya* only once, in l. 17. Usually consonants have been doubled when used in combination with the superscript *r*, e.g., *mārgga-* (l. 5), *-śhairyga-dhairyga-gūmbhīryga* (l. 6), etc. The numerical symbols for 2, 4, 10, 90, and 200 are to be found in the last line.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of king Śilāditya I, who was the son of the illustrious Dharasēna, who was the son of the illustrious Guhasēna, all of whom are mentioned as devout worshippers of Śiva. Like other records of the later kings of Valabhi this inscription also omits the names of the four sons of the *Senāpati* Bhaṭṭārka in the genealogical portion of it. The grant registered in these plates was issued from the victorious camp at *Dēvisaras* on the 14th day of the bright half of Chaitra in 292³ G.E. (circa 610-11 A.D.), and was written

¹ Read *nīly nuklu*.

² Read *irattiya*.

³[The late Mr. Banerji read the date as 290 and it has been so included in the *List of Northern Inscriptions* No. 1337 (above, Vol. XX, App. p. 181). I, however, read it as 292. It thus becomes the last known date of Śilāditya I. In the interval between this and the next Valabhi grant dated 304 G.E. issued by Dharasēna (III), at least one ruler, viz., Kharagraha, Śilāditya's younger brother, must have ruled. Recently a copper-plate issued by this prince has come to light, and apparently he is the *Dūtaka* of many of Śilāditya I's grants, including the present one.—Ed.]

by the *Sandhivigrahādhipikṛita* (minister of peace and war) *Divirapati* Vatrabhāṭṭi.¹ The *Dūtaka* was Kharagraba, probably the younger brother of the king and heir-apparent, who succeeded Śilāditya I.

According to this grant, two hundred *pādāvaritas* of land in the village of Bhadrēniyaka in the Bāra-Vanasthali were given for the worship of the Sun-god established in that village. Out of these two hundred *pādāvaritas*, one hundred lay to the east of the arable land received as a gift and owned by the Brāhmana Prabhandata, to the south of the arable land received as a gift and owned by a (Brāhmana named) Rudra, to the north of the *daṇḍaka* (chain of hills?) called Baratīkā, and to the west of the junction of the boundary of the village of Gōppara-vātaka. Of the remaining hundred *pādāvaritas* the boundaries are not specified, but it was a piece of land (*lava*) at the same village originally set apart for the purpose of charity (*bhauksheba*), and now made over to the Sun temple along with the other piece of land. The land was granted for the maintenance of the worship (*pūjā*) and its other accessories, viz., bath (*snanapaṇa*), sandal (*gandha*), flowers (*pushpa-mūlga*), lamp-oil (*dīpa-taila*), vocal and instrumental music (*vādya-gīta*) and dances (*nṛitya*), the cost of sacrifices and offerings (*balī-charu-satva*), the maintenance of the servants of the god (*pādamūla*) and the cost of repairing any damages (*khaṇḍa-sphūṭita-pratisamśkāra*). I am unable to identify any of the localities mentioned in this grant, viz., **Dēvisaras** (l. 1), **Bhadrēniyaka** (ll. 19-20, 22), **Bāra-Vanasthali**² (l. 22), **Baratīkā-daṇḍaka**³ (l. 23) and **Gōpparavātaka** (l. 23).

TEXT.⁴

First Plate.

- 1 Ōm⁵ svasti [*] Vijaya-skandhāvārād-Dē[vi]sarō-vāsakāt prasabha-praṇat-
āmitrūṇāf[*] Maitrakāgām-atula-bala-sampanna-maṇ-jala-(l-ā)bhōga-sam-
- 2 sakta-prahāra-śata-labdha-pratāpāt=pratāp-ōpanata-dāna-mān-ārjjav-ōpārj]it-ānurūḍḍ=anu-
rakta-maula-bhūta-srēṇi-pa(ba)l-āvāpta-
- 3 rājya-śriyaḥ parama-māhēśvara-śrī-Bhaṭa(tā)rkakād=avyavachebbhiṇna-rāja-vadān=mātā-
pitṛi-charaṇ-āraviṇḍa-praṇatī-pravilḥaut-āsēsha-kalmashaḥ
- 4 śē(śai)śavāt=prabhṛiti khaḍga-dvitiya-bāhur-ēva samula-para-gaja-ghaṭā-sphōṭana-
prakāśita-satva-nikashas-tat-pratāva⁷-prana(n)it-ārāri-chūḷa(dā)-ra-
- 5 tna-prabhū-sa[m]i⁶ sakta-pāda-nakha-raśmī-saūhatī=sakala-smṛitō(ti)-praṇīta-mārgga-
sanyak-paripālana-prajā-hṛidaya-rañjan-ānva[r*]ttha-rāja-śabdah
- 6 rūpa-kānti-sthairya-dhairya-gāmbhīrya-buddhi-sashpa(mpa)dbhis=Smara-śasāṅk-Ādrirāj-
ōdadbi-Tridaśaguru-Dhanēśan-atīśayāna[h*] śaraṇ-āśa(ga)t-ābhaya-

¹ [This Vatrabhāṭṭi has also been called Vāsabhāṭṭi (No. 1341 of List) and Vāsabhata (No. 1349). The readings Vatrabhāṭṭi (No. 1337, i.e., the present grant), Chandrabhāṭṭi (No. 1338) and Chatrabhāṭṭi (No. 1343) are misreadings. The members of the family to which Vatrabhāṭṭi belonged seem to have held charge of the War Office under at least eight princes of the Maitraka dynasty for four generations, viz., Skandabhaṭa (apparently the father of Vatrabhāṭṭi), Vatrabhāṭṭi, his son Skandabhata and the latter's son Anahita.—Ed.]

² [If the two dots after *lavam* are to be treated as equivalent to 2, then the two pieces of *Bhauksheba* land together consisted of 100 *pādāvaritas*.—Ed.]

³ [This though not so specified must have been the *mandala*, probably consisting of the Vanasthali twelve (†), Vanthali, an important place in Junagadh State, may be suggested as the modern equivalent of the place, although it was known as Vāmanasthali in the medieval period.—Ed.]

⁴ [The boundary of Baratāka (probably a village) and the way leading to village Bhadrānaka as also a well belonging to the god Āditya are referred to in the Dhānk grants of G. E. 290 issued by the same king Śilāditya I. It is likely that the lands mentioned in these two grants lie in the same locality.—Ed.]

⁵ The text is edited from the original plates in the Prince of Wales Museum of Western India.

⁶ Expressed by a symbol.

⁷ Read *prabhāva*.

- 7 pradāna-paratayā triṇavad-apāst-āśēsha-sva-kāryya-phala[h*] prārthhan-ādhik-
ārttha-pradān-ānandita-vidvat-suhrit-praṇaya(vi)-hṛidayah pāda-
- 8 chār-iva sakala-bhuvana-maṇḍal-ābhōga-pramōḍah parama-māhēśvaraḥ śrī-Guha-
sēnas=tasya sutas=tat-pāda-pakha-mayūkha-santāna-visri-
- 9 ta-Jāhnavī-jal-augha-prakshālīt-āśēsha-kalmashaḥ praṇayi-śata-sahasr-ōpajīvyamāna-sam-
pad=rūba(pa)-lōbhād=iv-āśritah śarabhasam=ā-
- 10 bhigāmikair-gguṇais=sahaja-śakti-śikshā-viśēsha-vismātāpit¹-ākṣhila-bala-dhanurddharaḥ=
prathama-narapati-samatirishṭā[nā*]m=anupālayitā
- 11 dharmma-dāyānām mapākarttā² praj-ōpaghāta-kāriṇām=upaplavānām darśayitā
Śrī-Sarasvatyōr=ek-adhivāsasya sva(sam)hat-ārāti-paksha-la-
- 12 kshmi-ba(pa)ribhōga-daksha-vikramā(mō) vikram-ōpasamprāpta-vimala-pārthiva-śriḥ
parama-māhēśvaraḥ śrī-Dharasō(sē)nas=tasya sutas=tat-pād-ānu-
- 13 dhyātas=sakala-dī(ja)gad-ānandan-āty-adbhuta-guṇa-samudā[ya*]-sthagita-samagra-dig(ā)-
maṇḍalas=samara-śata-vijaya-sōbhā-sanātha-maṇḍalāgra-
- 14 dyuti-bhāsuratar-ānsa(msa)-pīth-ōḍūḍha-guru-manōratha-mā(ma)hābhāras=sarvva-vidyā-par-
āpara-vibhāg-ādhigama-vimala-matir=api sarvva-
- 15 tas=subhāshita-lavēn=āpi sukh-ōpapādaniya-paritōshas=samagra-lōk-āgādha-gāmbhīryya-
hṛidayō=pi sucharit-ātīśaya-su-
- 16 vyakta-parama-kalya(lyā)ṇa-svabhāvaḥ khilibhūta-Kṛita-yuga-nṛpati-patha-viśōdhan-
ādhigat-ōdagra-kīrttir=ddharman-āmu(nu)parōdh-ōjvalata-
- 17 rikṣit-ārttha-sukha-sampad-upasēvā-nirūḍha-Dharmmāditya-dvītiya-nāmā parama-
māhēśvaraḥ śrī-Silādityaḥ-kuśali sarvvān=ē-
- 18 v=āyuktaka-viniyuktaka-drāṅḍika-mahattara-śaulkika-chaurōddharanika-chāṭa-bhaṭa-kumā-
rānāty-ādin=anyāns(mis)-cha yathā-samba-
- 19 dhyamānakān=samājñāpayaty=astu vas=samaviditām yathā mayā mātā-pitr[ō]ḥ=puny-
āpyāyanāya Bhadrē-

Second Plate.

- 20 nīyaka-grāmā(ma)-nīpi(vi)shṭ-Ādityadēva-pādānām pūjā-snapana-gandha-pushpa-mālyā-
dīpa-tail-ādy-upayōgāya vādyā-gīta-nṛity-ā-
- 21 dy-artthē vali-charu-satr-ōtsarppāyā pādāmūla-prajīvā(va)uāyā(ya) dēvakulasya
cha khaṇḍa-sphuṭita-pratisamśkūrāya
- 22 cha Bāra-vanasthalyām Bhadrēnīyaka-grāmē pūrvva-simni brāhmaṇa-Prabhandata-
satka-brahma-dēva-kshētrāt=pūrvvataḥ Rudra-
- 23 satka-brahma-dēva-kshētrād=dakshinataḥ Barāṭikā-daṇḍakād=uttarataḥ Gōppara-
bā(vā)ṭaka-[grā]ma-simā-sandhēr=aparataḥ=pādāvartta-satam
- 24 tath=āsminn=ēva grāmē bhaikshakam³ lavam=ōtat=pādāvartta-satam bhaikshakam
cha sōdraṅgam sōparikaram savāta-bhūta-pratyāyam sadhānya-
- 25 hirany-ādēyam sadaśāparādham sōtpadyamāna-vishṭis⁴ sarvva-rājakīṛyānām=ahasta-
prakshēpanīyam pūrvva-pratta-brahma-dēva-
- 26 varjjitam bhūma(mi)-chchhidra-nyāyēn=āchandr-ārkk-ārṇava-kshita(ti)-sarit-parvvata-
samakālīnam dharmma-dāvatayā mīrshṭam yataḥ u-
- 27 pari-[li*]khita-sthityā bhujyamānasya na kaischid=vyāsēdhē vartti[ta*]vyam=āgāmi-
bhadra-nṛipatibhir=apy=asmad-vañsajair=anyair-vvā anityā-

¹ Read *vismāpit*.

² Read *dharmma-dāyānām* = *apākarttā*.

³ [The *visarga* is superfluous or it may be the numerical sign for 2. — Ed.]

⁴ Read *vishṭikam*.



No. 19] THE PIRANMALAI INSCRIPTION OF KRISHNADEVARAYA : SAKA 1440. 119

- 28 ny=aiśvaryaṇy=asthiram mānushyam sāmānya[ti*] cha bhūmi-dāna-phalam=ava-
gachchadbhir=ayam=asmad-dāy=ōnumantya vyāh(vyah) paripālavi-
29 tavyas=ch=ēty=uktam cha bhagavatā Vēdavyāsēna Vyāsēna.¹ Bahubhir=vvasudhā
bhuktā rājabhis=Sagar-ādibhiḥ [*] yasya yasya yadā
30 bhūmis=tā(ta)sya tasya tadā phalam | Yān=iha dāridrya-bhavan=narēndrair=
ddhanāni dharmam-āyatani(nī)-mṛi(kṛitāni [*] nirbhbbhu(bbbh)kta-mālyā-
31 pratimāni tāni kō nāma sādhuḥ punar=ādadita || Shashṭim varsha-sahasrāṇi svarggē
mōdati bhūmidaḥ [*] āchchhētā ch-ā-
32 numantā cha tāny=ēva narakē vasēd=iti ||² Dūtakaś=ch=ātra śrī-Kharagrahaḥ
likhitam sandhivigrahādhimṛi(kṛi)ta-Divirapati-
33 Vatrabhaṭṭinā :³ Sam 200 90 2 Chaitra-śu 10 4 [*] Sva-hastō mama ||

No. 19.—THE PIRANMALAI INSCRIPTION OF KRISHNADEVARAYA : ŚAKA 1440.

BY V. VENKATASUBBA AIYAR, B.A., MADRAS.

This inscription¹ is engraved on the south wall of the 'Sundara-Pāṇḍya-maṇḍapa' in the Maṅgaināthēśvara temple at Pirāṇmalai in the Ramnad district. The surface of the stone containing the inscription is not specially dressed for engraving, but the record is in a good state of preservation.

The language of the inscription is Tamil prose and the alphabet is Tamil with a slight admixture of Grantha letters at the beginning and the end. A few orthographical peculiarities such as the use of *shcha* in place of (i) *ksha* (1.3) and of (ii) *sha* (1.1); of *la* for *ḷa* (1.9) and non-adherence to sandhi rules (11. 5, 10, 12 and 13) are worthy of note.

Some of the revenue terms used in the record require explanation :—

Kaḍamai (1.11). This word is used in Tamil inscriptions and literature in the sense of a tax, mostly on land. It also seems to include any assessment levied on an industry or a profession; cf. the taxes *Śekku-kaḍamai*, *Tōṇik-kaḍamai*, *Taṇik-kaḍamai*, etc.

Kāṇikkai (1.12). This term literally means 'a free gift' or 'voluntary offering'. *Kāṇuka* in Telugu denotes a tribute paid to a superior. Compare the term *Paḍai-kāṇikkai* which is a contribution made for the maintenance of an army and also the terms *Kāṇikkai-paṭṭipon* and *Nāṭṭuk-kāṇikkai*.

Vēṇḍukōḷ (1.12) may be explained as a fee paid along with an application or request.

Viniyōgam occurring in 1.12 may be rendered as 'a fee collected for a common purpose'; cf. the terms *Nāṭṭu-viniyōgam*, *Sabhā-viniyōgam*, *Ōlai-eḍuppu-viniyōgam* and *Vāśal-viniyōgam*.

The present record is dated in Śaka 1440 in the reign of the Vijayanagara ruler *Krishna-dēva-Mahārāya*, 'who conquered all countries'. The astronomical details² of date given in it viz., Mithuna, ba. amāvāsyā, Tuesday, Vṛiddhi-yōga and solar eclipse, point to Tuesday, June 8, 1518 A.D., as its equivalent, when there was a solar eclipse visible in India.

The object of the inscription is to register the tax-free grant of the village *Mēlūr* in *Śōḷa-pāṇḍya-vaṇaṇḍu*, by *Ponṇambalanātha-Tonḍaimān*, the chief (*araśu*) of *Arantāṅgi*, for offerings and worship to the god *Nallamaṅgaibāgar* at *Tirukkoḍuḷkupram*, during the early morning service instituted after his name in the temple.

¹ Mark of punctuation expressed by a dot.

² Read *vasēd* [..*] *iti* ||

³ No. 201 of 1924 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.

⁴ In the *Annual Report on South-Indian Epigraphy* for the year 1923-24, p. 59, the cyclic year is wrongly read as *Saumya*, but it can be read as *Vegudhānya* (or *Babudhānya*) which was current in Śaka 1440.

The importance of the record lies chiefly in the mention made in it of Poṇṇambalanātha¹ Tonḍaimān, the foremost of the chiefs of Arantāṅgi. This town, now a terminus of the Tanjore District Board Railway and a taluk headquarter rose to the position of an important principality in the beginning of the 16th century, when there was a general unsettlement in the Pāṇḍya country. The rule of the Pāṇḍyas of Madura was, by this time, restricted to the extreme south of their dominions, comprising the present Tinnevely district, the northern part of the Pāṇḍya territory having been lost originally to the Vāṇakōvaraivars and latterly to the Nāvakas of Madura. Upon the spoils of the original Pāṇḍya kingdom rose the Nāvakas of Tanjore and Madura and the Śtūpatis of Ramnad, all of whom gradually formed hereditary principalities wielding considerable power in the country. In the struggle of these principalities for power, Arantāṅgi with its central position soon rose to prominence. It would not be out of place to give here a brief account of the principality of Arantāṅgi as made out from inscriptions, of which about 25 have so far come to light, revealing the names of a number of chiefs, whose rule covers a period of nearly a century and half.

In inscriptions, the chiefs of Arantāṅgi have the distinct appellations 'Arantāṅgi-araśu' and 'Tonḍaimān'. The latter title² which is the earlier of the two, means 'the king of Tonḍai' or 'Tonḍaimaṇḍalam', i.e., the Pallava country, the traditional capital of which was Kāñchīpuram. Several chiefs with this distinguishing title and claiming Pallava descent are met with in inscriptions dating from the 11th century A.D. When the Pallava power was eclipsed by the Chōlas and the Pāṇḍyas, some chiefs claiming descent from the Pallavas and bearing the title *Tonḍaimān* seem to have served as local officers and become potentates in the extreme south. One such chief who lived towards the close of the 11th and the beginning of the 12th century A.D. was Karuṇākara-Tonḍaimān of Vaṇḍuvāṇjēri (i.e., modern Vaṇḍai) in the Kumbakonam taluk, the hero of the Tamil poem *Kalīṅgaṭṭupparai*. A few other chiefs bearing the title 'Tonḍaimān' are met with in inscriptions found chiefly in and around the Pudukkōṭṭai State not far from the Arantāṅgi region. It is possible that they were the ancestors or close forbears of the Arantāṅgi Tonḍaimān chiefs. A Tonḍaimān chief by name Vaḷattu-vālvitta-Perumā³ claiming to belong to Vēsiṅga-nāḍu, a district to the north-east of the Pudukkōṭṭai State figures in a record from that State, dated in 1201 A.D. A record of the Pāṇḍya king Tribhuvanachakravartin Kulaśēkhara⁴ also mentions this chief and another⁵ makes provision for the 'Vaḷattu-vālvittāṇḍandi' (a service named after the chief) in the 19th year of Jaṭavarman Kulaśēkhara. In the Tamil poem *Kapparkōrai* the hero is a certain Karumāṇṭikkan, a chief of Kappalūr near Pudukkōṭṭai.⁶ He is there styled a Tonḍaimān and described as a minister and a general of Jaṭavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya. A record from Nandalūr⁷ in the Cuddapah district mentions

¹ In *Sen-Tamil*, Vol. VI, p. 318, this title has been explained as "the vassal of an overlord". The earliest reference to the name Tonḍaimān in the Pāṇḍya country is found in an inscription dated in the 5th year of Rājendra-Chōla I, i.e., A.D. 1016 on the Nārttāmalai hill (vide 'A General History of the Pudukkōṭṭai State' by Radhakrishnīer, p. 113). There is also a reference to Tonḍaimān in the *Mahāvamsa* of Ceylon. While chronicling the war of the Pāṇḍya succession, this text says 'that the Pāṇḍyan king Kulaśēkhara on being defeated by the Singhalese troops of Ceylon, who supported his rival, fled to the mountains of Tonḍaimāna, that Kulaśēkhara then attacked the Singhalese forces at Pon-Amarivati (a village in the south-west of the Pudukkōṭṭai State) and was again defeated, and that with the help of the ruler of Tonḍaimāna and some other chieftains, Kulaśēkhara once more opposed the forces of Ceylon and was once again defeated'. The hill where Kulaśēkhara-Pāṇḍya is said to have concealed himself is probably no other than the Nārttāmalai hill in the Pudukkōṭṭai State.

² Vide *A General History of the Pudukkōṭṭai State*, p. 113.

³ No. 355 of 1914 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.

⁴ No. 488 of 1918 of the same collection.

⁵ *Sen-Tamil*, Vol. VI, p. 318ff.

⁶ No. 594 of 1907.

¹ No. 125 of 1916 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.

² No. 126 of 1916 of the same collection.

³ In an earlier record (No. 299 of 1914 of the Madras Epigraphical collection) from Tiruvannamalai, dated in Śaka 1305, Rudhirōḍḍiṇ, three chiefs of Arantūṇṇi, viz., Alayyamagavāḍa-Perumāl Topḷaimān, Sūrya-dēvar Sundarapāṇḍya Topḷaimān and Menḍiṇa-Perumāl Kulaśékhara-Topḷaimān are mentioned. The Śaka date in the record seems, however, to be wrongly cited for Śaka 1365 for, it is only about this time that we meet with two of the above-mentioned chiefs in other inscriptions. Moreover in this inscription there is a small gap in the date portion to justify this doubt.

* See also Nos. 312 and 313 of 1914 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.

⁶ No. 146 of 1903 from Pñāmalai is the only record that refers to the invasion of Ceylon by Kṛṣṇadēvarāya. It is dated in Śaka 1440 and also mentions the chief Pōṇṇambalanātha-Tōṇṇaimān. It is known that the predecessors of Kṛṣṇadēvarāya were collecting tribute from Ceylon. Considering the shortness of time (viz., seven days) within which Pōṇṇambalanātha is said to have achieved this feat, it is possible that the reference is only to a successful expedition to Ceylon to collect some arrears of tribute on behalf of his overlord Kṛṣṇadēvarāya. Probably this feat of the feudatory was transferred to his overlord in No. 146 of 1903 noted above. An actual invasion of Ceylon during Kṛṣṇadēvarāya's reign is not necessarily meant.

⁸ Āvudaya-Tambirānār is the name of the god at Āvudaiyārkōyil, a village in the Arantangi taluk and associated with the life of the saint Māṅkavāḷaka.

⁷ No. 312 of 1914 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.

⁵ No. 240 of 1930 of the same collection.

Ponnambalanātha was succeeded in the Arantāngi principality by Āṇḍivappa Achyutanāyaka-Tonḍaimān¹ son of Tyāgarasar Narasā-Nāvaka, who had also the titles *achehamari-pūḍū* and *alaiṇḍāṇ-pūḍū* and whose earliest date so far known is Śaka 1400 (= A.D. 1577), not far removed from the latest known date of Ponnambalanātha, *viz.*, A.D. 1569.

The line of Arantāngi Chiefs is at present supposed to be represented by the Zamindar of Pālayavanam in the Pudukkottai State.²

The chiefs of Arantāngi so far known from epigraphical sources are :—

1. Kulāśekhara-Tonḍaimān³ (1426 and 1443 A.D.),
2. Sūryadēvar Sundarapāṇḍya-Tonḍaimān (1443 A.D.),
3. Malavallapperumāl-Tonḍaimān,
4. Aḷagīya Maṇavāḷapperumāl-Tonḍaimān (1443 and 1453 A.D.), his son
5. Lakkapaḍaṇṇāyaka-Tonḍaimān or Lakkappaḍaṇṇāyaka-Tonḍaimān (1453 A.D.),
6. Tiruṇḍēlpperumāl (1469 A.D.),
7. Ekapperumāl-Tonḍaimān (1481 and 1499 A.D.), his three sons
8. Tirāyṁaitṭṭāṇ-Tonḍaimān (1497 A.D.),
9. Āṇḍivappa-Nāvinār-Tonḍaimān (1499 A.D.) and
10. Ponnambalanātha-Tonḍaimān (1514-1569 A.D.), his son
11. Varavinōḍa-Tonḍaimān (1536 A.D.),
12. Āṇḍivappa Achyutanāyaka-Tonḍaimān, son of Tyāgarasar-Narasānāyaka (1577 A.D.) and
13. Aruṇāchala Vapaṇḍamūḍi-Tonḍaimān, son of Raghunātha Vapaṇḍamūḍi-Tonḍaimān⁴ (1713 A.D.).

Of the places mentioned in the record *Mēlūr* is the modern village of the same name about 16 miles north-west of Madurai. *Tirukkoṇṇukunṇam* (*i.e.*, Pirāṇmalai) is said to have been in Tirumalai-nāḷu which must have taken its name from the modern village Tirumalai in the Śivagaṅga taluk. The territorial name *Sōlapāṇḍya-vaḷanāḍu* is significant and the division must have been formed after the establishment of the Chōḷa viceroys in the Pāṇḍya country, who specially called themselves Sōḷa-Pāṇḍyas.

TEXT.

- 1 [Svasti] [*] Śrīman-ma[ḡa]ṇḍaḷaṭṭiṣuran [arivarāva]-vibhūḍaṇ ⁵bāshchaikkut-rappiiva-rāvira-gaṇḍu kuṇḍa-nāḷu-koṇḍu kuṇḍa-nāḷu-kuḷāḷḷāṇ pūrva-
- 2 deśhaṇa⁶-paḍu hima-uttara-saṇḍaḷḍirāḍhiṣpati emmaṇḍalamum kuṇḍu eḷundaru-ḷiya śrī]-[Krishṇadē[va]-Mah[ā]rāyar prithivī-rāchehiyaṇ paṇṇi-aruḷāṇiṇṇa
- 3 śakābdam 1440 idanmēl Vēḡu[dhā]ṇva-[varuṣa⁷]ṇa uttarāyaṇattu Mithuna-nāyaṇṇu apara-pashchattu⁸ [a]ṇḍavāṇḍavāṇṇu Maṇḍavāṇṇum Viruḍdi-
- 4 yōgamum perṇa irrai-nā⁹ Sūriya-girana-puṇṇiya-kālattu Tirumalai-nāṭṭut- **Tirukkoṇṇukunṇattu**¹⁰ Nāvinār Nallamaṇḍaibāzarku Ara[n]tāngi-araṣu *achehamari-*

¹ No. 511 of 1925 of the Madras Epigraphical collection. From the records so far available, it is not possible to say whether Varavinōḍa-Tonḍaimān, the son of Ponnambalanātha succeeded his father as the chief of Arantāngi.

² *A General History of the Pudukkottai State*, p. 84.

³ From Nos. 239 of 1914 and 238 of 1930; Nos. 1, 2, 3 and 4 mentioned above appear to be brothers.

⁴ Known only from a copper-plate record. Vide *Sa. Tam. I*, Vol. XII, p. 441 ff.

⁵ Read *bāshcha*.

⁶ Read *dakshina*.

⁷ The word *varuṣa* is expressed by a symbol.

⁸ Read *apara-pashchattu*.

⁹ The *nāḷa* *shatra* is not given.

¹⁰ Tirukkoṇṇukunṇam is also known as Dakshina-Kailāsam in Nos. 193 and 213 of 1924.

TRANSLATION.

Hail ! While the illustrious *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* *Krishṇadēva-Mahārāya*, who conquered all hostile kings, who chastised the kings that were false to their word, who took every country that he saw and who did not give up any country that he had taken, who was the lord of the eastern, southern, western and northern oceans, who was pleased to come out (glorious) after taking all countries,—was pleased to rule the earth, in the *Śaka* year 1440 expired, corresponding to Bahudhānya, during Uttarāyaṇa, in the month of Mithuna, on Tuesday, when the mādvāsā of the dark fortnight was current, at the holy time of the solar eclipse and Vaidhī-śrāgā,—on this day, I, *Ponṇambalanātha-Tonḍaimānār*, the son of *Ēkaṣṣerumāṇ-Tonḍaimānār*, the chief of *Araṇṭāṅgi*, who knew no fear, who was never perturbed, who could present an elephant in return for a lamb, who levied tribute from *Ilam* (Ceylon) within seven days, who was the lord of *Kāñchi*, the best of towns, and a devotee at the sacred feet of the god *Āvaḥira-Tambirāṇār*—having given the (*land*) situated within the four great boundaries of *Mēlūr* in *Śōḷapāṇḍya-vaḷanūḷu* as *temple-land* (*temple-land*) with gold and libation of water to last as long as the sun and Moon, to (*the god*) *Nayinār Nallamaṇḍalāgar* at *Tirukkoṇḍakurram* in *Tiruvai-nāḍu* for the daily requirements of offerings and worship during the *Pomaṇabalanātha-Tonḍaimānār-sandi* (*service*) in the early morning to the god *Nayinār Nallamaṇḍalāgar*, instituted after my own name—(*the rights over*) its treasures and hidden deposits (*in this land*), its water and stone and its wells, tanks, etc., shall be exclusively enjoyed by the *Tambirāṇār* (*god*). And as the taxes including *kaḷam*, *kāṇḍai*, *rāṇḍai*, *śāṇḍai* and other dues accruing from this village had been remitted, it shall be enjoyed as a *temple-land* (*temple-land*) and a *sarṇāṇḍa* (freehold) as long as the sun and the moon last. The deed shall be engraved on stone and copper and the land enjoyed as *temple-land* (*temple-land*), as long as the moon and the sun last.

He who obstructs this charity shall incur the sin of killing a tawny cow, a *Brāhmaṇa*, (*his own*) parents and teacher on the banks of the *Gaṅga*. In the aforesaid manner the land shall be taken possession of and enjoyed as a *temple-land*. This is the writing of *Aḷiyār* Jkkanallān* *Karpārak-Kāṇḍarāyan*, the accountant of *Araṇṭāṅgi*.

No. 20.—NAVAGRAMA GRANT OF THE MAHARAJA HASTIN (C.E. [1]98).

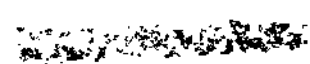
By K. N. DIKSHIT, M.A., CALCUTTA.

This fragmentary plate was handed over to me by the Political Agent, Baghelkhand Agency, who could not give me any definite information regarding its findspot, except that it came from some place in *Nāṇḍ* State. It has therefore been named after the name of the village granted.

The plate measures 5½" in length and 3½" to 3¾" in breadth. It consists of the left half of the first of two plates forming the complete grant, as is clear from a comparison with other grants of Hastin and the portion of the round ring-hole preserved in the centre of the first line, through which the plate appears to have been broken. The missing portion of the plate has been conjecturally restored where possible from other published grants, particularly from the *Majhḡawām* copper-plate of the same prince. The average size of the letters is ½". The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets. They do not present the nail-headed forms of letters as in the *Majhḡawām* plates of Hastin. Attention may also be drawn to the form of *n* without the

* The term *mugilīn-āṭṭhīyān-īla-Vaṇṇiya-mānava-śāṇḍa* is left untranslated. The latter part means 'the proud conqueror of the *Vaṇṇiyas* of Ceylon'. If 'mugilīn' could be taken as a proper name like *Mugalan*, the phrase may be construed as "the proud conqueror of the *Vaṇṇiyas* of Ceylon who were at the beck and call of *Mugilīn*."

† Fleet, *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, pp. 106 ff.



No. 27.] UDAIYARGUDI INSCRIPTION OF RAJAKESARIVARMAN; A.D. 988. 165

- 21 vij[kra]puam=anyā cha Khaḍgasimham=aḥjanat ||29|| Ālōky=ānēna vidyut-tati-
taralatar-āsāra-tāruṇya-[dadhniṁ] Lakshmīm=a — — ra=ēvaṁ cha ||ji]ta-mṛigadṛiṣām
pritiṁ=a[py]=aṅganānām | — — — k-ā[pta]yē [tat=punar]-siha sukrītaṛ=[dṛi]ṣṭa — —
pta-vō(bō)dhād=ētach=chakrē navinaṁ sahaja-śubha-ma-
- 22 tir=ummaṇḍapaṁ Bhūtabharttuḥ ||30|| Maṭhaḥ kathōra-kāśhṭh-aughair-atr=aiv=
ākāri dhīmātā | dēva-dakṣiṇa-dig-bbāgē nivāsārthan=tapasvinām ||31|| Kāritam
vistrīta[m] Sauri-maṇḍapaṁ¹ puṇva-kāriṇā | Gaṅgādharaḥ [dharapēr=bhū-
shām]=ēv=ātisundarām ||32|| Śrīmad-Ratnapurē chā-
- 23 ru pratīchyāṁ Pushpak-ōpamam | akarōd=śkavirāyā maṇḍapaṁ giri-mūrdhāni
||33|| Maṇḍapaṁ vanē Vaḍadō² [Pu]r-ārātēr=vinirmītam | Hara-Hēramavavōs=
chakrē tatr=aiva vij[sa(śa)d]-ālayau ||34|| Dēvi-Durgā-griham durgō Ravēḥ
Pahā[takē(?) purē] | Pōrathē bhavanam Sambhōr=a-
- 24 bhraṁkasham=achikarat ||35|| Ratnapurasy=ōdīchyāṁ diśi Tumṭā-Gaṇapatēr=asu
chakrē | maṇḍapaṁ=aśēsha-vāñchita-phala-dātur=vighna-hantuḥ-cha ||36|| ||³
Saras=[Ti]puruga-[grā]mē nirṇamala[tū*] vikach-ārṇvu(bu)jam | tathā Girahāli-
[grāmē] sphārām pushkarīṇim=api ||37|| ○○○○○○
- 25 kṛitam=amalam sarasija-ruchiram sadā jagat-sēvyam | tāt-āpaham=uru-harim=siva
[U]luvā-grāmē saraś=chakrē ||38|| Guṇjan-muḥja-madhuvrata-chava-chumvita-vika-
cha-pañkajām=akarōt | pushkarīṇim=a[pi] śōbha]na-Sōṇā[dā]r-ā[bi]dha-[grā]mē ||39||
Miṣṭ-āna-pāna-sampannā[m sa]-
- 26 rvasatī[m] vyadhād=asau | Nārāyaṇapurē pushpa-vāṭikām=api śōbhanām ||40||
Yāval=līlāvatīnām nayana-sarasija-prānta-samsthō Manōbhūr=yāvan=Maināka-
pakṣh-āvila-chaṭula-chalad-vīchi-mālah payōdhiḥ | chandr-ārkkau yāvad=ētau
gagana-tala-samud[d*]yōtamānau prabhātas=tā-
- 27 vad=Gaṅgādharaṣya pravara-guṇa-nidhōḥ sthairyatām=ētu kīrttiḥ ||41|| Dakṣhō
lakṣhaṇa-nirṇa(rṇa)yē kavi-kalā-sarva[sva]-viśrāma-bhūś=chhandah-sundara-vu-
(bu)ddhir=adbhuta-matiḥ sāhitya-Chāṇakya-yōḥ | khvātō Haihaya-varṇśabhōḥ
kavi-vṛiṣhā yasy=ānujō Ja[lhaṇa]s=tēn=ākāri Kumārapāla-kṛitīnā [ch=ēvaṁ ?]
- 28 prasastir=munudā ||42|| Akṣharair=muktik-ākārais=tēn=aiv=ālēkhi kautukāt | [Nātū]-
nāmnā samutkirṇā śilpa-vijñāna-sālīnā ||43|| Śrēṣṭhīnā Rāḥaṇē=ātra
dharma-karm-ādhikāriṇā | kṛitā kalā kalāpājña-jana-suśruta-vu(bu)ddhinā ||44||
Chēdi Samvat 933 ||*|| Maṅgalam=astu ||

No. 27.—THE UDAIYARGUDI INSCRIPTION OF RAJAKESARIVARMAN; A.D. 988.

By PROFESSOR K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI, M.A., MADRAS.

This inscription⁴ is engraved, along with some other Chōla inscriptions of the tenth century A.D., on the west wall of the central shrine in the Anantīśvarasvāmin temple at Uḍaiyārguḍi, a hamlet of Kāṭṭumannārkōyil, in the Chidambaram taluk of the South Arcot District. The village is celebrated in the hagiology of South Indian Vaishnavism as the birth-place of Nāthamuni and his grandson Yāmūnāchārya, also called Ālavandār, the spiritual preceptor of Rāmānuja. In the inscriptions, the place is called Viranārāyaṇa-chaturvēdimāḡalam, the same as the Viranārāyaṇapuram of Vaishṇava literature and our inscription further describes

¹ Read *Sauri*. Probably the length is introduced for the sake of the metre.

² The metre is irregular here.

³ Here in this and the next line enough space for 3 or 4 letters is left uninscribed.

⁴ No. 577 of 1920. *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1920-21, part II, paragraph 31.

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it as a *brahmadēya* on the Northern bank (evidently of the Coleroon). Most probably, it was an *agrahāra* founded by Parāntaka I Viranārāyaṇa (A.D. 907-53), whose inscriptions are also found in the Anantīśvara temple.¹

The inscription consists of eight lines of almost equal length, and occupies a space of about 12' by 1½'. Except for the loss of some letters at the end of the first and second lines, it is in a fair state of preservation. The size of the letters is on an average well over an inch, some of the ligatures being 2" high. The characters employed are Tamil and Grantha. The writing is of the regular type found in the Chōla inscriptions of the tenth century. The chiselling of the letters is very good and hardly excelled in its beauty by any stone inscription of the period outside the Tanjore temple. In general appearance, our inscription strikingly resembles the Tamil part of the Madras Museum plates of Uttama-Chōla², allowance being made for the difference in the material on which the inscriptions are engraved. The loops in *ṇ* are fully developed; but not so in *ṇ̄*. Medial *ā* and *r* are clearly distinguished though not always; the first two lines contain several instances where the distinction is maintained, while *r* is written exactly like the subsidiary *ā* in *p̄rappam̄aridum* and *mānam̄aridum* in line 3, and in *āl̄tār* in line 7. Medial *ī* and *ū* are sometimes, but by no means always, distinguished from *i* and *u* by loops, the loop indicating length in *ī* being placed at the end of the left arm of the curve indicating *i* instead of at the end of the right arm as at present. The long *ī* is best seen in the letters *Śrī* and *Vī* and in *ṇī* in *taṇṇīr* (line 7). The long *ū* is sometimes indicated by the short *u*-sign attached to the main letter and followed by the *ā*-sign as in *malaiyaṇūāṇ* in line 2 and *nūṇṇorupallī* in line 6; the regular sign with the loop occurs in *Kottaiyār* in line 4, *mūvaridum* in line 5, and twice in *Vēṇṇaiyūr* in line 6. Though the length of these medial vowels is not always indicated in the inscription, I have added it in my readings where necessary. The letter *y* is invariably written in the Grantha form as in some of the Uttaramērūr inscriptions of Parāntaka I and in the Museum plates of Uttama-Chōla. The *puḷḷi* is not marked.³ Ligatures are almost invariably in Grantha form; *lla* is written in two forms in line 6—*Palla* and *Malla*—in the one case, a Grantha *la* placed over a Tamil *la* and in the other, two Tamil *la*-s placed one above the other.

As regards orthography, a tendency to omit *r* is noticed in such forms as *iragaḷ* (lines 2 and 3 and 4). The only other features calling for notice are the insertion of *y* in *mīy-piḷāgai* in line 5.

The language of the inscription is Tamil. The construction of the second sentence (ll. 1-4), the most important in the whole inscription, is much obscured by its faulty grammar. It gives a list of the names of some persons involved in treason, and of their relatives, but the first five names in the list are in the nominative case, while the remaining eight are virtually in the genitive as indicated by the possessive suffix *idum* attached to each of them and by the phrase summing up the whole (*irraṇaiyar*) being clearly employed in a possessive sense. Line 4 also contains a similar confusion of case endings.

The object of the inscription is to record an endowment by **Araiyaṇ Bharataṇ alias Vyālagajamalla-Pallavaraiyaṇ**, the son of **Nakkaṇ Aravaṇaiyāṇ alias Pallava-Muttaraiyaṇ**, the lord of **Vēṇṇaiyūr**. The aim of the endowment was to provide for the supply of drinking water in a *maṇḍapa* before the temple in which the inscription is engraved, and for the daily feeding of fifteen Brahmins. The endowment took the form of land, and in the variation of the

¹ *Annual Report on Epigraphy, 1920-21, part II, para. 24 and Appendix B, Nos. 539, 547, 549, etc.*

² *South Indian Inscriptions, Vol. III, No. 123.* [While in the Uttama-Chōla plates, the letter for *r* is almost a plain vertical stroke without any curve at the top as in the sign for medial long *ā*, in the present inscription the symbols for both of these have a curve at the top, usually open on the proper right side.—C. R. K.]

³ [The *puḷḷi* is marked in a few cases: e.g., see *maṇḍalattu p-peruṅguri p-peru* in l. 1, though in the rest of the inscription it is not so.—C. R. K.]

circumstances of the purchase of the land by the donor, the important historical fact is disclosed that **Āditya II Karikāla** fell a victim to assassination at the hands of some persons who, to judge from their names and titles, must have been highly placed Brahman officials of the army.¹

The inscription opens by stating that in the **second year of Kō-Rājakēsarivarman**, a letter (*śrīmukham*) was sent by the Emperor to the Great Sabhā of Vīranārāyaṇa-chaturvēdimaṅgalam (line 1). The letter is next reproduced (lines 1-4). It recounts that Sōmaṇ....., and his younger brothers Ravidāsa and Paramēśvara had been found guilty of treason (*drōhikā-dāna*) for their murder of Karikāla Śōla 'who took the head of the Pāṇḍya' (ll. 1-2); the properties² of these three persons and their relatives specified (ll. 2-3) were to be taken over³ by Brahma-śrīrājan of Kottaiyūr and Chandrasēkhara-bhaṭṭa of Pullamaṅgalam (l. 4): the Sabhā (*tāṅgaḷum*) were to arrange, in co-operation with these two persons, for the sale at current prices of all these lands and to remit the proceeds to the Treasury in accordance with the king's order (l. 4). The letter concludes with the statement that it was written out by Kurukāḍi Kilāṇ (l. 4). In accordance with this letter, the lands of Rēvadāsa⁴ (either the second of the traitors named above or more probably his *udappirandān* Malaiyanūrān), Rēvadāsa's son and his mother, situated in the western *piḍāṇai* of Vīranārāyaṇa-chaturvēdimaṅgalam (line 5) were bought from the *sabhā* by Bharatan *alias* Vyālagajamallan. The property purchased comprised, according to an old measurement (*paḷambuḍi*), two (*vēli*) and three quarters and one-twentieths, and six residential houses (line 6), and the price paid was 112 *kaḷaṅṇu* of gold (lines 6-7). In the month of **Mēsha** in this year, on a **Sunday** which was a **Pūratṭāḍi** day, Bharatan gave this land and these houses to be utilised in the Anantīśvara temple for the purposes specified (lines 7-8).

The astronomical details given in line 7 will be seen, from a reference to Mr. L. D. Swamikannu Pillai's *Indian Ephemeris*, to be correct for **Sunday, the 15th April, A.D. 988**, which would fall in the third regnal year of Rājārāja I, whose accession has been fixed by Kielhorn between 25th June and 25th July 985 A.D.⁵ The regnal year cited in our inscription is the second, and this must be understood to be, not the current, but the expired year. The chronology of the record, its reference to the murder of Karikāla 'who took the head of the Pāṇḍya', i.e., Āditya II, the elder brother of Rājārāja I, and its palaeographical peculiarities alike point to the identity of the Rājakēsari of this inscription with Rājārāja I who began his rule in A.D. 985. In fact there is no other Rājakēsari in the period after Āditya II whom the facts recorded in the inscription suit so well.

The interval between the close of the reign of Parāntaka I and the beginning of that of Rājārāja I is still one of the rather obscure periods in Chōḷa history. The order of succession of the kings who ruled in this period is far from clear, and the length of each reign does not lend itself to precise determination. There is no doubt, however, that the immediate predecessor of Rājārāja

¹ [There is nothing to suggest that the officials belonged to the army.—C. R. K.]

² See n. 1, p. 170 *post*.

³ The expression *perattandōm* makes it appear like a gift to these two persons. But in view of what follows this cannot be understood literally. [The expression has to be read as '*perittandōm*' in the sense of 'nominated', cf. *S. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 404, l. 128 and p. 429. If the sense intended were 'obtaining' the original should be *para*.—C. R. K.]

⁴ The second of the traitors named at the beginning of line 2 is called Ravidāsaṇṇa Pañchavan-Brahmadhirājan. The name given in line 5 is Rēvadāsa, a slightly different form, though it is possible that the sign of medial *e* preceding *ra* in the beginning of line 2 or at the end of line 1 has not come out in the impression. But Rēvadāsa is here called a Kramavitta and has the *alias* Malaiyanūrān, facts which strengthen the doubt that he may be different from Ravidāsa of line 2. But the preceding phrase *i-śrī-mukhaṭṭa mēppaṭṭa raṇa* 'that the same man is mentioned in the letter reproduced earlier in the inscription; and this may be a reference either to Ravidāsa or Malaiyanūrān of line 2. [The surname 'Malaiyanūrān' clearly proves that the reference is to the latter of the two persons.—C. R. K.]

⁵ Above, Vol. VIII, App. 2, p. 22.

I was Madhurāntaka Uttama-Chōla, who had a reign of about sixteen years (A.D. 969-85).¹ Of Āditya II, the Parakēśari 'who took the head of the Pāṇḍya,' we have inscriptions bearing the fifth regnal year.² He was the son of Parāntaka II Sundara-Chōla, and it is generally admitted that the period of his rule must lie between the end of Sundara-Chōla's reign and the commencement of that of Uttama-Chōla. The latter was the son of Gaṇḍarāditya and most probably a baby at the time of his father's death.³ This was doubtless the reason why the succession passed to a junior branch of the family, and Ariñjaya, his son Parāntaka II, and his son Āditya succeeded one after another. After Āditya, we find Uttama-Chōla ruling for sixteen years before the crown passed to Āditya's younger brother Rājarāja. The Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates of Rājendra-Chōla I seem to furnish a clue which, when interpreted with the aid of the present inscription, enables us to trace the probable course of events. Verses 69 and 70 of these plates state that though on the death of Āditya, the people, in their eagerness to witness the destruction of the increasing darkness of *Kali*, desired Arumoli-varman, i.e., Rājarāja, to take up the reins of government, he, the true Kshatriya, did not desire to rule his kingdom so long as his paternal uncle coveted it, and that Arumoli was made the *Yuvarāja* by Madhurāntaka Uttama-Chōla who became king.

Though the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates and other Chōla records tell us nothing of the manner of Āditya's death, the reference to the increasing darkness of *Kali* looks like a thinly veiled allusion to the state of anarchy that prevailed at the sudden demise of the late king. The people's wish to have Arumoli as king, Arumoli's unwillingness to accept the throne when his paternal uncle coveted it, and the recognition of Arumoli as heir-apparent, may be taken to indicate the troubles of a disputed succession ended by a political compromise by which Uttama-Chōla was indeed to enjoy the fulfilment of his heart's desire, but the succession was to revert to the ruling line, viz., that of Ariñjaya. A certain Madhurāntakan Gaṇḍarādittan is found in the service of Rājarāja I, and it is probable that he was a son of Uttama-Chōla. If this view is correct, he must be taken to have acquiesced in his exclusion from the succession which was the direct result of Arumoli having been made the *Yuvarāja* at the time of Uttama's accession. Apparently the choice before Arumoli after his brother's death was between a civil war with his paternal uncle and a compromise such as the one actually adopted; Arumoli preferred the latter course, and his wisdom seems to be commended in the phrase *Kṣatradharmātharēdī* (v. 69) of the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates.

Of the geographical names mentioned in the inscription, *Malaiyaṇūr* and *Koṭṭaiyūr* cannot be identified without more details: *Pullamaṅgalam* may be the same as *Pullamaṅgai*, a village near Paṣupatikōyil, about nine miles south of Tanjore. *Vēṇṇaiyūr-nāḍu* may be the same as the subdivision of Vaḍagarai-Rājendrasimha-vaḷanāḍu in the Śōlamaṅdalam.⁴ If that is so, *Vēṇṇaiyūr* must be included in the list of villages in the *nāḍu* given by Venkayya.

I edit the text from a set of estampages received from the Superintendent for Epigraphy, Madras.

TEXT.

- 1 Svasti Śrī [||*] Kō-Rājakēsarivarmanmarkku yāḍu 2-āvadu Vaḍagarai-brahmadēyam Śrī-Vīraṇārāya[na]-chchaturvvēdimamṅgalattu-pperuṅguri-pperumakkaḷukku Chakravartti-śrīmukham Pāṇḍiyaṇai=ttalai-koṇḍa Karikāla-Sōḷaṇai=kkongu drōhika-[=ā]ṇa Sōma[n].....*rambi

¹ *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. III, Nos. 135, 138 and 144.

² *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. III, No. 204.

³ *Ibid.*, p. [14].

⁴ *South-Indian Inscriptions*, II Introduction, p. 24.

⁵ The stone is damaged here but there can be no doubt about the missing letter.

⁶ There is a gap of seven or eight letters here. They must form the rest of the name of the first *drōhi* followed by *iraṇ*.

No. 27.] THE UDAIYARGUDI INSCRIPTION OF RAJAKESARIVARMAN A.D. 988. 169

- 2 Ravidāsaṅ=āpa Pañchavan-Brahmādhirājaṇum ivan-ṛambi Paramēśvaraṅ=āṇa Irumuḍi-
chchōḷa-Brahmādhirājaṇum ivagaḷ-uḍappiṇanda Malaiyaṇū¹rāṇum ivagaḷ=tambi-
mārum=ivagaḷ-makkaḷidum ivar-brāhmaṇim[ār]²-pērālum=i.....³ṛamattam
- 3 pērappaṇmāridum=ivagaḷ-makkaḷidum=ivagaḷukku=ppiḷḷai-kuḍutta māmaṇmāridum tāyōḍ-
uḍappiṇanda māmaṇ māmaṇmāridum⁴=ivagaḷ-uḍappiṇanda peṇḡai
vēṭṭāriṇavum=ivagaḷ-makkaḷai vēṭṭāriṇavum=āga ivv-aṇaivar [muḡi]yum
namm-āṇaikk=uriyavāṛu Ko-
- 4 ṭṭaiyūr Brahmaśrīrājaṇum Pullamaṅgalattu Chandraśekhara-Bhaṭṭaṇaiyum pera-
ttandōm tāṅgaḷum=ivagaḷ-kaṅkāṇiyōḍum=ivagaḷ śoṇṇavāṛu nanum-āṇai-
kk=uriyavāṛu kuḍiyōḍu kuḍipērum vilaikku viṛru=ttāḷattiduga ivai
Kuru[kāḍi]-kiḷāṇ-eḷutt=enru⁵ i-ppariśu vara i-
- 5 śrīmukhattiṇ mēṛppaṭṭa Malaiyaṇūraṅ=āṇa⁶ Pāppanachchēri Rēvadāsa-kramavi-
ttaṇum ivan-magaṇum=ivan-ṛāy Periyanaṅgai-chchāṇiyum=i-mmuvaridum=āṇa
nilam śrī-Viranārāyaṇa-chchatu[r]jvēḍimaṅgalattu miy-paḍāḡai Dēvaṇmaṅgalam=
āṇa paṭṭila nilam śrī-Viranārāyaṇa-chchatu[r*]-jvēḍi-
- 6 maṅgalattu sabhaiyār-pakkal Veṇṇaiyūr-nāṭṭu Veṇṇaiyūr-uḍaiyāṇ Nakkaṅ=Ara-
vaṇaiyāṇ=āṇa Pallava-Muttaraiya-magaṇ Barataṅ=āṇa Vyāḷagajamalla-
Ppallavaraiyaṇēṇ=i-nnilam paḷambaḍi iraṇḍē-mukkālēy=oru-māvum=agamanai-
y=āṇum=āga i-nnilamum=i-mmaṇaiyum nūṛṛ=oḡupatt-i⁷.
- 7 ru-kaḷaṇju poṇ kuḍutta vilai-koṇḍ=ivvūr-Tiruv-Anantēśvarattu Bhaṭṭārakar-
kōyililēy=ivv=āṭṭai Mēsha-nāyāṛu Nāyāṛu-kkiḷamai-peṛra Pūraṭṭādi-nāṇu
chandr-āḍityavat ālvār-kōyil-muṇbu [Mūvā]virattarunūṛruvaṇāṇa nilaiy-
ambalattu taṇṇiṛ-aṭṭum brāhmaṇaṇ=oruvāṇukku ni[śa]-
- 8 dam padi-ṇāḷi nellum=āṭṭaivaṭṭam=oru kāsūm niśadam padinaiyvar brāhmaṇar=
uṇḍaṛkum=āga paḍiṇāṛu ivāṇuḷēy=aiyvar śivayōgikaḷ=u[ṇṇ]avum vaiyṭṭēṇ
Araiyaṇ Bharataṅ=āṇa Vyāḷagajamalla-Ppallavaraiyaṇēṇ i-dha[r]mmam
rakṣhikkīṇa mahā-sabhaiyār-śrī-pāḍaṇḡaḷ=en-talaimeḷaṇa[||*]

TRANSLATION.

Line 1. Hail ! Prosperity ! (In the) second year of (the reign of) King Rājakesarivarmān, the order of the Emperor (addressed) to the members of the Great Assembly of Śrī-Viranārāya-pachaturvēḍimaṅgalam, a brahmadēya on the North bank :

¹ Length is marked by the sign for secondary ā.

² The signs for ā and r are lost just below the missing letter noticed in note 5 above.

³ A gap of the same length as at the end of line 1.

⁴ Cancel the second māmaṇ.

⁵ Read *kiḷāṇ*.

⁶ See n. 4, p. 167 ante.

⁷ The length of subsidiary ā in nū is expressed by the sign for subsidiary ā. The letters *roḡa* and *ti* seem to have been corrected from the original *riṛu* and *to*.

II. 1-2. Sōman....., his younger brother Ravidāsa *alias* Pañchavaṇ Brahmadhirājan, and his younger brother Paramēsvaraṇ *alias* Irumuḍichchōla Brahmadhirājan have been guilty of treason as they murdered Karikālaśōla who took the head of the Pāṇḍya ;

II. 2-4. We have ordered that the (*properties* ?)¹ (of these persons), of their brother Malaiyaṇūrāṇ, of their younger brothers and sons, of their wives....., of the elder brothers of their father and their children, of their fathers-in-law (*lit.* of their uncles who have given their daughters in marriage to them), of their uncles who are brothers of their mother, of the persons who have married their sisters, and of their sons-in-law²—these (*properties* ?) shall, in accordance with our command, be obtained³ by Brahmasīrājan of Kottaiyūr and Chandrasēkhara-Bhaṭṭa of Pullamaṅgalam.

II. 4-7. You shall,⁴ in the presence of these (*two*) persons and in pursuance of what they say and in pursuance of our command, sell at the prevailing price⁵ and remit (*the amount*) to the treasury.⁶ This is the writing of Kurukūḷi-kiḷāṇ. When this (*letter*) was received, the lands of the three persons, *viz.*, Malaiyaṇūrāṇ *alias* Rēvadāsa-Kramavittan of Pāppanahchēri, who is mentioned above in the letter, his son, and his mother Periyanaṅgai-chchāni, these lands in the *paṭṭu* known as Dēvanmaṅgalam in the western *piḷāgai* of Viranārāyaṇa-chaturvēdimāṅgalam and including, by the old measurement, two and three quarters and one twentieth (*of a vēli*) and six residential houses,⁷ these lands and these houses, were bought of the members of the Sabhā of Viranārāyaṇa-chaturvēdimāṅgalam by me, Bharataṇ *alias* Vyālagajamalla-Pallavaraiyaṇ, son of Nakkaṇ Aravaṇaiyāṇ *alias* Pallava-Muttaraiyaṇ, (a resident) of Veṇṇaiyūr in Veṇṇaiyūr-nāḍu, after payment of one hundred and twelve *kaḷāṇḷu* of gold.

II. 7-8. In the month of Mēsha in this year, on the Pūrattādi day which was a Sunday, I, Araiyaṇ Bharataṇ *alias* Vyālagajamalla-Ppallavaraiyaṇ, endowed these (*lands and houses*) in order that, as long as the sun and the moon endure, one Brahmin, who supplies water in the (*maṇḍapa* called) Three-thousand-six hundred *alias* Nilaiyambalam in front of the Ālvār shrine in the temple of Tiru-Anantiśvarattu-Bhaṭṭāraka of this village, may get ten *nāḷi* of paddy every day and one *kāṣu* in a year, and that fifteen Brahmins may be fed every day, (*provided that*) among these sixteen⁸, five *śivayōgis*⁹ shall be fed. The sacred feet of the members of the mahāsabhā who protect this charity (*will be borne by me*) on my head.

¹ The gap after *aga ivanṇavar* and before *yum* in line 3 greatly obscures the meaning. The space is just enough for two letters, and I think the first of them is most probably *ma*. Some word like *muri* in the sense of 'portion' or 'share' may be suggested. The general sense is, however, clear from what follows, and I have followed this in filling the gap in the translation with: (*properties* ?). No. 112 of 1911 is another instance of the confiscation of the properties of persons found guilty of treason (*drōhika*) in the reign of Rājārāja III.

² Literally, 'of those who have married their children'.

³ [See *ante*, p. 167, f. n. 2—C. R. K.]

⁴ The pronouns '*tāṅgalam*' and '*iṅṇai*' are at first puzzling; but a little consideration shows that the former must refer to the members of the Sabhā to whom the letter is addressed, and the latter to the two persons to whom a part of the confiscated rights was assigned by the king. What this exactly was is not clear on account of the gap noted above—n. 1. I have understood *Kankāni* in its abstract sense. Though *Kankāni* also means 'superintendent,' the meaning hardly suits the present context. [The expression means 'under the supervision of these people'—C. R. K.]

⁵ Literally, 'at the price which one peasant gets from another'.

⁶ That *tālam* means 'treasury' will be seen from the following: 'Nilamun viṇṇu paṇḍi-kulāsani-mārāyar daṇḍa-tālatu iduga enru śrīmukam vara.....āka toṇṇūru kāsūm.....mārāyar daṇḍa-tālatu vaittu' (No. 553 of 1921); and 'Variyilitta poṇ kaḍavar muṇṇinru irādu purāṇjāyṇdu pōṇṇṇaiyil pōṇār avam pōṇār pōkkarattu kaccippēṭṭu tālatu vaittu taravu kēṭka enru mahā-sabhaikkū-kkaḍaiyṭṭu vara.' (No. 379 of 1922).

⁷ '*Ākam*' and '*maṇai*' occur in the sense of 'house' and 'house-wife' respectively in the Uttaramūr inscriptions of Parāntaka I.

⁸ [This number includes also the water Brahmin—C. R. K.]

⁹ See *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. III, p. 382.

- 33 பச்சிஹயா[:*] அபரத: சோக்ஷகச்சவஹாதுதரத: ஸேலபாவ்யா-பூர்வத: டம்காஹே புராண-
காமாமமாஹ்நிஷித: தயா சோ[ராவ]டாகா[க]
34 ஸ்வயா ஹஸ்திஹ்நகபாமே டக்ஷிணசோமி நாகிலககுகுடும்பிவெவோதவணபாடாவர்தா சஸதி:
பாமோஷநிஷிததஷஹிகாரியா[பரத:]
35 ஸ்வஸ்யதேவாதுதரத: சோவீரகசோமாஸந்: பூர்வத: சேரிஹ்வாபோபச்சிஹாமர்யாடாயா
டக்ஷிணத: எவமேதத் சோத்ர¹
42 நரகே வசேத் ॥ தூதகோத்ர ராஜபுத்ர சாமஸ்தயோலாடில: ॥ லிஷிதத் தேத் சந்வி-
விஷஹாபிஷிதததிரபதிவத்ர திநா ॥ ச ३०० 8
43 மாப ய ७ ஸஹஸ்தோ மம ॥

No. 31.—THE PALLAVARAYANPETTAI INSCRIPTION OF RAJADHIRAJA II.

By V. VENKATASUBBA AYYAR, B.A., MADRAS.

The inscription¹ published below is engraved on the south wall of the *mandapa* in front of the central shrine in the Sundarēśvara temple at Pallavarāyanpēttai near Mayavaram in the Tanjore district. It is in a fair state of preservation though the inscribed surface is broken in certain portions and especially in ll. 9 and 10, thereby slightly obscuring the sense of the record. Some of the words lost can, however, be restored from the context.

The record is written in the Tamil language and script of the 12th century A.D. Orthographical peculiarities are very few. Some of the words used in the inscription, however, deserve to be noticed. The word *Kōyir-kottu* (l. 6) may be rendered as 'the palace establishment,' *kōyir* meaning 'palace' and *kottu* a 'division' or 'establishment.'² The word *agambaḍi-niyāyam* (l. 6) may be explained as 'the body of armed men and women employed in the inner apartments of the palace.' The first part of the compound implies 'those that are attached to the inner circle,' in which sense, the word is, however, now obsolete. The significance of the term *turai* (l. 6) is not quite clear. From the context it seems to denote 'a division' or 'a department.' In this sense it lingers to the present day in masons' vocabulary. *Muṇ-ēal* (l. 7.) may be taken to denote the class of officers who first receive the royal commands and communicate them to others for execution. The word *virundaṅgaḷ* (l. 21), not ordinarily found in inscriptions, means 'a married woman.' The term *uṭvari* (l. 28) may be explained as 'an extract from the tax-register issued by the State to a person for the actual enjoyment of a grant.' The *uṭvari*-documents are invariably issued over the signatures of the revenue officers of the State.

The inscription is dated in the eighth year of the reign of the Chōḷa king Rājakēśari-varman Rājādhirājadēva (II) and begins with the words '*kaḍal-ēṇḍa*,' etc., which usually introduce this monarch in his inscriptions. The object of the record is the grant of an *uṭvari*

¹ The portion ll. 36-41 contains the usual privileges accompanying the gift of a land and the imprecatory verses.

² Registered as No. 433 of 1924 in the *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for the year 1923-24. The inscription is noticed in the *Journal of the Mythic Society*, Vol. XIX, p. 57, but the readings and the interpretation given there require great alteration.

³ [The word means also 'a household' or 'family' see Winslow's Tamil-English Dictionary.—C. R. K.]

regarding the estate of **Tiruchchirrambalam-Uḍaiyāṇ Perumānambi** *alias* **Pallavarāyar** of Kāricai-Kulattūr, which had been made tax-free on his death. In giving an account of this Pallavarāyar, who appears to have been a trusted officer of Rājarāja II, the inscription recounts his services to the crown in connection with the Chōla succession and the Singhalese invasion of South India in the latter half of the 12th century A.D.

The record, which is mainly historical in character, may be divided into three sections. In the first are stated the circumstances under which Pallavarāyar brought in Rājādhirāja II and placed him on the throne; in the second, the help rendered by the Chōla king to the Pāṇḍya refugee Kulaśekhara, Pallavarāyar's victory over the Singhalese army and the restitution of Madura to Kulaśekhara are detailed at length; and in the third section, are recorded the demise of Pallavarāyar, the grant of tax-free lands to his relatives and their distribution among them by **Vēdavanam-Uḍaiyāṇ Ammaiappaṇ** *alias* **Pallavarāyaṇ** and the final grant of an *ulvari* for this, signed by royal officers.

From the inscription, we are given to understand that the Chōla king Rājarāja II having had no male issue for a long time, the question as to who should succeed him came up for consideration and the king himself selected **Edirili-Perumāḷ**, the son of **Nēriyūḍai-Perumāḷ** and the grandson of Vikramaśōḷadēvar, residing at Gaṅgaikoṇḍaśōḷapuram, and appointed him as his successor by investing him with the crown. However, soon after making this selection, Rājarāja II had two sons born to himself, but before any arrangements could be made for their succession, the king passed away. At the time of the king's demise his sons (*piḷḷaiṇṇal*)¹ were aged one and two years respectively and the minister Pallavarāyar escorted them to Rājarājapuram along with the harem² from the stronghold at Āyirattai. Then in accordance with the original intention of the departed king this officer placed on the throne **Edirili-Perumāḷ**³ under the title Rājādhirāja (II) with the consent of the *uḍai-kūḷam* and the *nāḍu* in the fourth year of installation.⁴ Since the inscription is damaged at this portion, more information is not available about the prince selected.

¹ The common term *piḷḷaiṇṇal* is to be interpreted here as 'male children', because in this inscription daughters are clearly distinguished as *pen-makkaḷ* (l. 21).

² [If the daughter of Pallavarāyar, who is described as 'the wife of Rājarājadēva with her sons' (l. 26) and to whom by far the largest share of his property has been allotted in this inscription (as many as 8 out of 40 *ṇṇi* of land), is the same as the queen who bore two sons to Rājarāja II in the last three years of his life, we can understand how Pallavarāyar could obtain the control of the harem and household of the late king. His tactful removal of the king's infant sons (probably his own grandchildren) to a place of safety and his helping the former king's successor-designate to the throne during their minority must have been prompted alike by his anxiety for the safety and good government of the realm as by personal considerations for his own daughter and grandchildren.—Ed.]

³ There could have been no grounds for resentment since only a member of the elder branch of the royal family was chosen for the throne.

⁴ No. 337 of 1914 from Maḍattukōyil in the Pudukkōttai State belonging to Rājādhirāja II gives the date '2nd year, Makara 7, Monday, Śvātī', corresponding to A.D. 1162, December 3, Monday. Prof. Kielhorn has fixed the date of accession of this king between 28th February and 30th March 1163 A.D. According to the present inscription, Rājādhirāja II was invested with the crown over three years earlier, *i.e.*, in 1160-61 A.D. His second year, therefore, would be 1161-62 and the Maḍattukōyil grant was probably issued while Rājādhirāja was a crown prince. A record from Punganūr in the Cnitoor district (No. 209 of 1931-32) gives the date '14th year which was equal to the 12th year of Rājādhirājadēva', thus counting the date from the time of his nomination.

[There are, however, three other inscriptions (Nos. 571 of 1907, *above* Vol. X, p. 127, 428 of 1912 and 19 of 1913) the dates of which work regularly for the year 1166 A.D. as the first year of Rājādhirāja II's reign; on the other hand there is at least one record (No. 96 of 1920) according to which Rājarāja II was ruling till 25th December 1163 A.D., *i.e.*, about 8 months subsequent to the date of his successor's accession as fixed by Kielhorn. The resulting confusion can possibly be cleared up by future discoveries.—Ed.]



Though Rājārāja II had no sons at the time he selected Edirili-Perumāḷ to succeed him, it is clear from the inscription that he did not die without leaving an heir-apparent to the throne. Since it is said that the princes were one and two years old respectively at the time of Rājārāja's demise, when Edirili-Perumāḷ was crowned king as Rājādhirāja, they must have been 17 and 18 years old respectively and therefore fit to assume the reins of government in A.D. 1178, which was the last year of the reign of Rājādhirāja II and the year of accession of his successor Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷa III. It is, therefore, likely that Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷa III was one of the two sons of Rājārāja II and that during the former's minority,¹ Rājādhirāja II was brought in to rule the Chōḷa country. The fact that the inscriptions of Rājārāja II and those of Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷa III commence with the identical eulogistical expressions 'Pū-maruvīya'² and 'Puyal-vāyṭtu,'³ etc., also lends support to this view.

After crowning Edirili-Perumāḷ under the title Rājādhirāja, the next service of Pallavarāyar to the Chōḷa kingdom was in connection with the war of the Pāṇḍya succession⁴ waged by the two rival claimants Parākrama-Pāṇḍya and Kulaśekhara-Pāṇḍya for the throne of Madura. The inscription states that the forces of Ceylon entered the Pāṇḍya country in large numbers and forced its king Kulaśekhara to leave his territory, whereupon this king is said to have sought the shelter of the Chōḷa king, entreating him to get back his kingdom. Pallavarāyar undertook to lead the Chōḷa army into the Pāṇḍya country, to restore Kulaśekhara to the throne, to decapitate the Singhalese commanders and nail their heads on the gates of Madura⁵ so as to inspire terror in the enemy's camp. Kulaśekhara⁶ is stated to have stayed in the Chōḷa country for some time before he started with the necessary forces to win back his kingdom. Pallavarāyar carried out all his undertakings and as a result of his invasion the Singhalese forces were driven out of India and Kulaśekhara was installed on the throne of his forefathers.

Only three other records of Rājādhirāja II refer to this war, viz., one from Ārpākkam⁷ in the Chingleput district, dated in the 5th year; another from Tiruvālaṅgāḍu⁸ near Madras, dated in the 12th year; and the third from Tirumayāṅam⁹ in the Tanjore district, dated also in the 12th year.

¹ Copper-plate No. 23 of 1916-17 which belongs to Rājārāja II as the ruler of the Vēṅgi country couples the Śaka year 1091 (= A.D. 1169) with the 23rd regnal year. We know that Rājārāja II was not alive in A.D. 1169 and that the Chōḷa country was then ruled by Rājādhirāja II. The period of regency was probably denoted here as a continuation of Rājārāja's reign. Incidentally, however, we see from the record that the Chōḷa hold on the Vēṅgi country was not lost even after the death of Rājārāja II, whose very rule over this part of the country was doubted (A. R. for 1917, para. 26).

² A. R. No. 173 of 1908; also A. R. for 1909, para. 50.

³ A. R. No. 154 of 1907. For similar commencement with the introduction of predecessors, see A. R. for 1913, para. 33, and A. R. for 1924, p. 102.

⁴ This war is detailed at length in chapters 76 and 77 of the Singhalese chronicle *Mahāvamsa* and its authenticity is borne out by inscriptional evidence. The chronicle is one-sided in its version, inasmuch as it assigns victory to the Singhalese general, but from Tamil lithic records we find that the Singhalese general was not only routed but that the heads of this general and of his subordinates were cut off and nailed to the gates of Madura by the Chōḷa general. The help that the Pāṇḍya king Kulaśekhara received from Rājādhirāja II is mentioned at considerable length in the *Mahāvamsa*, which fact is also corroborated by the present record.

⁵ Such gruesome acts are not uncommon in the warfare of the Tamils (see *S. I. I.*, Vol. III, pp. 37 and 68).

⁶ In this connection it may be noted that Kulaśekhara sought help from his uncle, the Koṅgu king Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷa, who also seems to have taken an active part in the restitution of his nephew to the Pāṇḍya throne (A. R. No. 336 of 1928). The *Mahāvamsa* also corroborates the help received by Kulaśekhara from the king of Koṅgu. The chronicle states that 'Kulaśekhara gathered together the forces of Tirinavela and those also of his mother's brethren which were at Ten-Koṅgu and Vāḍa-Koṅgu' (Wijesinha's translation p. 245).

⁷ No. 20 of 1899 of the Madras Epigraphical collection and *S. I. I. (Texts)*, Vol. VI, p. 138 ff.

⁸ No. 465 of 1905 of the same collection.

⁹ No. 261 of 1925 of the same collection.

stationed in the Pāṇḍya country, and also removed the heads of the Ceylonese generals that had been previously nailed to the gates of Madura by Tiruchchirambalam-Uḍaiyāṇ Perumānambi *alias* Pallavarāyar. Some letters and presents despatched to the officers of Kulaśekhara,¹ hinting that the Singhalese king was an ally of their master, were intercepted by the Chōla king. It was therefore decided to reinstate on the Pāṇḍya throne Vira-Pāṇḍya, the son of Parākrama-Pāṇḍya, the former protégé of Ceylon and a claimant to the throne of Madura. Vēdavanam-Uḍaiyāṇ Ammaiappan *alias* Pallavarājan was directed by the Chōla king to proceed with the necessary forces. When he had successfully accomplished his object, the general was granted 10 *rēli* of land in Rājārājan-Palaiyanūr, according to the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu record. All the above events are also recorded in the Tirumayānam inscription which appears to be an almost exact copy of the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu inscription. Both of them are dated in the 12th year and 157th day; the Tirumayānam inscription is, however, very fragmentary, but it has helped to fill in certain lacunæ in the text of the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu record. The reason why the same inscription should be engraved in two distant places as Tiruvālaṅgāḍu (Chingleput district) and Tirumayānam (Tanjore district) is not quite clear.

Of the persons figuring in the present inscription, the most important is Tiruchchirambalam-Uḍaiyāṇ Perumānambi *alias* Pallavarāyar who took an active part in the coronation of Rājādhirāja II and in the war of the Pāṇḍya succession. From the Ārpākkam epigraph we learn that his father was Ediriliśōla-Sambuvarāyar. He seems to have died before 1171 A.D., the date of the present record. Next in importance to Tiruchchirambalam-Uḍaiyāṇ Perumānambi *alias* Pallavarāyar stands Laṭṭāpuri-Daṇḍanāyaka. He was entrusted with the command of the Singhalese army by the Ceylonese king Parākramabāhu, when Parākrama-Pāṇḍya sought his assistance against Kulaśekhara-Pāṇḍya. Before Laṭṭāpuri-Daṇḍanāyaka could start for India, Parākrama-Pāṇḍya had been murdered, but the Ceylonese general succeeded in besieging Madura, the capital of the Pāṇḍya country, and in forcing Kulaśekhara to flee from his kingdom. Vēdavanam-Uḍaiyāṇ Ammaiappan *alias* Pallavarāyan who effected the distribution of lands among the relations of Tiruchchirambalam-Uḍaiyāṇ Perumānambi *alias* Pallavarāyar seems to have been an important officer and general both under Rājārāja II and his successor Rājādhirāja II. The several persons noticed in the record as the relatives of Pallavarāyar are obscure and are, therefore, not easily identifiable. The signatories to the *uḍrari*, Chōdirāsar, Vāṇādhirāsar, Śiṅgaḷarāyar, Nilagaṅgaraiyar and the royal secretary Mīnavan-Mūvēndavēḷāṇ appear to have held office even in the time of Kulōttuṅga-Chōla III, the successor of Rājādhirāja II.

Among the places mentioned in the inscription Kārigai-Kuḷattūr, the native place of Pallavarāyar, deserves notice. The Tamil prosodist Amudasāgarar commenced and completed his work *Kārigai* in this village, which, therefore, came to be known as Kārigaikūḷattūr.² It is stated to have been in Āmūr-kōṭṭam which roughly comprises the eastern portion of the present Chingleput taluk. There are two villages in this taluk bearing the name Kuḷattūr, one near Tirukkachchiyūr in Kaḷattūr-kōṭṭam and the other near Tiruppōrūr in Āmūr-kōṭṭam and the village mentioned in our record may be identified with the latter. In the time of Kulōttuṅga-Chōla I, Kaṇḍan-Mādhavan,³ a descendant of the chief who patronised Amudasāgarar, was

¹ The chronicle describes Kulaśekhara as 'a powerful king,' 'cunning in the art of war,' 'a terror to his enemies' and as 'skilled in devising means such as reconciliation, etc., to prevail against the enemy.' We find that Kulaśekhara was driven out of Madura by A.D. 1108 (Ārpākkam inscription) and that he was reinstalled on the throne by A.D. 1171 (Pallavarāyanpēṭṭai record). By A.D. 1175 (Tiruvālaṅgāḍu inscription) he had been de throne and Vira-Pāṇḍya crowned in his stead. It is, therefore, clear that Kulaśekhara could have occupied the throne only from about 1171 to 1175 A.D.

² Above, Vol. XVIII, p. 67.

³ *Hit.* p. 64.

in charge of this village, but it is not certain if he was in any way related to the Pallavarāyar of our record. **Jayaṅkoṇḍasōla-maṇḍalam** and **Gaṅgaikoṇḍasōla-puram** are well known to Tamil epigraphy. **Ayirattaḷi** was a quarter of Niyamam, a village situated close to Palamānēri in the Tanjore district. The village is also mentioned in the '*Viraśōḷiyam*' of Buddhāmītra and mentioned as 'a place of thousand temples.' **Rājādhirāja-Kuḷattūr** probably formed a portion of the present village Pallavarāyanpēttai which is known in inscriptions as Kuḷattūr and must have been called Pallavarāyanpēttai later to perpetuate the name of the Chōla general. **Virudarājabhayaṅkara-vaḷanāḍu** was evidently named after the surname 'Virudarājabhayaṅkara' of Kuḷottunga-Chōla I.¹

TEXT.

1. Svasti śrī []* Kaḷal-sūḷḍa Pār-mādarum Pū-mādaruṅ=Kaḷai-mādarum=aḷal-sūḷḍa Pōr-mādaruṅ=Chīr-mādarum [amarṇdu-vāḷa]²
2. nār-kaḷal-sūḷ puvī-ōlum pār-kaḷal-pōl³ pugaḷ parappa ādiyugamm=en[pa]⁴ sōdimuḍi punaiṇdaruḷi aru-śamaiyamum
3. aim-būdamum neṇṇiḷ niṇru pāriṇpat⁵-Te[n*]navaruṅ=Chēralaruṅ⁶ [Śīṅgaḷa]ru=mudalāya maṇ[ṇavargaḷ] ti[rai] śumandu van[d-iṇai]ṇi sē[vippa]ṇiḷi sēṅḷōl eḷu-p[ā]rum=inid= aḷippach=chem=po vi-
4. ra-sinhāsapattu Uḷagudai-Mukkōkkaḷāṇaḍiḷaḷōḍum vīṇṇirundaruḷiya Kōv=Irājakēsari-panmar-āṇa⁸ [Tribhu]vanachchakravartigaḷ⁹ Śrī-Rājādhirājadēvarkku yāṇḍu eṭṭāvadu¹⁰ ||||
5. Jayaṅkoṇḍasōla-maṇḍalattu Āmūr-kōṭṭattuch=Chīrkuṇṇa-nāṭṭuk=Kārigaik-Kuḷattūrk-Kuḷ[ā]ttuḷāṇ **Tiruchchirrambalam-Uḍaiyāṇ** Perumānambiyār=āṇa **Pallava-**
6. **rāyar** Periyadēvar **Rājārājadēvar** pērttu kōyīḷ-kottum=āvark=kudirai-agambaḍi-niyūyam uḷḷiṭṭa turaigaḷukkum mudaliḷaḷum=āy mudaliḷaḷ-ōpādi kāriyat-
7. tukkuṅ=kaḍavarum=āy e[]*ḷā varisaigaḷum nuṇ-ēval uḷḷiṭṭu mudaliḷaḷ perakkaḍava ēraṇḷaḷum peṇṇu niṇru Periyadēvar¹⁰ tūṇi-aruḷip=pillaigaḷ[]*kku oṇṇum iraṇḍum tiruṇakshatram=ā-
8. gaiyāl **Ayirattaḷi**-padaividum viṭṭup=pōdavēṇḍip=pōḍuḷira-iḍattut=tiruv=antapuramum ...¹¹ āraṇḷaḷum uḷḷi[]*ṭaṇa ellām parigarittuk=[kūṭṭi]k=koḍu-pōṇḍu Rāja-
9. [rā*]ja[pu]ra[]*ṭilē irunda iḍa[ttukku] [sūḷ]ṇa iḍaṅ...yaru migudi-p..... [ra]ttu uḍaṅ-kūṭṭatt[ā].....[rā]lum ellāk=[kalakka] [Sō]larāṇiyat¹² tukku.....yē iruppār] kāraṇavaruḍ.....
10. vēṇḍip=purattu ellā aḍaivu kēḍugaḷum va[rāda] iḍattu in.....lum parigarittu iv..... Periyadēvar eḷundaru[]i.....¹³ n[ā]ḷilē tiru-abhi[shēgattuk]ku uriya pillaigaḷ iṇṇiyē ...[rukki]-

¹ S. I. I., Vol. III, p. 152.

² *Amaṇḍuvāḷa* is another reading for *amarṇdu vāḷa* (No. 58 of 1906).

³ For *pōl* some inscriptions read *tūḷ*.

⁴ Other readings are *ādiyugam vandadēna* (No. 20 of 1899) and *ādiyugam āmēna* (No. 474 of 1905).

⁵ *Vandu pāriḷka* is another reading (No. 20 of 1899).

⁶ No. 20 of 1899 gives in addition *Koṇḅanarum Pallavarum*. ⁷ No. 465 of 1905 has *vantūṇḍich-kērippa*.

⁸ No. 20 of 1899 has *parakēsariarman*; *ma* in *panmarāṇa* is engraved as a conjunct letter in *Grantha* characters.

⁹ Some inscriptions have *Maduraiyūm Iṭamum koṇḅaruḷiya* in addition (cf. No. 474 of 1905) *chēḷa* in *chchakravartigaḷ* is engraved as a conjunct letter in *Grantha* characters.

¹⁰ The letter *ya* is inserted between *ri* and *ḍē*.

¹¹ The gap may be filled up with the letters *pari*.

¹² *Jya* is engraved as a conjunct letter in *Grantha* characters.

¹³ The word *yirunda* may have been lost here.

- 11 rapadiyai pārttu [mu]n-pālilē kāriyam irundapaḍi vi....¹ ś[e]ydu Gaṅgaikoḷḷ²da-
śōlapura....³ daruḷi iru[k*]kīra pillaiḡalai ..⁴yānam paṇṇu....⁵ḍaiyār
Vikk[i]ramaśōladēvar-pēraṇār
- 12 Neriḍaipperumā[⁶]-tirumagaṇār Ediril[⁷]pperumāḷaip=peri.....⁸[ji]-aruḷina nālilē
maṇḍai kavi[p]pittu...⁹ dār-āṇavārē ivarait=tiru-abhi[shēgam paṇṇu]vikkak=kaḍ-
avarā[ga]...¹⁰tu nālān=tirunakshatrattilē Rājādhirāja¹¹dēvar e-
- 13 nru tiru-ā(a)bhishēgam paṇṇuvittu uḍaṇ-kūṭṭamum nāḍu-k¹²onruppaṭṭuch=chellumpāḍi
paṇṇi[vitt-aruḷi]ṇār [i*] migai śeyyāḍapaḍi[yum] pari[ga]rittū ivargal el....¹³ū=
chērap=piḍittup=paṇi aḷaḡid-ā-
- 14 gach=cheyvad-orupaḍiyum paṇṇi [i*] Iḷattān Pāṇḍi-nāṭṭilē paḍaigalūn=kāraṇavar=
āṇāraiyyu[m*] migudip...¹⁴vittu i-ṇṇāḍu kaikoḷḷak=kaḍavan=āḡap=paṇṇiṇa
i...¹⁵ [P]āṇḍiyaṇār Kulaśēkharadēvar
- 15 ta[m]muḍaiya rājyam¹⁶ vittuch=Chōlarāja[¹⁷t*]tilē pugundu eṇṇuḍaiya rājya¹⁸m nāṇ
peṇumpa[ḍi=ppaṇ]ṇavēnum=eṇ[ru] ś[o]ḷla ivar Uḍaiyār....¹⁹ var peṇumpāḍi
paṇṇa-kaḍa-
- 16 var=āḡavum inda rājya²⁰tti[lē] pugun]du [vanḍu] kaikkonḍa Ilaṅkāpuri-Daṇḍanāyakaṇ-
uḷḷittāraik=konṇu Pāṇḍiya[r*]ḡal=i-
- 17 ruppāṇa Madurai-vāśalilē ivar[ga]ḷ] talai taippikkak=kaḍavarāḡavuṇ=chollī ippaḍiellām-
viṇṇappa[ṇ*]=cheydu tiruvuḷḷam=āṇapaḍiyē Pāṇḍiyaṇār Kulaśēkharadēvar Śōlarāj-
ya²¹ttiḷ irunda nālil ivarkku vē-
- 18 ṇḍuvaṇav=ellān=kuraiv-ara-cheydu parikarittu balattālum²² arttattālum urśāḡa²³[t*]tālum
Pāṇḍi-nāḍu kaikkonḍu tāṇ=choṇṇapaḍiyē Ilaṅkāpuri-Daṇḍanāyakaṇ-uḷḷittāraik=
ko ru ivargal-talai
- 19 Madurai-vāśalilē taippittu Pāṇḍiyaṇār Kulaśēkharadēvar Madurai(yi)lē pugukaikkuch=
che[y*]ya-vēṇḍuvaṇavum vaṇ...[jyat]tu śeyvittu ivarai Madurai(yi)lē pugaviṭṭup-
Pāṇḍi-nāḍu Iḷa-nāḍ=āḡad a-
- 20 paḍi parikarittuch=Chōla-rāja²⁴m śeṇṇa-paḍi[kku] iḍāḡat-Tonḍai-nāḍum Pāṇḍi-nā²⁵ḍum
shellumpāḍiyum paṇṇi rāja²⁶-kāriyaṇ-konḍu nirvagikka=kkaḍava ma...ku-ttaṇ-katt-
aḷai=iṭṭu=k[kāri]yaṇ-konḍu-śeluttinapaḍiyē tamakku pi-
- 21 ṇbum i-kkaṭṭaḷaiyilē kāriyaṇ=chelvadorupaḍi kāriyaṇ-konḍu śel[va]ttā[²⁷i*] niṇka [i*] ivar
viyādi-paṭṭu iṇṇiyē olundamaiyil ivar-virun[daṅga]ḷukkum makkaḷukkum ivargal-
virundaṅgaḷukku[n*] makkaḷukkum peṇ-makkaḷukkum tāyārkkum uḍa-

¹ The letters *unappaṇ* may be inserted here.

² The letters *pira* may be inserted here.

³ The letters *yāḷēvar-tān* may be inserted here.

⁴ The letters *nichchayal* may be inserted here.

⁵ The expression intended was probably *nāḍum-onruppaṭṭu*.

⁶ The letters *lōraiyyu* may be inserted here.

⁷ The letters *pōdu* may be inserted here.

⁸ *Iya* is engraved as a conjunct letter in *Grantha* characters.

⁹ The letters *Kulaśēkharadē* may be inserted here.

¹⁰ The letter *ba* is written in *Grantha* characters.

¹¹ The letter *śā* is engraved in *Grantha* characters.

¹² There is an extra secondary length after the letter *nā*.

¹³ The letters *ttiḷ elun* may be inserted here.

¹⁴ The letters *vittu U* may be inserted here.

¹⁵ The letters *ppōn* may be inserted here.

¹⁶ Engraved in *Grantha* characters.

¹⁷ The letters *ḍattu* may be inserted here.

- 22 npiṇḍāḷukkum ivaḷ-mak[kaḷukku]m ivargal-vargattārkku Virudarājabhayaṅkara-
vaḷanāttuk-Kuṟukkai-nāttu ivar-kāṇiy-āṇa Chō[]ēndiraśiṅganallūril paḷam=peyar
tavir[du yā]ḍu eṭṭāvadū-muda[] antarāyam pāttam=utpaḍa i-
- 23 raiyilīyā vēru-piṇḍa Rā[jādhi]rājap¹-Kuḷattū[r] nilam nārpadiṟṟu-vēli [l*] in=nilam aṇu-
bavikkumpaḍikku Jayaṅkoṇḍasōḷa-maṇḍalattu Mēgmalaip-Paḷaiyaṇūr-[nāttu]p=
Paḷaiyaṇūr-uḍaiyāṇ Vēḍavaṇam-uḍaiyāṇ Am-
- 24 malāppaṇār-āṇa Pallavarā[yaṇ] niḷchchayit(t)taḍaiyāy anubavikkum virundaṅgalil
Śīrālattūruḍaiyāṇ-magaḷukku nilam mū-vēli[yu]m Alināḷuḍaiyāṇ-magaḷukku
nila[m] mū-{vēliyum ivaḷ}-makkaḷ v[āt]kaippa...ṇgaḷ² mūvarkku
- 25 pērāl nilam iru-vēliy-āga...³ aṇu-vēliyum Nerkuṇṇāṅ-kilār Kaḷappālarāyar-magaḷukku
nilam mū-vēliyum ivaḷ-makkaḷil Aḷagiyaḍēvaṇukku nilam mū-vēliyum peṇ-[makkaḷu]-
kku pērāl nilam iru-vēliy-āga nilam aṇuvēli-
- 26 yum Ambar Aruvandai Kāliṅgarāyar-magaḷukku nilam mū-vēliyum makkaḷil Śētta[n*]⁴
Tirunaṭṭamāḍi Virana[mbi] Dēvaṅ(k)gu[ḍaiyā]ṇ-magaḷukkum ivaḷ-magaḷukkum nilam
iru-vēliyum Rājarājadēva⁵[r]-virundaṅgaḷukkum makkaḷukkum nilam eṇ-vēliyum
tāyār Vaippū-
- 27 ruḍaiyār-magaḷārkkum nilam vēliyum uḷḍaṇ]-piṇḍa peṇḡalil Viḷiūruḍaiyāṇukku pukka
peṇṇukkum iva[]-magaḷukkum nilam iru-vēliyum āga ni[la:u] nārpadiṟṟu-vēliyum
antarāyam pāttam-utpaḍa iṇḷi-
- 28 iṭṭamaikku ||-uḷvarikku eḷuttittār ||-Nandiyarāyar ||-Amarakōṇār ||-Kaṇakarāyar ||-
Mūvēndarāyar ||-Jipattara[yaṇ]||-Viṣaiyarāyar||-Puravuvāri-Śrīkaraṇa-
nā[yakam]||-Śīrkuḍaiyāṇ||-Kuṇṇākilāṇ||-Kāṇūr-kilavaṇ||-Nariya[nū]r-
Uḍaiy[ā]ṇ||-
- 29 Puravuvāri-Śrīkaraṇattu Mugave[t*]ṭi Inḡai-Uḍaiyāṇ ||-Ārūr-Uḍaiyāṇ ||-Tattaiṇaḷlūr-
Uḍaiyāṇ||-Śīrunallūr-Uḍaiyāṇ||-ippaḍikku piraśādaṇcheyd⁶-aru[ḷi]ṇa Śrī-
mugaṭ-tukku eḷuttittār Chēdirāsar||-Vāṇādhira⁷[va]rāsar
- 30 Rā[ja*] rā[ja*] Viḷupparayar ||-Śiṅḡalarāyar ||-Nilagaṅgarayar||-Dipattarayar ||-
eḷudināṇ tirumandira-ōḷai Miṇavaṇ Mūvē[ḍa]vēlāṇ ||-

TRANSLATION.

Ll. 1-8. Hail! Prosperity! In the **eighth year** (of the reign) of king **Rājakēsarivarman** alias the glorious **Rājādhirājadēva**, the emperor of the three worlds, when he was pleased to be seated along with (his queen) **Uḷaḍai-Mukkoḱkilāṇaḍigal** on the throne of heroes, made of pure gold, having been pleased to put on the lustrous crown (so that) the Goddess of the Earth surrounded by the sea, the goddess (residing in) the flower (i.e., Lakshmi), the Goddess of Learning, the Goddess of War endowed with power and the Goddess of Prosperity all lived in amity as in the first *yuga*, (his) fame, white as the milky ocean, spread in the seven worlds surrounded by the four oceans, the six systems of philosophy (flourished), the five elements stood in their respective positions protecting the people, such kings as the Tēnnavar (Pāṇḍyas), Śērālar (Chēras), Śiṅḡalar (Singhalese) came carrying (with them) tribute and made their obeisance (to him), and his hoary sceptre well protected the seven worlds;

¹ The word *Rājādhirāja* is engraved in *Grantha*.

² The gap may be filled with the letters *ṭṭa* pe.

³ The word intended was perhaps *Śēḍaṇ*.

⁴ The letter *sa* is engraved in *Grantha* characters.

⁵ The letters *dhi* and *rā* are engraved in *Grantha* characters.

⁶ The word *nilam* may be lost here.

⁷ The letters *Rājārāja* are engraved in *Grantha*.

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Vēdavanam-Uḍaiyāṇ Ammaiappan alias Pallavarāyaṇ of Mēṇmalaip-Palaiyaṇūr in Jayaṇḡonḍa-śōḷa-maṇḍalam for enjoyment (as follows) :—

| | | |
|---|---|--|
| Ll. 24-28 . Among (<i>Pallavarāyaṇ's</i>) wives (a), (b), (c) and (d). | (a) to the daughter of Śiṅṡālattūr-Uḍaiyāṇ. | three <i>vēli</i> (of) land. |
| | (b) to the daughter of Ālināḍ-Uḍaiyāṇ. | three <i>vēli</i> (of) land. |
| | (c) to the daughter of Neṅkuṇraṇ-kiḷār Kālappāḷa-rāyar. | three <i>vēli</i> (of) land. |
| To the three married daughters of (b) above. | .... | six <i>vēli</i> (of) land at two <i>vēli</i> per head. |
| Among the sons of (c) above | to Aḷṡgiyadēvaṇ | three <i>vēli</i> (of) land. |
| To the (three) daughters of (c) above . . . . . | .... | six <i>vēli</i> (of) land at two <i>vēli</i> per head. |
| .... | (d) to the daughter of Ambar Aruvandai Kālāṅgarāyar. | three <i>vēli</i> (of) land. |
| To the daughter of the son of (d) above, Śē(t)taḷṡ* Tiruṇattamāḍi Viranaḷmbiḷ Dēvaṅḡḡaiyāṇ and her daughter. | .... | two <i>vēli</i> (of) land. |
| To the wife of Rājarājadēvar (who must have been another daughter of Pallavarāyaṇ from (d) above) and her sons. | .... | eight <i>vēli</i> (of) land. |
| To his mother | the daughter of Vaippūr-Uḍaiyār. | one <i>vēli</i> (of) land. |
| Among his sisters | to the wife of Valiyūr-Uḍaiyāṇ and her daughter. | two <i>vēli</i> (of) land. |

On the whole 40 *vēli* of land was thus distributed, free of taxes, including *antarāyam* and *pāḷḷam*.

Ll. 28-30. The signatories to the *uḷvari* (are) :—

Nandiyarāyaṇ||— Amarakōṅṡar||— Kaṇakarāyaṇ||— Mūvēndarāyaṇ||— Chinattara[yaṇ]||— Viṡaiyarāyaṇ||— The *Puravu-vari Śrikarāṇa-nāyakam* are :—Śiṅṡukudaiyāṇ||— Kuṇraṇkiḷāṇ||— Kāṅṡūr-kiḷavaṇ||— Nariyaṇūr-Uḍaiyāṇ||— The *puravuvāri Śrikarāṇattu Mugaveḷḷi* are :— Iṅgai-Uḍaiyāṇ||— Ārūr-Uḍaiyāṇ||— Tattainallūr-Uḍaiyāṇ||— Śiṅṡunallūr-Uḍaiyāṇ||— For the royal order that was issued, (the attestors are) :—Chēdirāṡar||— Vāṇāḍhirā [va]rāṡar Rā[ja*]rā[ja*]viḷupparaiyaṇ||— Śiṅṡaḷarāyaṇ||— Nilagaṅgarayaṇ||— Dipattarayaṇ||— (This royal order) is the draft of the royal secretary Mīṇavaṇ Mūvē[ṇḡa]vēḷāṇ |||—

No. 32.—TWO BRICK INSCRIPTIONS FROM NALANDA.

By N. P. CHAKRAVARTI, M.A., Ph.D., OOTACAMUND.

The Buddhist *sūtra* forming the subject of this article is found in duplicate on two incised bricks which were discovered in 1924 by Mr. J. A. Page, the then Superintendent of the Central Circle, in small votive *stūpas* near the main *stūpa* at Nālandā.¹ The inscription on Brick A begins on the top surface and is continued on three sides, the right hand side and the bottom

¹ See *A. S. I. An. Rep.*, 1923-24, p. 74.

surface being left uninscribed. The writing on the top surface covers a space of $11\frac{1}{2}$ " in length and $8\frac{3}{4}$ " in breadth while the breadth of the inscribed sides ranges from 1" to $1\frac{1}{4}$ ". The inscription consists altogether of thirty-one lines of writing of which twenty-two lines are incised on the top surface and three on each of the three other sides. Brick B, which contains twenty-three lines of writing, is inscribed only on the top surface, the inscription covering a space which measures $14\frac{1}{2}$ " \times 8". In A, the portions of writing coming in the middle of the top and the left hand side are damaged while the inscription on B is in a fair state of preservation. The letters in both A and B are not uniformly executed, their average size being from $\frac{1}{4}$ to $\frac{1}{2}$ of an inch approximately.

Before proceeding with the discussion of palaeography, I may point out that the two documents under discussion hold a peculiar position as epigraphs. It appears that the letters have not been inscribed in the same way as inscriptions on stone or copper-plates. It is clear from the shape of the letters that the scribe has engraved the text on the brick with a stylus or similar sharp instrument. Thus we have to consider the documents more in the nature of manuscripts than inscriptions and, as one would expect in such records, the writing is in a much more cursive hand than one would ordinarily find in inscriptions. The characters found on these records belong to the Gupta script of a comparatively later period, more strictly to the period of transition from the Gupta to the acute-angled stage and may be ascribed to the sixth century of the Christian era. As to their palaeography the following points may be noticed : of the initial vowels the lower portion of *a* and \bar{a} shows a curve open to the left and the sign for the length of \bar{a} is expressed by a hook attached to the foot of the right vertical. *I* is denoted by three dots and in \bar{e} the apex of the triangle is pointed downwards. Of the consonants, single *k* is written in the same way as in the Gupta period and does not yet show a loop on the left but such loops are noticed in places in ligatures (cf. *saṃskāra* in l. 3, *skandha* in l. 11. etc.). The triangle of *kh* stands at the right of the vertical and not to its left as found in the acute-angled alphabet, but in common with the latter the third as well as the central horizontal line of *j* are slanting downwards and *d* has a serif in the lower end. In *ṇ* the right stroke has not yet become vertical as we find from the 7th century onwards, though a loop has been attached to its left. *Bh* is as in the Gupta period¹ and has not yet formed the triangle on the left. *Y* is tripartite with a hook to the left which led up to the later bipartite *y*. *D* is rounded at the top of the middle vertical touching the right and the left limbs. Lingual *l* occurs twice in the document (cf. *khula-khula*, B l. 19), a peculiarity not found in later documents. The *Virāma* is denoted by a stroke above the consonant (cf. *katamat*, ll. 10, 11, 15) and the superscript *r* is denoted by an angular stroke on top evidently owing to cursive forms of letters.

The language of both the documents is Sanskrit which is on the whole correct. Rules of *sandhi* have not been strictly adhered to. As regards orthography, attention may be drawn to the following points. Consonants with a superscript or subscript *r* have at times been doubled, e.g., *vahirdhā* (B l. 6), *pūrvakam* (A l. 14), *avakrāntir* (A l. 21). *Sk* is frequently written as *ks* in A, e.g., *saṃksāra* for *saṃskāra* (A l. 3. etc.). *V* and *b* have not been distinguished except in *kubja* (B l. 19; A l. 23). Two different marks of punctuation have been used, one, the ordinary mark represented by a small curve (∩) like a comma written horizontally, and the other, a rare one, denoted by two vertical lines (cf. B l. 15 after *cha* and A l. 30 after *iti*). The former has been shown in the transcript below, with a *daṇḍa*.

The text of the *sūtra* as found in both the bricks is substantially the same. I have given below only the text of B, which is the better preserved of the two documents, while the slight differences in reading, occurring in A, have been noticed in the foot-notes. They contain the text of the well-known *Pratītyasamutpāda* or *Nidāna-sūtra* as well as its *vibhanga* or division.

¹ Cf. the inscription of Tōramāpa, C. I. I., Vol. III, Pl. XXIII-A.

No. 38.—THE TIRUMUKKUDAL INSCRIPTION OF VIRARAJENDRA.

By K. V. SUBRAHMANYA AYYAR, B.A., COIMBATORE.

Of the collection of over twenty thousand inscriptions made by the Epigraphical Department in the Madras Presidency, the inscription edited here is unique in several respects. It is one of the biggest inscriptions known so far ; it registers certain historical facts not known or noticed till now ; it gives an insight into the details of the working of the official machinery and shows how the king's birth-day, the days of the natal star of persons of note, and festivals of public rejoicing were celebrated ; it records provisions made for the maintenance of an educational institution and a hostel ; above all, it furnishes detailed information, such as is available from no other source, regarding the upkeep of a hospital, the medicines stocked therein, the number of beds provided for in-patients, the endowment for a staff of nurses, physician, surgeon and compounder, and the provision for inferior servants such as the washerman, the potter and others that attended to the needs of the patients. In presenting the record, I have strictly confined myself to offering such remarks and suggestions as are required to elucidate the text.

The inscription is engraved on the east wall of the first *prākāra* of the Vishnu temple of Venkaṭṣa-Perumāḷ at Tirumukkūdal in the Madhurantakam taluk of the Chingleput district. It was discovered and copied by me during the field season of 1915-16.¹ There is a notice of it in the *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for that year.² The village of Tirumukkūdal derives its name from its situation at the confluence of the Pālār with two of its tributaries, the Vēgavatī and the Cheyyār. The word 'tirumukkūdal' means 'the confluence of three sacred (streams)'. The temple of Venkaṭṣa-Perumāḷ is picturesquely situated on a prominence on the bank of the combined river which at this place is naturally very broad. The spot is an ideal one for the erection of a temple, college, hostel and hospital. At the time of the record, all these were actually combined in one building with separate apartments for each section and located here as the inscription gives us to understand. Tirumukkūdal is about two miles from Palaiya-Śivaram, a small station next to Walajabad in the Conjeeveram-Chingleput section of the South Indian Railway, and has to be reached by crossing the river. On the opposite side of the river is a small hillock on which stands another Vishnu temple which is sometimes frequented by pilgrims visiting Conjeeveram and about which there is a reference in our inscription under the name Tiruvēṅkaṭamalai.

The temple of Venkaṭṣa-Perumāḷ is an ancient one. It has been in existence from the time of the Pallava king Vijaya-Nripataṅga-vikramavarman of the ninth century A.D. as evidenced by a record of the 24th year of his reign found on a slab supporting a beam in the inner enclosure.³ According to this inscription, the god is called **Vishnu-Bhaṭāra**. It was known by the name of Tirumukkūdal-Ālvār and Mahā-Vishnu during Chōla times,⁴ while a later epigraph calls it by the name Venkaṭṣvara-svāmin.⁵

The inscription under publication consists of 55 lines of writing and is engraved in two sections. In the first section the lines are very long and run to a distance of 55 feet. The entire space covered by the inscription is 540 square feet. The record is written in the **Tamiḷ language** and alphabet, and the **characters** belong to the latter half of the eleventh century A.D. A few Grantha letters are used mostly in words of Sanskrit origin. The inscription is fairly well preserved, though in some places a few letters are badly damaged. One or two small inscribed slabs have fallen off

¹ *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1916, para. 4 on page 4.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 118f.

³ No. 179 of the Madras epigraphical collection for 1915.

⁴ Nos. 169 and 182 of the same collection.

⁵ No. 187 of the same collection.

The gift to the temple of Mahā-Vishṇu at Tirumukkūḍal consisted of (1) 75 *kalañju* of gold which the residents of Vayalaikkāūr were paying for the *śālā*, (2) certain specified dues on the said *dēvadāna* village, and (3) 72 *kolañju*² and 9 *mañjaṇi* of gold which formed a prior *dēvadāna*.

² 1 kalañju = 20 mañjādi; 1 mañjādi = 2 kuṇṇi = 10 mā,



gift. Of these, items (1) and (3) amounted to 147 *kaḷaṇḍu* and 9 *maṇḍāḍi*. The income on this, at the rate of 16 *kaḷam* of paddy by the *rājakēsari* measure, per *kaḷaṇḍu*, amounted to 2359 *kaḷam*, 1 *padakku*, 3 *nāli*, 1 *āḷakku* and 3 *śeṇḍu*. This when converted into *arumolidēvaṇ* measure gave an excess of 884 *kaḷam*, 2 *tūṇi*, 3 *nāli* and 1 *āḷakku* after providing for *kālvāsi*, *kāḷavu-kūli* and *korṇāḷavu-vāsi*, calculated at the rate of 1 *kaḷam*, 1 *tūṇi* and 4 *nāli* of *arumolidēvaṇ* for each *rājakēsari kaḷam*. Thus, the paddy income in favour of the temple on these two items alone came to 3243 *kaḷam*, 2 *tūṇi*, 1 *padakku*, 6 *nāli*, 1 *uḷakku* and 3 *śeṇḍu*. The third item (No. 2) amounted to 216½ *kāṣu* and 2 *mā*. It was made up of 36½ *kāṣu* obtained by converting 11 *kaḷaṇḍu* of gold derived from the taxes or fees *ūr-kaḷaṇḍu* (=1 *kaḷaṇḍu*), *kumara-kachchāṇam* (=1 *kaḷaṇḍu*), *mūṇ-pāḷḷam* (=3½ *kaḷaṇḍu*) and *kiḷṇai-pāḷḷam* (=5½ *kaḷaṇḍu*) together with the incomes of 28½ *kāṣu* and 4 *mā* from *daśavandam*, 25½ *kāṣu* and 3 *mā* from *mīḍaikkūli*, 3 *kāṣu* from *mudal-śalavu*, 1½ *kāṣu* from *vaṇṇakkakkūli*, ¾ *kāṣu* from *tarippuḍavai*, 1½ *kāṣu* from *tuṅgaḷmērā* and 118 *kāṣu* from *vēlikkāṣu*.

Then are detailed the items of expenditure to be defrayed from this income of 3243 and odd *kaḷam* of paddy and 216½ *kāṣu* and 2 *mā* of money. The table appended hereto¹ will indicate how the incomes of paddy and money were expended annually in the temple and the institutions attached thereto. It may be stated here that the provision made in this inscription is (1) for meeting the various expenses connected with the temple, (2) for the maintenance of a Vēdic school with a hostel and (3) for the upkeep of a hospital. As regards the first, the record provides for offerings to be made to the god Ālvār, three times daily—morning, noon and night,—for offerings to be made to the deity Śrī-Rāghavachakravartin, i.e., Rāma at noon (nearly 601 *kaḷams*); for sandal-paste and its ingredients *karpūra* and *kunkuma* and for lamps (68½ *kāṣu*); for special offerings to be made on the occasion of the festivals in the months of Aippasi, Māsi, Kārttigai as well as for the hunting festival and Jayantyaṣṭam (the birth-day of Kṛishṇa) (28 *kaḷam*, 1 *kuṇṇi* and 5½ *nāli*); for a grand offering to be made on the occasion of the king's birth-day anniversary falling on the asterism Āślēsha in the month Āvaṇi (6 *kaḷam*, 5 *kuṇṇi* and 2 *nāli*); for purchasing cloth to cover the images of gods and for offerings to be made on the birth-day asterism (*Pūrāḍam* in the month of Kārttigai) of the **Vaiśya Mādavaṇ Dāmayaṇ**, who built the *Jananātha-maṇḍapa* in the temple (6 *kaḷam*, 5 *kuṇṇi* and 2 *nāli*); for the expenses to be met on the occasion of taking the deity *Vennaikkūttālvāṇ*, i.e., Kṛishṇa in procession on the day of *Tiruvōṇam* in the month of *Purattāsi* of every year (5 *kaḷam*); for meeting the expenses of feeding Śrī-Vaiṣṇavas on various festive occasions (88 *kaḷam*, 11 *kuṇṇi* and 4 *nāli*); for payments to be made to an astrologer for announcing festivals, the songster for reciting the *tiruvāymoḷi* hymns, the cultivators that looked after the flower-garden of *Viraśōḷaṇ*, the *Vaikhānasa-dēvakaṇṇis* (priests worshipping the deity according to the *Vaikhānasa* mode), accountant, potter and washerman attached to the temple (382 *kaḷam* and 6 *kuṇṇi*); for repairs to be executed annually in the *tiruchchurumāḷigai*, i.e., the inner enclosure (40 *kaḷam*) and for purchasing cloth for various servants (13½ *kāṣu*).

Then follow provisions made for the maintenance of a Vēdic college in this temple. One teacher taught the Rīg-Vēda and received annually 60 *kaḷam* of paddy and 4 *kāṣu*; another taught the Yajur-Vēda and was paid a similar fee. A Bhaṭṭa expounded *Vyākaraṇa* and *Rūpāvatāra*:² he got annually 120 *kaḷam* of paddy and 10 *kāṣu*, i.e., a little more than the combined honorarium paid to the two Vēdic teachers. The hostel attached to the college fed daily 60 persons consisting of 10 Brahmins who studied the Rīg-Vēda, 10 Brahmins who studied the Yajur-Vēda, 20 Brahmins and students who studied the *Vyākaraṇa* and the *Rūpāvatāra* and 10 *Mahā-pāñcharātras*, 3

¹ The following are the relative capacities of the measures mentioned here:—1 *kaḷam* = 12 *kuṇṇi* or 3 *tūṇi* or 6 *padakku*; 1 *kuṇṇi* = 8 *nāli*; 1 *nāli* = 2 *uri*; 1 *uri* = 2 *uḷakku*; 1 *uḷakku* = 2 *āḷakku* and 1 *āḷakku* = 5 *śeṇḍu*.

² See p. 229 f. below.

³ On *Rūpāvatāra*, see my remarks, above Vol. XVIII, p. 66.



Śiva-Brāhmaṇas, 5 Vaikhānasas and 2 of another class the name of which is lost in the inscription. The feeding expenses, inclusive of the cost of mats and oil for lamps and for bathing on 51 Saturdays of the year, and wages of cooks and maid-servants who served the students and the teachers, came to 1642 *kalam* and 6 *kuṟuṟi* of paddy and 37½ *kāṣu*. From the fact that the hostel fed not only the students studying the R̥g-Vēda, the Yajur-Vēda, the Vyākaraṇa and the Rūpavatāra but also a certain number of Mahā-Pāñchrātras,¹ Śiva-Brāhmaṇas and Vaikhānasas, it may be inferred that the āgamas and tantras—such as the Pāñcharātra, Śaiva and Vaikhānasa—were also taught.

The word *Śiva-Brāhmaṇa*² occurs very frequently in South Indian inscriptions and it has been generally taken to mean those belonging to the Śaiva religion; but our inscription seems to indicate that it has the special significance of one studying the 'Śaiv-Āgama' referring as it does to a class of students of the school. It is interesting to find that the students in the hostel were provided with mats to lie on and lights for night study and were given oil for bath once a week throughout the year. The appointment of the maid-servants was meant for keeping the premises clean. As the education imparted was mostly religious in character, it is but natural that the temple was the principal centre of education, as we know from this and other inscriptions. One of the epigraphs of Uttaramallūr belonging to the reign of the Chōla king Rājendra-Chōla I (A.D. 1013 to 1045) registers a gift of land as *Paviḷiya-kīḍaippuram* and stipulates that the men who enjoyed the income from it should live in the village and teach the Vēda.³ Another inscription of the same time⁴ registers a similar gift of land as *Taittirīya-kīḍaippuram*, i.e., for teaching the students of the *Taittirīya-Śākhā*. In the temple at Tiruvorriyūr near Madras, there was built a pavilion known as the *Vyākaraṇa-dāna-maṇḍapa* wherein was expounded Pāṇini's Grammar. Besides the provision made for the study of the Vēdas, Grammar and the Āgamas (*Vēda-vṛtti*, *adhyayana-vṛtti* and *Bhaṣya-vṛtti*), there are numerous inscriptions in the Madras Epigraphical collection which refer to gifts made for the maintenance of persons expounding the Mahābhārata, Sōmasiddhānta, Prabhākara and the Mīmāṃsa (Āpūrvas). By far the biggest college established for the study of the Vēdas and grammar and known to us from inscriptions, existed in the 11th century A.D. at a place called Eṇṇāvīram in the South Arcot District, which contained as many as 370 students studying the various subjects.

The last item of expenditure was for the maintenance of a hospital wherein were treated students living in the hostel, and temple servants that were sick. This hospital was provided with 15 beds, and was in charge of a physician who was paid annually 90 *kalam* of paddy and 8 *kāṣu* in addition to a grant of land, for prescribing medicines to the patients lying in the hospital of Viraśōḷaṅ, the servants attached to the institutions and the teachers and students of the Vēdic college. Besides the physician, there was one surgeon who received 30 *kalam* of paddy, two persons for fetching medicinal herbs who were paid 60 *kalam* of paddy and 2 *kāṣu*—these persons also supplied fire-wood and attended to the preparation of medicines,—two nurses who received 30 *kalam* of paddy and 1 *kāṣu*, and attended on the patients and administered medicines, and a

¹ The Pāñchrātra was so called because it had five Samhitās, viz., Pāramēśvara, Sāttvata, Viśvakṣēna, Khagēśvara and Śrī-Paushkara. According to the *Varāha-Purāna* the persons eligible to study *Pāñcharātra* are the first three classes and it was one of the four means of realising God, the other three being *Vēda*, *bhakti* and *yajña*.

² *Śivadr̥ija* and *gurakkaḷ* are terms employed even now to denote persons conducting worship in Śiva temples.

³ *South-Ind. Insors.*, Vol. VI, No. 312. *Kīḍai* in Tamil means a teacher and *paviḷiya*, a term that is not explained in dictionaries, is connected phonetically with *Bahvricha*. As such, the provision made must be for teaching the R̥g-Vēda.

⁴ *Ibid.*, No. 316.

barber who received 15 *kalam* of paddy probably for performing minor operations in addition to his professional duties. The sick ration consisted of 1 *nāfi* of rice per head per day. Besides the above, a provision of 2½ *kāṣu* for a lamp to be kept burning in the hospital during nights, 15 *kalam* of paddy for the water-man and 40 *kāṣu* for stocking medicines was also made. The medicines stored in the hospital were :—

- (1) Brāhmyam-kaṭumbūri, (2) Vāsā-haritakī, (3) Gō-mūtra-haritakī, (4) Daśa-mūla-haritakī, (5) Bhallātaka-haritakī, (6) Gaṇḍīra, (7) Balākēraṇḍa-taila, (8) Pañchāka-taila, (9) Laṣunādy-ēraṇḍa-taila, (10) Uttama-karpādi-taila, (11) Śukla
sa-ghṛita, (12) Bīlvādi-ghṛita, (13) Maṇḍūkara-vaṭika, (14) Dravatti, (15) Vimala, (16) Sunētri, (17) Tāmṛādi, (18) Vajrakalpa, (19) Kalyāṇaka-lavaṇa and (20) Purāṇa-ghṛita.

Of these medicines¹, No. (1), if it refers to *Brāhmya-rasāyana*, is described in verses 38 to 54 of *Charaka-Saṁhitā*, chapter I, and *Aśhāṅgahṛidayā*, chapter XXXIX, verses 15 to 23. The ingredients that enter into the composition of this medicine are 44 in number. The preparation is as follows :—1,000 *chebulic myrobalans* and 3,000 fresh *embellie myrobalans* together with 250 *palas* of the five *pañchamūlas* (i.e., of 25 roots) are boiled in 10 times the quantity of water till the whole is reduced to one-tenth. The liquid is then strained and the decoction taken. In it the powder of myrobalans without the nuts is thrown. To the mixture is added the pulve of 4 *palas* each of *maṇḍūka-prūpa*, *pippali*, *śankhapushpi*, etc., and 1,000 *palas* of sugar-candy together with 2 *āḍhukas* of oil and 3 *āḍhukas* of ghee and the whole boiled in slow fire until it reaches the consistency of an electuary. 320 *palas* of honey are then added and the whole well churned. This medicine, says the author, sharpens the intellect, removes fatigue, improves memory and gives longevity and strength. As these are the essential requirements of a student, it naturally heads the list of medicines intended mostly for them.

No. (3) of the medicines is noticed in the 67th verse of chapter IX of *Charaka*- and in chapter VI of *Suśruta-Saṁhitā*. From the text we gather that *Gō-mūtra-haritakī* is simply *chebulic myrobalans* soaked in cow's urine for one night. *Suśruta* states that if it is taken with honey in the morning, it will cure internal piles. It may also be noted that in the treatment of *Pāṇḍu-rōga*, *Vāṇbhāṭa* (chapter XVI) says that *haritakī* taken with cow's urine removes jaundice. The text giving this information is adopted from *Charaka*.

No. (4) is described in the *Aśhāṅgahṛidayā*, chapter XVII, verses 14 to 16, which state that the medicine is prepared by taking the decoction of the *daśamūla* (ten roots), putting in it 100 *chebulic myrobalans* and one *tulā* of jaggery and boiling the whole into a *lāhya* and mixing with it the powder of *triṇāṭa*, *triṇāṭa*, and a little of *yava-sūkaja* and when cooled adding half a *prastha* of honey. This medicine is said to be capable of curing dropsy, fever, diseases of urinary organs, tubercles, rheumatism, hæmorrhages, colour in the urine, wind, sperm disease, lung disease, distaste for food and enlargement of the spleen.

If by No. (6) is meant *Gaṇḍīrādyarishṭha*, it is described in verses 27 to 29 of *Charaka-Saṁhitā*, chapter XVII. The ingredients that enter into the preparation of this medicine are (1) *gaṇḍīra* (*solanum verbasifolium*), (2) *bhallātaka* (*semicarpus anacardium*), (3) *chitraka* (*plumbago zeylanica*), (4) *vyōsha* (pepper, *piper longum* and dry ginger), (5) *brihātī-dvaya* (*solanum indicum* and *solanum xanthocarpum*), and (6) *rēḍāṅga*. Two measures of each of these are taken and cooled with 8 measures of *kūrchika-mastu*, i.e., water taken by straining curdled milk in the fire of calf of cow-dung. When reduced to a third and cooled, the liquid has to be strained and mixed with 8 measures of *prākṛita-mastu* and 100 *palas* of sugar-candy, *plumbago zeylanica* and *piper longum*.

¹ For some of the references to chapter and verses relating to Indian medicine, which are incorporated in this note, I am indebted to Mr. P. S. Ramaswami Aiyer of Gopichettipalayam.

and then to be used after keeping it for ten days. This medicine is said to cure dropsy, fistula, hæmorrhoids, *krimi* (worms), skin disease, disease of urinary organs, different forms of leanness, wind and hiccough.

Pañchaka-taila (No. 8) may be identical with *Taila-pañchaka* described in Charaka under *gulmas*. The five ingredients of this medicine are gingely oil, liquor, cow's urine, vinegar and *yavāgraja*. By the last is perhaps meant the liquid strained from green barley shoots reduced to ashes mixed with four times the quantity of water. This medicine is said to be capable of curing tubercles.

Bilvadi-gṛīta (No. 12) is dealt with in the chapter on *Grahaṇī-chikitsā-prakarana* of *Yōgarat-nākara*. The drugs that enter into the medicine are (1) *bilva* (*aegle marmelos*), (2) *agni* (*plumbago zeylanica*), (3) *chavya* (*piper chaba*), (4) *ādraka* (ginger), (5) *śringa-bēra* (a variety of double ginger), (6) ghee and (7) *chhāga-dugdha* (goat's milk). The first five are subject to the process of *kwātha* and *kalka* and mixed with (6) and (7) and cooked. This medicine cures dropsy, distaste and *grahaṇī*.

Verses 70 to 75 of chapter XX of Charaka and verses 15 to 20 of chapter XVI of *Ashlāngu-hridaya* deal with *Maṇḍūkara-vaṭika* (No. 13). The drugs that compose the medicine are *triphalā*, *triyūṣhaṇa*, *musta*, *vēdaṅga*, *chavya*, *chitraka*, *dārri*, *vaṅg*, *mākshika*, *granthika* and *dēva-dāru*. Two *palas* each of these substances are powdered and cooked in eight times the quantity of cow's urine and then the fine powder of *maṇḍūra* equal to double the quantity of the other *chūrṇas* are added and pills made of the size of *udumbara* (*ficus glomerata*) and taken with butter-milk. This medicine cures anæmia, skin disease, dropsy, phlegm, piles or hæmorrhoids, jaundice, spleen and diseases connected with urinary organs and spleen.

According to one authority, the ingredients that compose *Vimala* (No. 15) are *śaṅkha*, *priyaṅgu*, *nēpālī*, the *trikaṭu* and the *triphalas*. Another gives the ingredients as *madhuka*, *maricha*, *pippalī*, *lōdhra*, *taru-rajani* and the *triphalu*. This medicine is said to remove from the eyes *timira*, *paṭala*, *kācha* and *kaṇḍu*.

The preparation of the *cartti* known as *Sunētri* (No. 16) is described in the *Sahasraṅgā* under *nētrarōga-prakarana*. A large number of drugs such as the three acids, the three fruits, *plumbago zeylanica*, *almus integrifolia*, *embelia ribes*, white lotus, liquorice, rock salt, camphor, conch, *achorus calamus*, *gairika*, the two kinds of sandal, *lāksha*, *lōdhra*, copper sulphate, *pitarōhinī*, enter into the composition of this medicine. It is said to be capable of curing all kinds of eye diseases such as *kācha*, *pushpa*, *paṭala*, *vraṇa*, *dāha*, *rāga*, *kaṇḍu*, *timira*, *kukkima*, and *adhimāmsa*.

The preparation of *kalyāṇaka-lavana* (No. 19) is given in verses 29 and 30 of the chapter on *Aśa rōga* in the *Vṛindamādhava*. The ingredients are the *Bhallātaka* group, the three fruits, *danti* and *churaka*, i.e., *plumbago zeylanica*, in equal parts with twice the quantity of *Saindhava* salt.

The historical importance of the present record lies in the valuable information it gives regarding the king's exploits in the island of Ceylon, besides the facts known from other inscriptions¹. The historical introduction of Virarājendra's inscriptions begins in three different ways. In two sets of records it commences with the words *tiru vaṭar*, etc., and furnishes complete information regarding his military exploits, while one set of inscriptions begins with the words *vīramē tuṇai* in which these heroic deeds are referred to in brief. A few records of the former type supply us with a list of appointments made and honours conferred by the king on his relations. In some places the smaller historical introductions supplement the information given in the longer ones. A study of all the records of Virarājendra so far known would

¹ S. I. I., Vol. III, pp. 32 ff. and 193 ff. where Dr. Hultzsch has exhaustively dealt with the historical facts of Virarājendra's reign.

show that he was crowned king immediately after his victorious return from the battle field of Kūḍal-Saṅgama. Since the three campaigns against the Western Chālukyas in the regions of Gaṅgavāḍi, Vēṅgi and Kūḍal-Saṅgama find mention even in a second year record of the king, they have to be placed before A.D. 1062 which was the year of his accession to throne as calculated by Professor Kielhorn¹. It is therefore fairly certain that in this very year his elder brother Parakēsarivarman Rājēndradēva died which gave the occasion for Virarājendra to proceed straight from the last campaign to the capital and have his coronation ceremony celebrated along with his queen Ulagamūduḍaiyāl as stated in his epigraphs. It is plain that the series of campaigns against the Western Chālukyas must have been begun by Rājēndradēva and completed by Virarājendra after the former's death. King Virarājendra started his career, it may be noted, by making his position secure by conferring honours on his relations.² Virarājendra's dealings with Pottappi, an un-named Kēraḷa king, as well as the younger brother of Jananātha³ and Virakēsari,⁴ the son of the Pāṇḍya king Śrīvallabha are mentioned in a record of his fourth year,⁵ and as such might have taken place in about A.D. 1065. About the same time the Chōḷa king being invited to fight a combat by Āhavamalla through a war messenger, advanced against him and defeated him a second time in the very field appointed by himself. Then taking a vow that he would not return before he recovered possession of the Vēṅgi country, he directed his arms to that quarter, accomplished his object and thus fulfilled his elder brother's desire,⁶ and then had his anointment of victory *vijay-ūbhishēka* performed.⁷ The Vēṅgi country was first invaded by Rājārāja I (985-1013 A.D.) and was again overrun by Rājendra-Chōḷa I⁸, but it appears that his successors Rājādhirāja I and Rājēndradēva did not assert their right over it. This neglect on their part to hold the reins tight in the Vēṅgi country gave room to the Eastern Chālukyas to throw off the Chōḷa yoke. Rājēndradēva seems to have realised the necessity of bringing this tract back under the Chōḷas but he died without effecting it. The Kanyākumārī⁹ inscription clearly refers to this neglected patrimony of the Chōḷas, won back by Virarājendra. It says:—

भ्रातृभ्यां समुपेक्षितं जनपदं वंशक्रमाभ्यगतं क्रान्तं वैरिमहेश्वरैरतिबलैर्विक्रान्तिक्रान्तिपि ।
जित्वा शत्रुपरंपरामतिबलां हित्वा च भोतात्कङ्क्षीमान्ब्रह्मक्षितिपतिः जेमेण तं सोन्वयात् ॥
Before 1067 A. D., the Chōḷa sovereign burnt the city of Kampili, set up a pillar of victory at a place called Karaḍikal (which must be different from another pillar set up on the banks of the Tuṅgabhadra as reported in our inscription), gained victories at Bezvada, got back Kanna-kuchchi (Kānyakubja), took the head of the Pāṇḍya, levied tribute from the Chōra, defeated Vijayabāhu and brought Ceylon under subjection. Proceeding again to the north, he defeated a number of chiefs who were fighting under the banner of the Chālukyas, set up a third pillar of victory at Sūttukkal, gained victories at Chakkarakōṭṭam and Kāvi and destroyed the Kāṅga country.¹⁰

¹ See for instance *South-Ind. Insers.*, Vol. V, No. 976.

² *South-Ind. Insers.*, Vol. III, p. 33 and also No. 976 of *S. I. I.*, Vol. V.

³ Jananātha has been taken to be the king of Dhārā for which there is no warrant.

⁴ By considering Virakēsari as the son of Śrīvallabha, I differ from Dr. Hultzsch. The achievements noted in this paragraph were accomplished by the end of Rājēndradēva's reign. (See No. 20 of *S. I. I.*, Vol. III.)

⁵ *Ibid.*, No. 20.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, No. 339.

⁷ These additional facts are recorded in No. 82 of the Madras epigraphical collection for 1892. See also No. 30 of *South-Ind. Insers.*, Vol. III, and Nos. 98 of 1892 and 132 of 1902.

⁸ That this king himself was engaged in subduing the countries of the *Uttarāpaṭha* is recorded in an inscription of Rājādhirāja I found at Eppāyiram (*Annual Report on Epigraphy for 1918*, p. 145).

⁹ *Travancore Archaeological Series*, Vol. III, p. 148, v. 77.

¹⁰ These achievements are noticed in inscriptions of the 6th year of the king's reign. See for instance the present record and No. 53 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1898.

Regarding the location of Virarājendra's pillars of victory in the Chālukya country, Karaḍikal is referred to in a Nānarese inscription¹ from Uchchangidrug in the Bellary district as Karaḍikal-nāḍu of which the village of Nandavāḍige is said to be the face. Nandavāḍige and Karaḍikal may, therefore, be identified with Nandavāḍige and Karaḍi, two villages in the Hungund Taluka of the Bijāpur district on the border of the Nizam's Dominions situated to the south of the Kṛishṇa river. They are only at a distance within 5 miles of each other.

As noted above, the most important historical facts gathered from our inscription relate to the war with Ceylon. It is stated that 'Virarājendra despatched a number of vessels to Ceylon, commenced a war in that island which was protected by the sea, routed the Singhalese army; and as there arose a great tumult, when it was reported that Kurukulattaraiyan and other feudatories fell in the field, king Vijayabāhu ran away and the Chōla king got possession of his queen and crown along with his family treasures and gems and made Laṅkā his own.' This event, which, as we have pointed out above, happened in A.D. 1066, is of importance for the synchronism it affords to the Singhalese chronicle *Mahāvamsa*, where the causes that led to the war and further details connected with it are narrated at great length. According to the chronicle, the name Vijayabāhu was assumed by Kittī² when he became sub-king. Almost in the first year of his reign he was defeated by a Chōla sovereign and forced to take refuge in a fortress on the hills.³ He is then said to have obtained help from the ruler of the Ramanā country and to have dwelt at Tamalagāma. About the 11th year of his reign the Singhalese scornfully set at naught the authority of the Chōlas and vexed the Chōla officers of revenue. And when the Chōla king heard of it, he was greatly provoked and sent a large army under his general against Ceylon. The general landed at Mahātitttha, slaughtered the people of the various parts of the country and brought them under subjection. Vijayabāhu now built a fortress at Pulatthapabbata, fought with and killed the Chōla general and proceeded to Pulatthi with a large army. When the Chōla king was informed of these tidings, he desired to take Vijayabāhu captive, went to the sea-port himself and sent a larger army than before to the island. The lord of Laṅkā, hearing this, sent his general who encountered them at Anurādhapura and fought a great battle. But many of Vijayabāhu's men fell in the field and the people went over to the Chōla side. Thereupon Vijayabāhu left the city of Pulatthi and fled away to Villikahana. When he was told that the governor of the Chōlas pursued him even there, he went away to Vaṭagiri, built a fortress at its foot, made war for three months and drove back the Tamils.⁴

Of the two wars noted above as having been waged by Vijayabāhu with the Chōlas, it is fairly certain that the latter is the one alluded to in the extract given from our inscription of Virarājendra as having been fought with him in about A.D. 1066. Of the other war which took place 11 years previously, we have also epigraphical confirmation in Tamil records. It is the one recorded as having been waged by Parakēsarivarman Rājēndradēva, the predecessor of Virarājendra, in A.D. 1055. Rājēndradēva's inscriptions state that he despatched a war-like army into the southern region, seized on the battle-field the two sons of Mānābharaṇa and captured Laṅkā. Thus our inscription enables us to say that Vijayabāhu's accession took place in about A.D. 1055, that he fought with Rājēndradēva in that very year and that in A.D. 1066 he had to meet Virarājendra's forces. From the Singhalese account we learn the cause of the war and the different places which witnessed the scene of action. Except these two wars, Vijayabāhu had no further encounter with the Chōlas till late in his reign, i.e., in the 30th year corresponding to A.D. 1085 when Kulōttuṅga was the Chōla ruler.

¹ S. I. I., Vol. VI, p. 197.

² He is said to be the eldest son of Magalana. It is stated that the latter was well versed in the ways of the world and was known to all men as "the great lord". He greatly loved the order of priesthood and was the habitation of many lasting virtues.

³ Wijesinha's translation, Ch. LVIII, pp. 97 f.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 98.

From this inscription it is further learnt that while most of the articles of daily use were obtained by exchange of paddy, there were some which could be had only for cash. A few articles were sold both for grain and money. Among the articles that were obtained exclusively for money may be mentioned sandal-paste, *karpūram*, *kuṅkumam*, honey and turmeric. The purchasing power of one *kāṣu* was 8 *palams* of sandal, 576 *palams* of sugar, $\frac{1}{2}$ a *kaṭaṇḍu* of *kuṅkumam*, 2 *nāḷi* of honey or 200 *palams* of turmeric. The price of cloth varied according to the size. Oil and sugar were obtained both for money and paddy. The price of oil was 20 *nāḷi* per *kāṣu*; 10 *palams* of sugar were obtained in exchange for 16 *nāḷi* of paddy; and 1 *kāṣu* fetched 576 *palams*.

Cereals and vegetables were generally obtained by exchanging paddy. It is seen that milk, curds and salt had the same value and could be had by giving twice the quantity of paddy. Ghee, pepper and cumin were highly prized and they required 32 times their measure of paddy. Un-husked green pulse exchanged with twice the quantity of paddy, while clean pounded pulse required 4 times the quantity of paddy. To get a certain measure of rice, $2\frac{1}{2}$ times the quantity of paddy is provided for. This seems to include wages for husking and cleaning.

Betel-leaves, areca-nuts, plantain fruits and cocoanuts were sold by number. A bundle of 80 betel-leaves formed a *kaṭṭu* or *parṭu* and its price was 2 *nāḷi* of paddy. A *nāḷi* of paddy had the purchasing power of 5 areca-nuts or 2 plantain fruits; and 1 *kurunḍi* of paddy was exchanged for 3 cocoanuts.

The geographical names that occur in this inscription are easy of identification. *Gaṅgapāḍi* (l. 1) is the Western Gaṅga territory comprising 96,000 villages with its capital at Talakkāḍ or Talakkāḍu. *Vēṅgai-nāḍu* (l. 1) is the East coast littoral ruled over by the Eastern Chāḷukya kings. *Tuṅgapattirai* (l. 1), on whose bank a pillar of victory was set up, is the Tuṅgabhadra. *Kūḍal Saṅgama* (l. 1) or *Kūḍal* (l. 4), where more than one battle was fought between the Chōḷas and the Chāḷukyas, is a place at the confluence of the rivers Kṛishṇā and the Pāṇḍya-Gaṅgā.¹ *Kōsalai* (l. 2) is the ancient territorial division of Kōsala. *Gaṅgaimānagar* (l. 4), *Gaṅgāpuri* (l. 7) or *Gaṅgaikondachōlapuram* (l. 10) is identical with the last-mentioned place in the Udaiyarpālaiyam Taluk of the Trichinopoly District. It was founded by Rājendra-Chōḷa I (A.D. 1010-1015) and made the capital of the Chōḷa dominions. The temple here is of the model of the great Pagoda at Tanjore built by Rājārāja I (A.D. 985-1013). *Irattapāḍi* (l. 5) or *Rattapāḍi*, 7½ lakhs, is the country of the Raṭṭas. *Karandai* (l. 5) has been identified with Inchal-Karaṇji, in the neighbourhood of Kūḍal-Saṅgama.² *Kuntaḷa* (l. 5) is certainly the Western Chāḷukya territory.³ *Viśaiyavāḍai* (l. 6) is undoubtedly the modern Bezwada. The seven *Kaliṅgas* (l. 6) form the territorial division on the East coast, north of Vēṅgi, ruled by the Eastern Gaṅgas. *Ṇam* (l. 7) or *Ṇaṅgai* is Ceylon. *Chakkarakkōṭṭam* (l. 9) has been identified with Chakrakōṭṭa in the Bastar State. I am not able to trace *Sōnaiyanagar* (l. 9) and *Kāvi* (l. 10). *Imaiyam* (l. 10) is another name for the Himālayas and *Sētu* (l. 10) is the southernmost point of India near Rāmēśvaram. *Madurāntaka-chaturvēdimaṅgalam* is no other than Madhurāntakam, a station in the S. I. Railway and the Headquarters of a Taluk in the Chingleput District. Tirumukkūḍal, though 10 miles away from it, was included in it in ancient times perhaps for administrative purposes. *Jayaṅgondachōla-maṇḍalam* is the name given to the ancient Pallava territory of Tonḍai-maṇḍalam during the days of Rājārāja I, who bore the designation of Jayaṅgondachōḷa. *Kaḷattūr-kōṭṭam* is one of the 24 districts of it. The village of *Vayalaikkāvūr* (l. 11) and *Ālpākkam* (l. 43) are very near Tirumukkūḍal. *Minarkuḍi* in *Idaiyala-nāḍu*, a sub-division of *Vijayarājendra-vaṇaṇāḍu* in *Sōḷa-maṇḍalam* (l. 52) *Ayaṇḍampākkam* in *Āgudī-nāḍu*, a sub-division of *Puḷar-kōṭṭam* in *Jayaṅgondachōḷa-maṇḍalam* (l. 53 f.), *Rājasundari-chaturvēdimaṅgalam* in another sub-division of the same province, are other geographical names that occur in this epigraph.

¹ Above, XII, p. 298.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.*

Details of Expenses.

| No. | Item. | Rate. | | | | Total expenses for the year. | | | | |
|----------------------------------|---|-------|------|------|------|------------------------------|------|------|------|------|
| | | Kal | ku | na | ul | Kal | ku | na | ul | śe |
| Daily expenses. | | | | | | | | | | |
| 1 | Sirukālai-sandi | 0 | 5 | 5 | 3 | 171 | 6 | 6 | 0 | 0 |
| 2 | Akkāradalai | 0 | 9 | 3 | 0 | 283 | 1 | 4 | 0 | 0 |
| 3 | Night, Pāl-pōṇagam | 0 | 3 | 1 | 0 | 93 | 9 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 4 | For Sri-Rāghavachakravartin | 0 | 1 | 6 | 0 | 52 | 6 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Special occasions and festivals. | | | | | | | | | | |
| 5 | Aippaśi festival . . . . . | .... | .... | .... | .... | 7 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 6 | Māśi festival . . . . . | .... | .... | .... | .... | 7 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 7 | Hunting festival . . . . . | .... | .... | .... | .... | 7 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 8 | Jayantyaśtami . . . . . | .... | .... | .... | .... | 3 | 0 | 6 | 0 | 0 |
| 9 | Kārttigai-Kārttigai . . . . . | .... | .... | .... | .... | 3 | 11 | 7 | 0 | 0 |
| 10 | King's Birthday . . . . . | .... | .... | .... | .... | 6 | 5 | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| 11 | Birth-day of Vaiśya Mādavaṇ Dāmayaṇ . . . . . | .... | .... | .... | .... | 6 | 5 | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| 12 | Purattāśi-Tiruvōṇam . . . . . | .... | .... | .... | .... | 5 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 13 | Feeding Sri-Vaiṣṇavas on Amāvāsyā days . . . . . | .... | .... | .... | .... | 19 | 4 | 4 | 0 | 0 |
| 14 | Do. during Procession to Tiruvēṅgaḍamalai . . . . . | .... | .... | .... | .... | 8 | 8 | 3 | 0 | 0 |
| 15 | Do. during Procession from Tiruvēṅgaḍamalai . . . . . | .... | .... | .... | .... | 8 | 8 | 3 | 0 | 0 |
| 16 | Do. during Purattāśi Tiruvōṇam . . . . . | .... | .... | .... | .... | 8 | 8 | 3 | 0 | 0 |
| 17 | Do. during Aippaśi festival . . . . . | .... | .... | .... | .... | 17 | 4 | 6 | 0 | 0 |
| 18 | Do. during Mārgaśi festival . . . . . | .... | .... | .... | .... | 8 | 8 | 3 | 0 | 0 |
| 19 | Do. during Māśi-Makham . . . . . | .... | .... | .... | .... | 17 | 4 | 6 | 0 | 0 |
| | | | | | | 134 | 11 | 5 | 2 | 0 |
| Services. | | | | | | | | | | |
| 20 | Tiru | 0 | 0 | 6 | 0 | .... | .... | .... | .... | .... |
| 21 | Tiruvāymoḷi Songater | 0 | 3 | 0 | 0 | .... | .... | .... | .... | .... |
| 22 | Gardeners | 0 | 4 | 0 | 0 | .... | .... | .... | .... | .... |
| 23 | Special Tiru | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | .... | .... | .... | .... | .... |
| 24 | Vaiṅkhanasa Dēvakanmis | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | .... | .... | .... | .... | .... |
| 25 | Accountant | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | .... | .... | .... | .... | .... |
| 26 | Potter | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | .... | .... | .... | .... | .... |
| 27 | Washerman | 0 | 0 | 4 | 0 | .... | .... | .... | .... | .... |
| 28 | Tirumukkūḍal Pērayan | 0 | 0 | 4 | 0 | .... | .... | .... | .... | .... |
| | | | | | | 382 | 6 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 29 | Repairs . . . . . | .... | .... | .... | .... | 80 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| School. | | | | | | | | | | |
| 30 | Rig-Vēda teacher | 0 | 2 | 0 | 0 | .... | .... | .... | .... | .... |
| 31 | Yajur-Vēda teacher | 0 | 2 | 0 | 0 | .... | .... | .... | .... | .... |
| 32 | Vyākaraṇa teacher | 0 | 4 | 0 | 0 | .... | .... | .... | .... | .... |
| | | | | | | 240 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 33 | Hostel Expenses of 60 Students | 3 | 10 | 6 | 0 | 1,402 | 6 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 34 | Hospital | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 365 | 7 | 4 | 0 | 0 |
| 35 | Waterman | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 15 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 36 | Dārnacham and cardamom . . . . . | .... | .... | .... | .... | 20 | 10 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 37 | Dakṣiṇā, betel-leaves, etc. . . . . | .... | .... | .... | .... | 1 | 4 | 2 | 3 | 3 |
| | | | | | | 3,243 | 3 | 6 | 1 | 3 |

Details of Expenses—contd.

| No. | Item. | Rate. | Total expenses for the year. |
|-----|---|--------------|------------------------------|
| | | kal ku na ul | kal ku na ul |
| | <i>Money Expenses.</i> | | |
| 38 | Sugar for Akkāraḍalai | 20 kāsu | .... |
| 39 | Sandal-paste and its ingredients | 46 " | .... |
| 40 | Oil | 22½ " | .... |
| 41 | Kārttigai | 1½ " | .... |
| 42 | King's Birthday | 7½ " | .... |
| 43 | Dāmayan's Birthday | 6½ " | .... |
| 44 | Tiru | 1 " | .... |
| 45 | Songster | 4 " | .... |
| 46 | Dēvakanni | 4 " | .... |
| 47 | Accountant | 4 " | .... |
| 48 | Pēraṇ | 1 " | .... |
| 49 | Rig-Vēda teacher | 4 " | .... |
| 50 | Yajur-Vēda teacher | 4 " | .... |
| 51 | Vyākaraṇa Bhaṭṭa | 10 " | .... |
| 52 | Cook | 6 " | .... |
| 53 | Maid-servant | 2 " | .... |
| 54 | Mats | 2 " | .... |
| 55 | Oil (for students) | 9½ " | .... |
| | <i>Hospital.</i> | | |
| 56 | Physician | 8 kāsu | .... |
| 57 | Fuel and herbs | 2 " | .... |
| 58 | Nurses | 1 " | .... |
| 59 | Medicines | 40 " | .... |
| 60 | Oil (hospital) | 2½ " | .... |
| 61 | Māḍavan Dāmayan | 1 " 7 mā | .... |
| | An item of 7 kāsu is lost in the original. With this, 216½ kāsu and two mā are made up. | | |

NOTE.—The quantity of sugar required daily for akkaraḍalai is 32 palam. Hence the requirement for a year of 360 days comes to 11,520 palam. Since 1 kāsu fetched 576 palam of sugar, the amount of money required for sugar is 20 kāsu.

The requirement of sandal-paste for a year at ½ palam per day is 180 palam. This at the rate of 8 palam per kāsu amounted to 22½ kāsu. The requirement of korpāram for the same item is 11½ kalañju; and this at the rate of ½ kalañju per kāsu comes to 22½ kāsu. Another ingredient for this item is kunḡumam which cost 1 kāsu. Thus the total for this item amounts to 46 kāsu.

TEXT.

1 [Svasti Śrī] [*] [Tiru]-vaḷar-tiraḷ-puyatt-iru-niḷa-vaḷaiyan=taṇ maṇi-ppūṇ-ena-ttā[ṇi]=ppan-maṇi-kkoṇṇa-veṇ-kuḍai-ñiḷai¹ kuḷalaiyatt=uyiṇḡai=ppetta tāyi[ṇu] pēni mar-
uḷav=arai-kaḷal-araiṣar taṇ=aḷi-ñiḷai²=oduṇḡa uṇai-pilatt-uḍai-Kaliy=oduṇḡa maṇai
śeydu virai-malar-tteriyal Vikkaḷaṇ-ṇaṇṇodu vari-ṣilai-ttāda-kkai mā-sāmantarai=
k[Kaṇ]gaṇḡai=[k*]kaḷattidai-nin[tu]n=³ Tuṇ[ga*]pattirai puga=tturatti [āṇ]g-avar
Vē[ṇ]gai-[ṇan]nāṭṭinai⁴ miṭṭum-avan vitta tāṇḡ-ar[um]-peru]-vali-ttaṇḡu [keḍa=t]tākki
[mā-daṇ]ḡa-nāyakaṇ Śāmaṇḡarāṇai=chebiṇḡ-avan si[ra]ṭṭinaiy-aruttu [ma]ṇ-avan-
oru-[maga]-ṣiya Irugayaṇ-dēvi Nāḡalaiy-eṇṇu[n]-t[ṣ]ṣaiy-añ-chāyaki mṇḡattoḍu
[mūkku vē-ṣ]kki pagaitt-edir mūṇḡam viṣaiyilum [ṣ]eṇḡ-amar-poruvan-eṇ-ḡkarudi-
ppa-pūṇa⁴ Kuḍalsāṇḡamatt-Āhavamallan makkaḷ-āgiya Vikkaḷaṇ Śiṇḡaṇa-

¹ Read siḷal.

² Read ṣai.

³ There is some correction here in the original. Read niṇḡuṇa-

⁴ Read pūṇaṇ.

2 *u en-ivar tammo[du] en-il sāmantarai veṇ-ādu-tūsi muṇ viṭṭu-ttaṇ-ruṇai m[ai*]ṇ[du]ṇa-
tāpurn pinṇ-aḍutt-irundu vaḍa-kaḍal-ēṇa vaguttav¹=a-ttāṇaiyai-kkaḍa-kalir-onṇā[il]=
kkalakki aḍal-puri-Kōśalai-Siṅganai-kkoḍi-ppaḍai taṇ muṇ tūsi-veṇ-kalirōḍuṇ=
tunittu=kKēśavan-Dandanāyakan Kettaraiṣaṇ tinḍiral-Māryan tirai Pottaraiṣaṇ
Irēchchayan igal-ṣey-por-Kōḍai Mūvendi enṇār tand-aḍu-tuppiḷ-anēga sāmantarai=
chchinn-piṇṇai=cheydu pinṇai-mudaliy-āgiya Muḍuvāṇan ḍḍa viritta talaiyoḍu
Vikkalan ḍḍa ṣeru-ttoḷil-aḷlindu Siṅgaṇṇan ḍḍa aṇṇal mudaligaḷ-āṇaiva[ru]m
mā-pōr-ppaṇṇina pagaḍ-iḷand-ḍḍa naṇṇina Āhavamallaṇum=avaṇku muṇṇ=ḍḍa-[tt]aṇ
vēga-veṇ-kalirriṇai viḷakka² vāgai-konḍ=āṅ-avar tāramum=avar-kula-daṇamuṇ=
chaṇṇun-toṇṇalun=tāraiṇum pēriyūm mēgaḍamba-*

3 *ramum³ veṇ-chāmaraiyūn=chūkara-kkoḍiyum makara-tōraṇamum=otṭaga-niraivum=ulōk-
āṣaṇamum [pu]ṭṭaga-ppiḍiyum poru-kalir-ittamum pār-pari-ttōgaivōḍum paṇittu=
chchēy-ōḷ-virasinhāsana[m] plār toḷav=ēri eḷil-taru-Ulagamuḷudūḍaiyārum⁴ viṣai-
maṇi-makūṭaṇa ēyṇdu kuṣai-koḷ tattū-mā-puravi-pPottappi-vēndaṇai vāraṇa-vaḷai-
kalaḷ-Kēraṇaṇṇai=(t)ār-Sa[ṇa]nādan-rambiyai=ppōr-ksatt=alaṇṇal-sūl-paṣun-
talaiy=arindu pulai-kalaḷ-Renṇavan Śrīvallaḇan magap ṣiḷuvānai min-naṇi-maṇi-
muḍi-Virakēśariyai [ma]ḍa-varaiy-onṇāl=udaippittu=ttaṇ⁵ kaiyil Śēralar taṇmoḍu
ṣēṇṇiraiyar kulam vēṇ-paṇind-ḍḍi mēl-kaḍal viḷa vāraṇa-pōr-adaṇṇi=chelutti
Vāriyil=enṇ-arun-kalirriṇ⁶ Irattarai=kkavarṇaḍa kaṇṇiyar kalirōḍuṇ=kattī=ppaṇṇa-
ppiḍiyōḍum=āṅ-avar=iḍu⁷ tirai tanta vēla-[ni]rai konḍu sūli-puṇal-konḍ-[ā]r-kuru⁸.*

4 *miṇ-kuritta vem-pōriṇ⁹=Dandanāyakar tammiṇ¹⁰-tinḍiral Vill¹¹ iyaṇṇaṇaiyūm Vaṇṇippayapai¹²
...¹³ḷu mada-kalirru ...¹⁴ṇḍār
Aśōkaiyan taṇṇaiyūm tinḍirar-Chattiyāṇṇaiyūn=Chanduvigraha-pPat[tiya]ṇṇa-
[raṇṇaiyū]m [a]ttagu tēn-arū-teriyav-Viṇa[va*]ṇ-ṇaṇai sē-madi-Vaṇṇaṇaiyūm
nāma-vēr-Kaṇṇai Nūḷambaṇai=kKūḍavar-kōṇai vamb-uṇar¹⁵-mada-sūṇai¹⁶-Vaiyduṇ-
barāṣaṇaiy=iru[n]¹⁷-talaiy=arindu perum-puṇar-ra[n]ḍu-Gaṇṇaimānagar taiyṭṭapin¹⁸
tiṇṇalil vaḷi-varu-Ṣaḷukki i-ppaliyōḍum vāḷva[di]l sāvade sāla-ṇaṇ-ēṇu ēvam-
uṇṇi=unṇiya ṣindaiyaṇ-āgi muṇṇam pudalvaruṇ=tāṇu[m*] muḍuḷu-kodutt-uḍaiṇdu
Kūḍalē kaḷam-ēṇa=kkurittu=kKūḍalil=vā[rā]ḍ-aṇṇiṇar maṇṇavar-allargaḷ pōr-pperum-
pali-ppiraṭṭar-āḡav=ēṇi-iy-*

¹ The letter *va* may also be read *a*.

² *vilakki* is the reading in Nos. 20 and 30 of *South-Ind. Inscr.*, Vol. III.

³ Delete the *ra*.

⁴ The letter *vi* looks like *mi* in the original.

⁵ *Udagaiyil* is the reading in the Takkōlam inscription, while No. 30 of *South-Ind. Inscr.*, Vol. III, has *Uta*

gaiyil.

⁶ This letter is badly formed and looks like *mi* in the original.

⁷ *Viḍu* is the reading in the *South-Ind. Inscr.*, Vol. III, No. 30.

⁸ *Konḍ* is replaced by *konḍ-ār-uravir* in No. 30 of *South-Ind. Inscr.*, Vol. III.

⁹ Read

¹⁰ *Corre*

¹¹ *South-Ind. Inscr.*

¹² *Vaṇṇi* is replaced by *Maṇṇi* in *Inscr.*, Vol. III.

¹³ Some letters are completely worn out and may be filled up with the syllables *yum pi*.

¹⁴ Read *piramadiṇṇaiyūm ta* in the gap.

¹⁵ *Vamb-uṇar* is replaced by *maṇṇu* in No. 30 of *South-Ind. Inscr.*, Vol. III.

¹⁶ Read *ṇaṇai*.

¹⁷ Between *ta* and *kai* there is some empty space.

¹⁸ *Min* is another reading.

9 gal Pulī-Sūttukk . . . ayastamba nātti-tte . . . mūdai . . . sāmantarai-
ch|Ch|akka . . . ta . . . śanai-kKalingam-idaiya

No. 30 of *South-Ind. Inscr.*, Vol. III.
 antha ki.

paḍai-kkaḍal-ēvi vaḍa-tisai-chChakkarakōṭṭattu mikk-uḍanṇ-eḷunda Chaḷukkiyan-
āpaiyai¹=kkana[²l-eri] pūri=chChōṇay[³yaj⁴nagar śilai-chChōmayan Eriyaman vāma-
vél-Ādittapanman-rām-ivar kurai-ttalai-kku]lāttoduṇ-kunippa-ttaraippa . . . ād-
achcha pa⁵ Maliyum Śagaiyan . . . num vach-
chira-ppaim-pūn-Manumanum⁶ [Vai]dumbaṇun=Dēvanāḍaṇun=Dēviko⁷
 nṇagadam-eṭṭum pagudiyum oṭṭaga-ttugudiyum . . . rigala-ppariśandi=
ppagudiyum varisaiyir=kollaiyil kū patt=u-

10 eḷaḷind=ōḍu- nāḍan-dēvi Kāviyil vāli-maṇ-ṇaḍuṅga . . . n Kāliyappa-
iyun=tambiyu . . . vichchada mudal tumbayavadi-
kulun=tōgaiyar-iṭṭamum mā-kkaḷatt=agappaḍa=ppidittu ti . kurra . lamayan
makkaḷaiy=oduḍki ellai kaḍandu nilaiy-iṭṭu=kkaḷagā-ppiliy-irudaṇ-kiḍanda vaḍa-
tisaiy-lmaiṇattoduṇ-kiḍanda Sētu varambāga=chcheṇḍōl śelutti⁸
 vēda-nidiyai viḷakki mīd-uyar vira-ttapi-kkoḍi tiyāga-kkoḍiyoduṇ=
ērpavar varug-eṇṇu nīpa=kkōṭṭolil-urimaiyin-eydi araiśu viṇṇ-irundu mē-varu-Manu
nēri viḷakkiya kōv=Irājakēsariṇmar-āna ⁹m[u]ḍaiyār śrī-Virarājēndradē-
varkku yāṇḍu aṇḷavadu Caṅgaikoṇḍasōlapurattu=chChōḷakēraḷan-tirumāḷigaiyil
Rājēndrasōḷa-Māvalivāṇarajanil eḷundaruḷiy-irundu Jayangoṇḍasō-

11 la-maṇḍalattu=kkaḷattūr-kkōṭṭattu=ttapi[yū]r śrī-Madurāntaka-chaturvēdimaṇ-
galattu=tTirumukkūḍal Mahāvishṇukkaḷ dēvadānamā[y] varuṅga Kāliyūr-
kkōṭṭattu=ttēroḍu-Paruvūrnāṭṭu Vayalaikkāv=ūragaga¹⁰ śālaikk=iruttu-varuṅga
ponn=eḷupatt-aṇ-kaḷaṇḍum i-chchālaikku=chchālābōgamāy varuṅga[pa]ḷi Irattap-
pāḍiy=ēḷ-araiy-ilakkamuṇ=kōṇḍu Āhavamallāṇaiy-irumaḍi ven-kāṇḍu Ulagu[y*]yak-
kōṇḍ-arulṇadēvark=iyāṇḍ-iraṇḍāvadu mudal taviṇḍu vēḷḷān vagaiyil mudal-eḍuttu
i-pponṇ=eḷupatt-aṇ-kaḷaṇḍum ivv-ūrāl vandav=ūrkaḷaṇḍuṇ=kumarakkachchāṇamum
vaṇṇārappārai[yu]m mīn[pā]ṭṭamun=tattārap-pāṭṭamum=ullṭṭa kiḷirai-ppāṭṭamum
vēlikkāśun=tiṅgaḷ-mēramum muttāvaraṇamum tarippuḍavaiyum valaṅgaiy=iḍaṅgai-
maga[n]maiynun=daśabandamu[m*] māḍaikkūliyum viraśēlaiyum¹¹=ullṭṭa pāṭṭa-

12 űgaḷ-utpāḍa=tTirumukkūḍal Mahāvishṇukka[lu]kku vēṇḍu[m*] nimandaṅgaḷukk=iruppa-
dāga yāṇḍ=aṇ[ḷ]āvadu dēvadāṇa mudal dēvadāṇa iraiy-iliyāga variyil-iḍa-
ttiruvāymolind-arulṇār-eṇṇu Tiru[ma]ṇḍiravōlai Kshatri¹²yi[ś]jikhāmaṇi-vaḷanāṭṭu=
pPaṇaiyūr-nāṭṭu Nērvāyil¹³ Nērvāyil-uḍaiyān Tāḷi Tiruppaṇaṅḍuḍaiyān-āṇa
Vāṇavan Vallavaraiyan-eḷuttiṇālun=Tirumantravōlai-pāyagam Pāṇḍiyaṇārum Rāja-
rāja-Brahmamārāyarum Virarājēnta¹⁴-Gāṅgaiyarāṇ=oppinālum pugunda . kēḷvi
variyl=iṭṭu-kkoḷgav-eṇṇu Villavarājaruṇ=Kaliṅgattaraiyarum Viḍaiyil Rājēnta¹⁵.
vayirāgarachchōḷarum Pāṇḍiyaṇārum ivvōrgaḷ=ēviṇapāḍiyēy=Uḍankūṭṭattu
adigārigaḷ Virarājēnta¹⁶-Brahmādhirājaruṇ=Chōḷa-Brahmamārāyaruṇ=Chembiyaḷ
Sittirājarum Atisayaśōḷa-Mūvēndavēḷāruṇ=Jayangoṇḍasōḷa-Viḷupparaiyarum Uta-
maśōḷa-pPallavaraiyarum Viḍaiyil-

¹ Read tāgai.

² Here is an unwritten space which cannot be filled up.

³ Between the second ma and num there is some unaccountable space in the original.

⁴ Here also there is some vacant space.

⁵ The dot may be replaced by the letter pa.

⁶ The unwritten space at the beginning of this line cannot be filled up.

⁷ Space for about 8 letters are left blank.

⁸ For mē read u.

⁹ Read vūrarguḷ.

¹⁰ Read Kshatriya.

¹¹ Read māga.

¹² Read śāśai.

¹³ This word is written below the line.

- 13 adigāriga] Kāḍavarājaruṅ=Kāvērivallaba-Mūvēndavēlārum Iḷattarai[ya]ruṅ=Chōla-Mūvēndavēlārum Virarājendra-Maḷavarājarum Vaḷavan-Mūvēndavēlārum Rāja-uttama-Mūvēndavēlārum Rājarāja-kka[di*]gairājaruṅ=Jayaṅḇḇaśōla-Mūvēndavēlārum Rājēntaśōla¹-Aṇukka-pPallavaraiyaruṅ=Chembayan-Brahmamārāyaruṅ-Chundaraśōla-pPallavaraiyaruṅ=Jayaṅḇḇaśōla-Vayanāttaraiyaruṅ=Jayaṅḇḇaśōla-chChēpāmuga-Mūvēndavēlāruṅ=Chōla-Viḷupparaiyaruṅ=Jayaśiṅga-kulakāla-Viḷupparaiyarum Virarājēnta¹-tTiruvindaḷūr-nāttu-Mūvēndavēlārum Rājarāja-Viḷupparaiya-Virarājēnta¹-Varaṅḇarājarum Kshatriyaśiṅga-Mūvēndavēlārum Uttamaśōla-Mūvēndavēlārum Pārmaṇṇu-kulādipa-Mūvēndavēlārum Iraṭṭa-kulakāla-Mūvēndavēlārum Uttama-Pāṇḇiya-Mūvēndavēlā—
- 14 rum Virāśōla-pPallavaraiyaruṅ= . . . na . . . ri . . . -Mūvēndavēlārum Muḇi-konḇaśōla-Mūvēndavēlārum Vaḷavarāditta-Mūvēndavēlāruṅ-Gaṅgaikonḇaśōla-pPallavaraiyaruṅ=Nāḇuvirukkum Uṇupattūr Yajña-baṭṭaruṅ²-Sāvyāṇa-Siva[lā]jjāti-baṭṭaruṅ=Kaṇṇipūṇṇu=chChōḷadēva-baṭṭaruṅ=Kaṇṇipūṇṇu Anantaṇārāyaṇa-baṭṭaruṅ ēva=pPuravuvāri-tiṇaikkalattu-kkāṅḇāṇi Kulaiya-divākara-Mūvēndavēlārum Arindaman Puraṅḇarambai-nāttu-Mūvēndavēlāṇum Rājarāja-chChēṇni-nāḇu-kilavanum Virāśiṅga-Mūvēndavēlāṇum Aḷaḇiyaśōla-Viḷupparaiyaṇum³ Puravuvāri-tiṇaikkalaṅ=Chalukki-kulakāla-Mūvēndavēlāṇum Vāṇavan-Viḷupparaiyaṇum Vaḷavarāja-Mūvēndavēlāṇum Avaniṇārāyaṇa-Mūvēndavēlāṇuṅ=Jiṅḇalāntaka-Mūvēndavēlāṇum Varippottaḇam Pālaiyūn⁴-kiḷa-
- 15 vaṇum Mugavēṭṭi Jayaṅḇḇaśōla-dDamaṇūr-nāttu-Viḷupparaiyaṇum *Ā]damaṅga-lamuḇaiyaṇum Atirājēnta¹-pPallavaraiyaṇuṅ=Kūṇḇal-kiḷāṇuṅ=Terippu Iṅgaik-kuḇaiyaṇum Māttūruḇaiyaṇum Vaḷavaśūḷamaṇi-Mūvēndavēlāṇuṅ=Taravusāttu Śōḷadivākara-Mūvēndavēlāṇum Pulikiḷāṇum Palaniyāyam Paṭṭāḷamuḇaiyaṇum Śembiyan-Miḷalaivēlāṇum⁵ Araiyamāṇum Variyiliḇu Avani[p]āla-Mūvēndavēlāṇum Arindaman-Viḷupparaiyaṇum Varippottaḇa-kaṇakku=chChāṅḇattimaṅḇalamuḇaiyaṇum Vaḷavan-Viḷupparaiyaṇu[m*] Paṭṭōlai Śiṇṇupākkilāṇum Maṇaṇṇākkilāṇuṅ=Kēlvi-variyl-iḇuvitta Puravuvāri-tiṇaikkalaṅ=Chalukki-kulakāla-Mūvēndavēlāṇum Śiṅḇalāntaka-Mūvēndavēlāṇum Mugavēṭ-
- 16 ṭi Śōḷamā[r]ttāṇḇa-Mūvēndavēlāṇuṅ=Kūṇḇal-kiḷāṇum Vāsittān-varippottaḇa-kkaṇakku=chChāṅḇattimaṅḇalamuḇaiyaṇum Variyiliṭṭān Śōla-maṇḇalattu=pPuravuvāri-tiṇaikkalattu-kkaṇakku=chChōḷamāṇikka-Mūvēndavēlāṇum Paṭṭōlai-eḷuḇiṇān Virāśōla-ṇṇemali-nāttu-Mūvēndavēlāṇum irundu yāṇḇ-aiṇḇāvaḇu nāl munṇūṇṇu-nāṇṇaṇṇu-ettipāl variyiliṭṭa pon eḷubatt-aiṇ-kalaṇḇum(m)-i[v]v-ūr-aḇaṅḇalukkum vandav=i-pṇāṭṭaṅḇaḷum munbu i-ttēvar dēvaḇāṇamāy varuḇiṇaṇṇa pon eḷubatt-iru-kalaṇḇēy-onbaḇu-maṇḇāḇiyum āḇa=pṇon=pṇūṇṇu-nāṇṇaṇṇu-eḷu-kalaṇḇēy-onbaḇu-maṇḇāḇikkum=pṇon kalaṇḇ-iṇukku Rājakēsariyāl ṇellu=pṇaḇiṇ-aṇu-kalam-āḇa vanda ṇellu iraṇḇ-āyirattu munṇūṇṇu-aimbatt-onbaḇin-kalaṇḇe paḇakku munṇāḷiy-āḷakkē-
- 17 mu-checheviḇum ivaiyirukkum Arumoliḇēvan-maṇakkāl-ākki=kkāl-vāśiyuṅ=kāl-aḷavu-kūliyuṅ=korraḷavu-vāśiyum utpaḇa Rājakēsariyāṇ-kalam Arumoliḇēvan-maṇakkālāl kalaṇḇe tūṇi nā-nāḷiy-āḇa vāśiy-ēruṅ=ṇellu eṇṇūṇṇu-ēṇḇattu-nāṇ-kalaṇḇēy-iru-tūṇi mu-ṇṇāḷiy-āḷakkum āḇa vāśiy-ēṇṇiy=Arumoliḇēvan-maṇakkālāl ṇellu mūv-āyiratt-iruṇṇūṇṇu-nāṇṇaṇṇu-mukkalāṇe iru-tūṇi-pṇaḇakk-arū-nāḷiy-uḷakkē mu-checheviḇum iṇv-ūrāl vandav=ūr-kkalaṇḇu pon kalaṇḇuṅ=kumara-[k]kachchāṇam pon kalaṇḇuṅ

¹ Read *nāra*.

² This word is engraved below the line.

³ This word may also be read *Pūḇa*.

⁴ Read *baṭṭaruṅ*.

⁵ Read *ār*.

⁶ This word is engraved below the line.



min-pāttam pon mu-kkaḷaṇṇē-kāluṇ-kīḷirai-ppāttam pon aiṇ-kaḷaṇṇē-mukkālum
āga=ppon padin-oru-kalaṇṇiṇāl māḍai padin-eṭṭēy-eḷu-māvinār=kāsu muppatt
āraraḷiyun-daśavandan-kāsu irubatt-eṭṭaraiyē nāl-māvu[m*] māḍaikkūḷi kāsu irubatt-
aiṇṇē mu-

18 kkālē mūṇru-māvuṇ mudalē-śelavu kaṇakkinpaḍi kāsu mūṇruṇ vaṇṇakka-kkūḷikku=
kkāsu onṇ-araiyūn=tari-ppuḍavaiyār=kāsu mukkālū[m] muḷttāvaraṇattāg=kāsu
mukkālūn=tiṇḡalmērāttār=kāsu onṇ-araiyūṇ vēli-kkāsukku=kkāsu nūṇṇ-orubatt-
eṭṭum āga=kkāsu iruṇṇ-orubatt-ār-araiyē iraṇḍu-māvuṇṇu i-ttēvarku vēṇḍun=
nimandaṇ=cheydapaḍi [*] Āḷvārku=chchirukāḷai-chchandiy-onṇukku=pparuppu-ppōṇa-
gattukku ariṣi kuṇṇiṇṇu aiṇṇ-iraṇḍ-ākki nēḷu=ppadakuṇ nā-nāḷiyūṇ paruppu nā-
nāḷikku=ppayaṇṇu kuṇṇiṇṇu nēḷu=ppadakkum puḷukku-kkariy-amud-onṇukku
nēḷu nāḷiy-urīyūṇ porī-kkariy-amud-onṇukku nēḷu nāḷiy-urīyūṇ-tayir-amud-urīkku
nēḷu nā-nāḷiyūṇ=neyy-amud-āḷakkukku nēḷ nāḷiyūṇ upp-āḷakkukku nēḷ-ūḷakkum
āḍaikkāy-amudu vēṇṇkāy-āḷjukku nēḷ nāḷiyūṇ ve-

19 irilaiy-irubadukku nēḷ-urīyūṇ āga=chchandiy-onṇukku nēḷ aiṇ-kuṇṇi aiṇ-āḷi māḷakkum [*]
uchchirampōḍu śandikku ākkāraḍalai-pōṇagam¹ Virāśōḷaṇṇukku ariṣi nā-nāḷikku
nēḷ kuṇṇiṇṇu-iru-nāḷiyūṇ paruppu nā-nāḷikku=ppayaṇṇu kuṇṇiṇṇu nēḷ padakku=
ppāl-aṇṇ-nāḷikku nēḷ kuṇṇiṇṇu nā-nāḷiyūṇ=ney nāḷikku nēḷ tūṇiyūṇ vāḷaiṇṇalam
eṭṭukku nēḷ nā-nāḷiyūṇ āḍaikkāy-amudu vēṇṇkāy[*] aiṇṇjukku nēḷ nāḷiyūṇ
vēṇṇilaiy-irubadukku nēḷ-urīyūṇ āga ākkāraḍalai-ppōṇagattukku nēḷ=iru-tūṇi
kuṇṇiṇṇu mu=nnāḷiy-urīyūṇ [*] iḷukku nāl onṇukku=chcharkarai muppatt-iru-palamāga
nāl muḷ[n*]pūṇṇ-arupadakuṇ=chcharkarai padin-ōr-āyiratt-aiṇṇūṇ-irubadin-pala-
ttukku=kkāś-onṇukku=chcharkarai aiṇṇūṇ-eḷubatt-aṇṇ-palamāga=kkāsu irubadum [*]
iravai-sandikku=ppāl-pōṇagattukku ariṣi nā-nāḷikku nēḷ kuṇṇiṇṇu-iru-nāḷiyūṇ nāl
nā-nāḷikku nēḷ kuṇṇiṇṇu porīkkariy-amud-onṇukku²

20 nēḷ³ nāḷiy-urīyūṇ porīkkariy-amudukkuṇ pōṇagattukkuṇ-neyy-āḷakkukku nēḷ nā-
nāḷiyūṇ āḍaikkāy-amudu vēṇṇkāy-āḷjukku nēḷ nāḷiyūṇ vēṇṇilaiy-irubadukku nēḷ-
urīyūṇ āga iravai-śandikku nēḷ mu-kkuṇṇiṇṇu [eḷu]*-nāḷiyūṇ=[*]Ji(Śrī)-Rāgavachcha-
krava[r*]tikku uchchirampōḍai śandi onṇukku ariṣi nā-nāḷikku nēḷ kuṇṇiṇṇu-
iru-nāḷiyūṇ=neyy-amudūṇ-kariyamudum āḍaikkāy-amudum uḷḷiṇṇavaiyirukku
nēḷ nā-nāḷiyūṇ=āga nēḷ kuṇṇiṇṇu-aṇṇ-nāḷiyūṇ Āḷvārku=chchandanakkāppukku=
chchandanam=nāl-onṇukku arai-ppalam-āga nāl muṇṇūṇ-arubadukku=chchandanam
nūṇṇ-eṇbadin-palattukku kās-onṇukku=chchandanam eṭṭu-ppalam-āḷga=kkāś-irubatt-
iraṇḍ-araiyūṇ mēṇṇadikku=kkarpūra-ppoitaraṣu nāl-onṇukku aiṇṇu-māy-āga nāl
muṇṇūṇ-arubadukku=kkarpūram padin-oru-kalaṇṇē-kālukku=kkāś-onṇukku=kkar-
pūram-arai-kkaḷaṇṇ-āga kās-iru-

21 batt-iraṇḍ-araiyūṇ=kuṇṇumattuk[ku]=kkāś-onṇum [*] Āḷvārku=ttiru-nundāvilakk-iraṇḍukku
nāl-onṇukku=ēṇṇaiy-urīyūṇ irā-ttirachchurru-māḷigaiyilē viḍiyūṇ-aḷavūṇ=eriyūṇ
vilakku māṇṇukku=ēṇṇaiy-ūḷakk-āḷakku mēṇṇadiyil eriyūṇ sandi-vilakku=ppattu-
kku vilakk-onṇukku=ēṇṇai oru-śevīḍē-kāl-āga ēṇṇai uḷakkēy-iru-śevīḍ-araiyūṇ=
āga nāl-onṇukku ēṇṇai nāḷiy-āḷakkēy-iru-śevīḍ-araiy-āga nāl mūṇṇūṇ-arubadukku=
ēṇṇai nā-nūṇṇ-aiṇbatt-iru-nāḷiy-urīkku=kkāś-onṇukku=ēṇṇaiy-irubadināḷiy-āga=kkāś-
irubatt-iraṇḍ-araiyēy-araiḷkāḷum [*] Aippaśi-ttiruṇāḷil tiruvilāv-eḷund-a[ru*]ḷum Aḷagi-
yamaṇavāḷar nāl ēḷil=amudu-seyya=ppōḍ-onṇukku ariṣi pada-
kkukku nēḷ aiṇ-kuṇṇiṇṇu parupp-urīkku=ppayaṇṇu nāḷikku nēḷ-iru-nāḷiyūṇ
porīkkariy-amud-onṇukku nēḷ nāḷiyūṇ puḷukku-kkari onṇuk.

¹ This word is engraved below the line.

² The e sign of ne is in the previous line.

³ Read *ṇṇukku*.

⁴ *kuṇṇiṇṇu-oru* is what is required.

- 22 ku nel nāliyum miḷagu-kari onṟukku nel nāliyum miḷag-iru-śevīḍ-araikku nell=iru-nāliyu n
=neyy=āḷakkukku nel nā-nāliyun=tayir nāḷikku nell=iru-nāliyum upp-uḷakkukku
nell=uriyumu aḍaikkāy-amudu veṟuṅkāy=aṇḷiḷukku nel nāliyum veṟḷilaiy=irubadukku
nell=uriyum-āga=ppōḍ-onṟukku nel eḷu-kurūṇiy-āga=ttiruvilav-eḷundaruḷu-nāḷ eḷiḷ
eḷundaruḷu[m*]m pōḍu paṇṇiraṇḍukku nell=eḷu-kala[m*] [i*] munnēy Māsi-ttiruṇāḷ-eḷun-
daruḷu[m*]m pōḍu paṇṇiraṇḍukku mēṟpaḍiy-ākki nell=eḷu-kalamum [i*] i-ttirunāḷ=
iraṇḍilum Viraśōḷan tiru-ṇandavanattir=tiruvēṭṭaiy-eḷundaruḷu[m*] nāḷ-onṟukku=
pperun-tiruv-amud-ariśi kalattukku nell=[iru-kalanē tūṇi-ppadakkum parupp-amud=
iru-nāḷikku=ppayaru nā-nāḷikku nel kuṟuṇiyum porikkariy-amud-onṟukku nel kuṟuṇiy-
um puḷukku-kkariy-amud-onṟukku nel kuṟuṇiyum miḷagu-kariy-amud-onṟukku nel kuṟu-
- 23 ṇiyum miḷag=āḷakkukku nel nā-nāliyum upp=iru-nāḷikku nel nā-nāliyum ney nāḷikku
nel tūṇiyum tayir kuṟuṇikku nel padakkum aḍaikkāy-amudu veṟuṅkāy] nāṟpadukku nel kuṟuṇiyum veṟḷilai=ppaṟṟ-iraṇḍukku nel nā-nāliyum āra¹ nāḷ-
onṟukku nel mu-kkalanē tūṇi-ppadaku nā-nāliy-āga=ttiruvēṭṭaiy-eḷundaruḷu-nāḷ
iraṇḍukku nell=eḷu-kalanē kuṟuṇiyum [i*] Jayantyaśṭami-nāḷ Veṇṇai-kkūttāḷvāṇukku
perun-tiruv-amudukku ariśi tūṇi-ppadakkukku nel kalanē mu-kkuṟuṇiyum parupp=
iru-nāḷikku=ppayaru nā-nāḷikku nel kuṟuṇiyum porikkariy-amud-onṟukku nel
nā-nāliyum puḷukku-kkariy-amud-onṟukku nel nā-nāliyum miḷagu-kariy-amudukku
nel nā-nāliyum [miḷag=iru-śe]²viḍ-araikku nell=iru-nāliyum upp=urikku nel nāliyun
=tayir-amudu nā-nāḷikku nel kuṟuṇiyum neyy-amud=uḷakkukku nel kuṟuṇiyum
aḍaikkāy-amudu veṟuṅkāy-irubadukku nel nā-nāliyum veṟḷilai=ppaṟṟ-on-
- 24 ṟukku nell=iru-nāliyum āga=pperun-tiruv-amudukku nel kalanē iru-tūṇi aiṇ-nāliyum [i*]
arrai-nāḷāḷ=amudu-śeyd-arula appattukk-ariśi kuṟuṇiy-iru-nāḷikku nel mu-kkuṟuṇi
oru-nāḷi[yum] paruppu nāḷikku=ppayar=iru-nāḷikku nel nā-nāliyum=neyy=urikku
nel padakkum śaṅkaraiy=irubadin-palattukku nel tūṇiyum miḷag=āḷakkukku
nel nā-nāliyuṇ=chiragam=iru-śevīḍ-araikku nell=iru-nāliyum upp=uḷakkukku nell=
uriyun=tēṇkāy=āṟukku nel padakkum[m*] aḍaikkāy-amudu veṟuṅkāy-irubadukku nel
nā-nāliyum veṟḷilai=ppaṟṟ-onṟukku nell=iru-nāliyum āga appav-amudu[kku*] nel kalanē
kuṟuṇi oru-nāliy-uriyum [i*] i-tteruvil=eḷundaruḷināl=amudu-śeydarula vāḷaippaḷa[m*]
muppatt-iraṇḍukku nel padakkun=tayir-amudu nā-nāḷikku nel kuṟuṇiyum āga
Jayantyaśṭamikkul nel mu-kkalanēy=aru-nāliy-uriyūm³ [i*] Kārttigai=kKārttigai-
nāḷ perun-tiruv-amudukk=ariśi kalattukku nell=iru-kalanē tūṇi-ppadaku=pparupp=
iru-nāḷikku=ppayaru nā-nā-
- 25 ḷikku nel kuṟuṇiyum porikkariy-amud-onṟukku nel kuṟuṇiyum puḷukku-kkariy-amud-
onṟukku nel kuṟuṇiyum miḷagu-kariy-amud-onṟukku nel kuṟuṇiyum puḷiṇ-kariy-
amudukku=ttayir kuṟuṇikku nel padakkun=chaṅkarai padin-palattukku nel pada-
kkum vāḷaippaḷam=irubadukku nel kuṟuṇiy=iru-nāliyum miḷag=āḷakkukku nel
nā-nāliyum uppu nāliy-urikku nel mu-nnāliyun=neyy-amudu nāḷikku nel tūṇiyun=
tayir-amudu kuṟuṇikku nel padakkum aḍaikkāy-amudu veṟuṅkāy aimbadukku
nel kuṟuṇiy-iru-nāliyum veṟḷilai=ppaṟṟ-iraṇḍukku nel nā-nāliyum āga nel mu-
kkalanēy=iru-tūṇi mu-kkuṟuṇiy-eḷu-nāliyum [i*] i-nnāḷiḷ viḍiyum-aḷavun=tiruvuṇṇāḷ-
igaiyilun=tiruchehurumāḷigaiyilum eriyum viḷakk-iru-nūṟṟukku viḷakk-onṟukk-
eṇṇaiy-āḷakkāga eṇṇaiy-irubatt-ai-nūṇāḷikku=kkās-onṟe-kāḷum [i*] Uḍaiyār-śri-Virarā-
jēntradēvar⁴ aṭṭai-ttirunāḷ Āvaṇi-ttiṅgaḷ tiruv-Āyilēyattil Āḷvārkku=ttirumaṇja-

¹ Read āga.

² Read uṟiyum.

³ This portion is badly damaged.

⁴ Read "ndra".

26 nattukku=ttirumulaiy-atta=ppayaru nālik[ku] nell=iru-nāliyun=tirumulai-kkīl=atta nel padakkuñ=kalaśam nūrr-eṭṭu=chēbūla nūl=oru-palattukku nel kuṇṇiyum adikkīl-atta nel tūṇi-ppadakkun=tiruchchunṇattuk=ariśiy=iru-nālikku nel nā-nāliyun=ney nā-nālikku nel kalanēy tūṇiyun=tayir [nā]-nālikku nel kuṇṇiyum pāl nā-nālikku nel kuṇṇiyum [i*] arai-nā perun-tiruv-amudukku ariśi kalattukku nellu iru-kalanē tūṇi-ppadakkum paruppu nā-nālikku=ppayaru [kuṇṇi*]nikku nel padakkum puḷukku-kkariy-amud=onrukku nel kuṇṇiyum porī-kkariy-amud=onrukku nel kuṇṇiyum miḷagu-kariy-amud=onrukku nel kuṇṇiyum miḷag=āḷakkukku nel nā-nāliyum uppu nālikku nell=iru-nāliyum puḷiā-kariy-amudukku=ttayir kuṇṇikku nel padakkum ney nālikku nel tūṇiyum adaikkāy-amudu veṭṭiṇṇāy mu-ppadaku nel kuṇṇiy=iru-nāliyum veṭṭilai-kkaṭṭu mūnrukku nell=aru-nāli[yu*]m puḷiā-karikku=chcharakarai padin-palattukku nel pa-

27 dakkum vāḷaippaḷam=irubadukku nel kuṇṇiy=iru-nāliyum āga nell=aru-kalanē aiñ-kuṇṇiy=iru-nāliyum [i*] i-ttirunālikku=ttirumulaiy-atta=ppāligai-sūḷa=ppuḷavaiy=onruñ=kalatṭin-mēḷaḷi=ppuḷavaiy=onrum tirumañjaṇam¹-paṇṇum=āchāri[ya]nukku uḍukkavum utṭari[ya]num=iḷa=ppuḷavaiy=iraṇḍum=āga=ppuḷavai nālukku=kkāś=onrum=tirumañjaṇam¹=āḷiy-arūḷa=ttēn nā-nālikku=kkāś=araiyum kuḷakundan mañjaḷ=aimbaḍin-palattakku=kkāśu kālum snapana-dravyaṇḡaḷ koḷḷa=kkāś=araiyum tiru-mañjaṇam¹-āḍināl sātta pariśaṭṭam=onrukku=kkāś=onrum snapanam-paṇṇuvikkum āchāriyaṇukku dakshipai kās=onrum arai-nāḷṛ²=tiruvōlakkañ=chōvikka vanda Śrī-Vaiśiṇavarkkun=tiruv[āy]moli viḷṇṇappañ=cheyvārkuñ=kuḷukkum pariśaṭṭav=uru=ppattukku=ttaniy=onru kāsū kāl-āga=kkāś=iraṇḍ-araiyum [i*] ittirunā[i*] sollun=tiruvukku=ppariśaṭṭattukku=kkāś=araiyum [i*] ittanmamun=tiruchchugrumāḷigaiyuñ=Jananādan-maṇḍapamuñ=cheyvi-

28 ytta Vaiśyan Māḍavan Dāmavan pīranda Kārttigai-ttiṇḡaḷ=pPūrāḍatti-nāl=ttirumañ-juṇattukku³ perun-tiruv-amudukkun=nell=aru-kalanēy aiñ-kuṇṇiy=iru-nāliyum ippaḍikku=ttirumañjuṇattukku³ vēṇḍavana koḷḷavum pariśaṭṭam peruvārku=ppari-śaṭṭaṇ=kuḍukkavum mēṇḍaḷiy-āga=kkāś=ārē-kālum [i*] Parattādi=tTiruvōṇatti-nāl Veṇṇaikkūttāḷvāṇ Jananādan-maṇḍapatt=eḷund-arūḷināl appa-amudukk=ariśi aiñ-kuṇṇikku nel kalanē [nā]-nāliyuñ=chcharakarai mu-nūṇru-ppalattukku nell=iru-kalanē tūṇi-ppadakkum ney mu-nālikku nel kalamum miḷagukkuñ=chāgattukku uppuḷukku nel mu-kkuṇṇiyum adaikkāy-a]mud=enbadukku nel=ppadakkum veṭṭilai=kkāṭṭ-iraṇḍukku nel nā-nāliyum [ā]ga nel aiyyā-kalamum [i*] amāvāsyaiḷ Āḷvāṇ tīrttham prāsāḍittāl tīrttham=āḷa-vandūr puṇambil Jananādan-maṇḍapatt=unṇum Śrī-Vaiśṇavar irupadinmaṇḡu=ppērāl=ariśi nāliy-uriy-āga ariśi mu-kkuṇṇi-

29 y-aru-nālikku nell=iru-tūṇi kuṇṇi mu-nnāliyum puḷukku-kkariy=onrukku nel ai-nāliyum miḷagu-kariy=onrukku nel ai-nāliyum puḷitta-kariy=onrukku=ppuḷiy-utpaḷa nel=kkuṇṇiy-oru-nāliyum ilai-kkarikku nell=iru-nāliyum miḷag=āḷakkukku nel nā-nāliyum opp=iru-nālikku nel nā-nāliyum neyy=ūḷakkukku nel=kkuṇṇiyum mōr padakkukku nel=kkuṇṇiy-iru-nāliyuñ=chcharakarai nār-palattukku nel=kkuṇṇiyum veṇṇāy nāṇḍukku nel=kkuṇṇiyum veṭṭilai=ppar-iraṇḍukku nel nā-nāliyum aḍuvān=oruvāṇukku nel=kkuṇṇiyum āga amāvāsyai onrukku nel=kkalanēy=eḷu-kuṇṇi mu-nnāliy=āga amāvāsyai panniraṇḍukku nel=ppattonbaḍin-kalanē tūṇi nā-nāliyun=Tiruvēṇḡaḍamālai=(t)tīrttham-āḷa=pperuñ-kūṭṭamāy vandu Jananādan-maṇḍapatt=unṇum Śrī-Vaiśṇavar nūṇruvarkku=ppērāl ariśi nāliy-

¹ Read *janam*.

² Read *nāḷṛ*.

³ Read *tirumañjana*.

- uriy-āga ariśi kalanē tūṇi=ppadakk-aṟu-nālikku nel mu-kkalanēy=iru-tūṇi=ppadakk-eḷu-nāliyum payaṟu kuṟuṇikku nel=ppadakkum puḷukku-kkaṟiy-onṟukku
 30 nel mu-kkuṟuṇiyum miḷagu-kariy-onṟukku nel mu-kkuṟuṇiyum puḷitta-kariy-onṟukku=ppuḷiy-uṭpaḍa nel=ttūṇiyum ilai-kkaṟiy-onṟukku nel=kkuṟuṇiyum miḷagu mūḷa-
 kkukku nel mu-kkuṟuṇiyum uppu=kkuṟuṇikku nel=ppadakkum neyy=iru-nālikku
 nell=iru-tūṇiyum mōr kalattukku nel tūṇi=ppadakkum puḷiṇ-kariy mōrukku
 nel tūṇi=ppadakkum śaṅkarai irubatt-iru-palattukku nel tūṇiyum veruṇkāy=iru-nūṟṟukku nel aiṇ-kuṟuṇiyum veṟṟilai=ppaṟṟ-eṭṭukku nel=ppadakkum aḍuvāṇ-
 iruvarkku nel tūṇiyum śuṇṇāmbukku nel nā-nāliyum virag-iḍuvāṇ-oruvanukku
 nel=ppadakkum ilai-kkaṟiy-iḍuvāṇ-oruvanukku nel=ppadakkum āga nel eṇ-
 kalanēy-iru-tūṇi mu-nāliyum [*] ivargaḷ tirttham-āḍi miṇḍu vandāl Śrī-Vaiṣṇavar
 pūṟṟuvarkku mēṟpaḍiy-ākki nell=eṇ-kalanēy=iru-tūṇi mu-nāliyum [*] Puraṭṭāḍi=
 tTiruvōṇatti-nāl tirttham-āḍa vaṇḍa Śrī-Vaiṣṇavar pūṟṟuvarkku mēṟpaḍiy-ākki
 nell=eṇ-kalanēy=iru-tūṇi mu-nāliyum Aippaśi=ttirunāḷil=ttiruvilāṇ-eḷundaru[*]=nāl=
 āṟil nāl onṟil-unṇum Śrī-Vai-
 31 śṇava(r)r=irubatt-aiṇj-āga nāl-āṟil-unṇum Śrī-Vaiṣṇavar pūṟṟ-aiṇbadum tirttham-
 āḍum-aṇṟ-unṇum Śrī-[Vaiṣṇavar=ai]mbadum āga n[e]ḷu-
 kalanē tūṇiy-aṟu-nāliyum [*] Mārgaḷi=ttiruv-ēkāḍasiyilun=dvāḍasiyilun=Tiruvāymoḷi
 kēṭka vanda Śrī-Vaiṣṇavarkk=i nell=eṇ-kalanēy=iru-tūṇi
 mu-nāliyum [*] Mā-
 32 śi-Maga-ttirunāḷil i-mmaṇḍapattil-unṇum Śrī-Vaiṣṇavar-iru-nūṟṟuvarkku mēṟpaḍiy-
 ākki nel paḍiṇ-eḷu-kalanē tūṇi¹=aṟu-nāliyum [*] tiru
²vaṇukku nāl-onṟukku nell=aṟu-nāliyum kās-onṟum Tiruvāymoḷi viṇṇappaṇ-
 cheyvār=iruvarkku=ppērāl nellu=kku ³nṟukku nel mu-kkuṟuṇiyum
 pērāṅ-kās-iraṇḍ-ā-
 33 ga=kkāśu nālum Viraśōḷan-tirunaṇḍavanam uḷappār nālvarcku=ppērāl nel=kkuṟuṇiy-
 āga nāl-onṟukku nel tūṇi =²ttiruv-
 utsavaṅgaḷukkun=tirumaṇjūṇaṅgaḷukkum³ nāl=cholli nāl-ōlai tūkkun=tiruvukku
 nāl-onṟukku nel kuṟuṇi ⁴[ri]ḍayir=ēṟṟi=kkaḍamaḷ taṇḍi nūnandaṇ-
 chelutti
 34 niṟkum Vaikhānasa dēvakanmiḷy-oru]vaṇukku nāl-onṟukku nel kuṟuṇiyuṇ=kāśu nālun=
 kaṇakk-eḷudi niṟkuṇ=ka ¹l-onṟukku nel kuṟuṇiyuṇ=kāśu nālun=
 Ālvāṅku=ttirumaṇjūṇaṅgaḷukku³ vēṇḍuṇ=kalaśamun=tirumaḍaḷpallikkun=Jananā-
 dan-maṇ ²kiḍaigaḷukkuṇ=Śāstraṅkum Ātula-śālaikku vē-
 35 ṇḍuṇ=kalam-iḍuṇ=kuśavanukku nāl-onṟukku nel kuṟuṇiyum Ālvāṅku=ppariśaṭṭamaṇ=
 Jananādan-maṇḍapattil=ōḍu ⁴ōttu=kkēṭpārkkum ātulaṅkum
 olikkum=īraṇkollikkum[m*] nāl-onṟukku nel nā-nāliyum Jananādan-maṇḍapamum
 Ātula-śālaiyum nimanda ⁵kun=tirumeykāvalē Tirumukkūḷaṅ-
 Pēraiyaṇukku
 36 nāl-onṟukku nel nā-nāliyuṇ=kās-onṟum tiruchchurumāḷigai puḍukkuppuṟattukku
 nel nāṟpaḍin-kalamuṇ=ja ⁶-maṇḍapattil Ri(Ri)g-vēdam=ōḍuvippān=

¹The letters in brackets have been filled up by referring to the stone. They are obstructed by a pillar and have not come out in the impression.

²The portion of the wall before this, represented by dots, is replaced by an uninscribed slab.

³Read *tirumaṇjana*.

⁴The portion before this is obstructed by a pillar.

⁵The letters have peeled off.

⁶For dots read *naṇḍiṇa*.

- oruvāṇukku nāl=onṇukku nel padakkum Yajur-vēdam=ōduvipān=oruvāṇukku
nāl-onṇukku nel] padakkum ivargaḷ=iruvarkum pērār=kāsu nāl-āga=kkā-
- 37 ē=ettum Vyākaraṇamum Rūpāvat[āra]m vakkāṇikkum Bhaṭṭan=oruvāṇukku nāl=
onṇukku nel tūṇiyum kāsu pattum R[ig]-vēdam ō[ḍ]dum Brāhmaṇar
padinmarum Yajur-vvēdam ōdum Brāhmaṇar padinmaru[m] Vyākaraṇamum
Rūpāvatāramuḥ=kēṭṭum Brāhmaṇaru[m]*] chāttirar=irupadinmarum Mahā-Pāu-
[charāttirar=oru]padinmarum Śiva-Brāhmaṇar mūvarum Vaikhānasar aivarum
- 38 ti nār-iruvaram āga ōduv[ārum] ōttu-kkēlpārum=āga arupadinmarukku=
ppērāl=ariśi nāliṅ-uriv-āga nāl=onṇukku=ari[śi tū]ḥṇi mu-kkuruṇiy-iru-nālikku
nell=iru-kalanē tūṇiy-oru-nāliṅyum payaru nā-nālikku nel kuṇṇiyum pulukku-
kkarikkku nell=aru-nāliṅyum ilai-kka-
- 39 rikku nel mu-nāliṅ[u]m mīlagu-karikkku nel kuṇṇiyum pulitta-kar[ik*]ku puliy-uṇṇa
nel kuṇṇiyum mīlag-ulaḥk-ūlakkukku nel[nā-nāli]ḥṇiyum uppu nālikku nel
kuṇṇiyum ney nālikku nel tūṇiyum mōr tūṇi-ppadakkukku nel mu-kkuruṇi-
yum veruṇkaiy-arubadukku nel kuṇṇi[nā-nā]ḥṇiyum verilai par-iraiṇṇukku
nel nā-nāliṅyum
- 40 Vayalaikkāvūr-ninru ariśi koḍuvandu viṇagum=ilaiyum=iṭṭu=ttanṇir-aṭṭiy-aḍu-ma-laivar
mūvarkku=ppērāl kuṇṇiy-āga [nāl-on]ḥṇukku nel mu-kkuruṇiyum pērār=kā-
iraṇḍ-āga=kkās-ārum i-nmaṇḍapatt-uṇṇuḥ-chāttirarkkuḥ=kiḷaigalukkuṇṇu paṇi-
śeyyum peṇḍugaḷ[-iruvark]ḥṇu=ppērāl nellu nā-nāliṅ-āga nāl-onṇukku
- 41 nel kuṇṇiyum pērār-kās=onr-āga=kkās=iraṇḍum chāttirarkkuḥ=kiḷaigalukkuṇṇu ātular-
kkum kiḷaḥka=ppāy-eḷupat[aiṇḍu]kku=kkās=iraṇḍum kiḷaigalukkuḥ=chātti-
rarkkuṇṇu=talaikk-aṭṭa=chēṇaiy-onṇukku=ēṇṇaiy-iru-nāliṅ-āga āṇḍ-onṇir=chāṇi ainbatt-
onṇukku=ēṇṇai]ḥṇi nūṇṇ-iru-nālikkuṇṇu Jananādan-maṇḍapatt=ōttu-
- 42 kkēṭṭpārkkku irāy-eriyum viḷakk=onṇukku=ēṇṇai ulaḥk-āga āṇḍ-onṇukku=ēṇṇai tonṇūṇṇu-
nāliṅ[u]m ivv-e]ḥṇai nūṇṇu-tonṇūṇṇ-iru-nālikku=kkās-onṇukku=ēṇṇaiy-irupadi-
nāliṅ-āga=kkās=onbad-araiyēy-araiḥkālūḥ=Jananādan-maṇḍapat[ukku]ḥ=ppudukkuppu-
rattukku nel nārpadin-kaḷlamu]m [*] ātu-
- 43 [la]r-sālai Viraśōlanil vyāḍippaṭṭu=kkidappār padinaiyarkku=ppērāl=ariśi nāliṅ-āga
ariśi kuṇṇiy-eḷu-nālikku nel [tūṇi ai]ḥṇi nāliṅ-urियum vyāḍippaṭṭu=kkidapparkkuṇṇu
pala-paṇi-nimandakkārarkkuṇṇu kiḷaigalukkuḥ=chāttirarkkuṇṇu vaidyaṇ-cholla=kkāṇiy-
āga=ttanakkun=tan [vargat]ḥṇi tārkkum peṇḍaiya ālappākkattu Savarṇṇan
- 44 Kōḍaṇḍarāman Aśvatthāma-Bhaṭṭaṇukku nāl-onṇukku nel mu-kkuruṇiyum kās=
ēṭṭuḥ=chāliyakiriyai paṇṇuvā[ṇ-oruva]ḥṇukku nāl-onṇukku nel kuṇṇiyum ātu-
larkku marundugaḷukku vēṇḍu[m*] marundu parittum viṇag-iṭṭum pariyāram-
paṇṇuvār=iru[varu]kku=ppērāl]ḥṇi nāl-onṇukku nel kuṇṇiy-āga nel padakkum
pērā-
- 45 p=kās=onṇāga=kkās=iraṇḍum ātularkkku vēṇḍum pariyāram paṇṇi marund-aḍum peṇḍu-
gaḷ-iruvarkku=ppērāl=a[riśi nā]ḥṇi nāliṅ-āga nāl-onṇukku nel kuṇṇiyum pērār=kā-

¹ The letters in brackets are obstructed by a pillar. They have been filled up by referring to the stone.

² This is filled up by calculation.

³ Here is an obstruction by pillar. Read from stone.

⁴ Here is an uninscribed slab. The inscribed slab should have contained the letters in brackets.

⁵ The letters in brackets are obstructed by a pillar and they have been filled up *in situ* from stone.

⁶ The syllables in brackets have been filled up as the inscribed stone is here replaced by a plain one.

⁷ Lost in the original and have been supplied by calculation.

- araiy-āga=kkās=onṟum ātularkkun=kiḍaigaḷukkuñ=chāttirarkkum vēṇḍum paṇi-
śey[yum nā]¹viśan=oruvanukku nāl-onṟukku nel nā-nāli
- 46 yum [l*] āturaśālai Viraśōlanil āṇḍ-onṟill=iḍu[m*] marundu Brāhmyam-ka[ḍumbūri]y=
onṟum karuṅgāy nūṅa ippaḍi ḍum Vāśā-haritaki=ppaḍiy=
iraṇḍum Daśamūla-haritaki paḍiy=onṟum Bhallātaka-haritaki paḍiy=onṟum
Gaṇḍiram [paḍi]y¹=onṟum Balākēraṇḍa-tailam tūṇiyum Pañchā-
- 47 ka²-tailan=tūṇiyum Laśunādy³-ēraṇḍa-tailan=tūṇiyum=Uttamakarnādi-tailan=tūṇiyum-U
. * [pa]dakkun=Suk *śā-ghṛitam pada-
kku[m*] Bilvādi-ghṛitam padakkum Maṇḍō[ka]ra-vaṭakam iraṇḍ-āyiramum Dravatti
nāliyum Vimalai iraṇḍ-āyiramum Sunētriy⁴=iraṇḍ-āyiramun=⁵Tamrāḍiy=iraṇḍ-āyira-
mum Vajrakalpan=tūṇi-ppa
- 48 dakkum Kalyāṇa-lavaṇan=tūṇi-ppadakkum ivaiy-aḍugaikku vēṇḍum marun[du*]gaḷu-
kkum ne * [rai]yum) tē *yum ulliṭṭana
koḷlavum āṇḍu-tōṟum Purāṇasarppi pudaikka=ppaṣuvi[n*] ney padakkun=koḷlavum
(k)kāśu nāṇpadum [ātura]⁷śālaiyill-irāy=eriyum viḷakk-onṟukk=ēṇṇaiy=āḷakk-ā-
- 49 ga nāl mu-nṇūṟṟ-arupadukk=ēṇṇai nāṇpatt-ai-ññālikku kāś=iraṇḍē-kālum Jananādan-ma-
. *nbil taṇ *yaṇukku=pPaṇṇuniy-uttiran=
tuḍaṅgi=pPuraṭṭādi=tTiruvōṇṇatt-aḷavum parambāl=ūra-ttaṇṇir koḍuvandu vai[ttu=
chchāy]⁸ppān oruvaṇukku nāl-onṟukku nel kuṇṇiy=ā-
- 50 ga nāl nūṟṟ-eṇbadukku nel padinañ-kalamum ēlattukkum ilāmachchattukkum
nell=iru⁹ *padakkun=ta *nyāham
paṇṇina Brāhmaṇarkku¹⁰-tdakshinaikkum verṇilai veruṅkāykkum nel kalanē tūṇi-
iru-nāli mūlak[kē mu]¹¹-chcheviḍum Vayalaikkāvūr kāṇiyuḍaiya Mādhavan Dāma-
- 51 yan varggattārkkum=pPuraṭṭādi=tTiruvōṇṇatti-nāl kuḍukkum [pa]riśattam iraṇḍukku=
kkās=onṟey=eḷu-mā *mūv-āyiratt-irunūṟṟu-nāṇpattu-mu-
kkalanēy=iru-tūṇi-ppadakk=aṟu-nāliy=ulakkē mu-chcheviṭṭukkum kāś=iru-nūṟṟ=oru-
batt-āṟ-araiyēy=iraṇ[ḍu-mā]¹²vukkum [l*] ikkāś=udavāviḍil kāś=onṟukku=tTaṇḍavāṇiyō-
- 52 ḍ-okkum pon kāśu-niṟai=kkāl iḍuvad-āgavum[l*] ippaḍi yāṇḍu āṟāvadu nimandañ=cheyda-
paḍi in *lumiḍattu chā[tti]ra-kkaṇkāṇiyōḍum kiḍai-
kkaṇkāṇiyōḍum śellakkaḍavad-āga nivandam śēdapaḍikku kallu vēṭṭuvittār i-
n[nāḍu kūru]¹³seyda adigārigaḷ Śōḷa-maṇḍalattu Vijaiyarājēnta¹⁴-va-
- 53 Janāṭṭu Iḍaiyaḷa-nāṭṭu [Mīṇa]¹⁴rkuḍaiyān Paśuvati Tiruvaraṇḍadēvanār-āna
Rājēnta¹⁵-Mūvēndavēḷār Pāṇa ¹⁵ēva=kkallu vēṭṭuvittāṇ Jayaṇḍoṇḍa-

¹ The letters in brackets have been read *in situ*.
² The letter *ka* was supplied by examining the original stone.
³ The syllables *śunādyēra* have been read *in situ*.
⁴ Here and in the following an inscribed slab is replaced by a plain one.
⁵ The syllables *nētriyi* have been restored by reading on the spot.
⁶ Read *Tām*.
⁷ The letters *ātura* are entered below the line.
⁸ The letters in brackets are obstructed by a pillar and have been read from stone.
⁹ The syllable *est* here must be *padina kalanēy=iru-tūṇi*.
¹⁰ Read *dda*.
¹¹ A pillar obstructs these two letters.
¹² The syllables in brackets are obstructed by a pillar. Restored from stone.
¹³ Read *andra*.
¹⁴ The two syllables are lost in the original.
¹⁵ The syllables *ēva=kkā* have been filled up from the stone, though obstructed by a pillar.

śōla-maṇḍalattu=pPuḷaṭ-kōṭṭatt-Āguḍi-nāṭṭu Ayaṇḍampākkattu Iṭaivēṭṭin
Kumara-Pāsūr-kkattan=āṇa¹ Virarājēnta²-chChembiyadarayaṇ[!]³ Inda danma[m*]
śeyvitta Dāmayanār

54 maga[n] Dāmayan Gaṅgaikoṇḍasōlan-āṇa Sēnāpatigaḷ Gaṅgaikoṇḍasōla-Danmapālaṭkkum
ivar tambiyār Dā n-āṇa Sēnāpatigaḷ Virarājēnta²-Danmapālaṭkkum
māy idu kallu vēṭṭuvittāṇ Jayaṅkoṇḍasōla-maṇḍalattu Puḷal-kōṭṭattu . . . r-
nāṭṭu [Śā] turvēdimāṅga[la*]⁴ttu Brāhmaṇan Māṅgaḷūr Namaśśi-
vāyadēvaṇ magan

55 Taḷuvakkulaṇḍān-āṇa Abhimānamēru-Brahmamārāyaṇ [!]⁵ I-dharmam(m) śrī-Madhurān-
taka-chchatu[rvēdimāṅga]⁶ḷattu Mahāsabhaiyār rakshai [!]⁷ Śrī [||]

Abstract of Contents.⁴

Hail ! Prosperity ! (With the aid of) his strong shoulders, (wherein the goddess of) Prosperity resided, (the king) bore the circle of the wide earth as (lightly as) his jewel of gems ; under the shade of (his) victorious white parasol (set with) numerous gems, (he) protected the living beings of the earth more (tenderly) than the mother who bore (them) ; (he) conducted (his) rule (so as to cause) other kings (wearing) ankle-rings to seek shelter under the shadow of his feet and (forced) the rent Kali (age) to retire to (its) abysmal abode. (He) drove from the battle-field of Gaṅgapāḍi the great feudatory chiefs (sāmāntas) whose strong hands (carried) tightly-bound bows, (and forced them) along with Vikkalan (who wore) a garland of fragrant flowers to enter the Tuṅgabhadra. (He made such an) attack (as to cause) the destruction of the irresistibly great and powerful army which the Vallabhan had again despatched into the fine country of Vēṅgi ; and fought⁵ with Mahādaṇḍanāyaka Chāmuṇḍarāja and cut off his head and severed the nose from the face of his (i.e., Chāmuṇḍarāja's) incomparable⁶ daughter called Nāgalai (who was) the queen of Irugaiyaṇ and (who) resembled a peacock in beauty.

Himself and his sons, who assisted him, remaining behind in close quarters, he sent forth an army, which victoriously fought against countless sāmāntas along with the (two) sons of Āhavamalla called Vikkalan and Siṅgaṇaṇ at Kūḍal-Saṅgama on the great waters, whither they had rushed forth enraged, resolving to advance forward and fight for a third time ; and with (his) rut elephant, he agitated that army (of the enemy) which was arrayed in battle like the Northern ocean ; he cut to pieces in front of his banner-troop Siṅgaṇ of Kōśalai who was fighting with his furious elephants and vanguard ; he (also) cut to pieces Kēsavaḍaṇḍanāyaka and Kettaraśān, Mārayaṇ of great strength, the powerful Pottaraśān and Rēchchayan, Poṭkōḍai and Mūvēṇḍi who were fighting (fiercely), and many (other) unknown sāmāntas who offered (him) battle. Then Muduvaṇaṇ, who was the commander,⁷ fled ; Vikkalan fled with his hair dishevelled ; Siṅgaṇaṇ fled leaving off the field-work ; all the other chiefs of the elder brother⁸ dismounted from the male elephants on which they were fighting the great battle and fled ; and Āhavamalla, who was thus put to shame,⁹ ran before them (all). He then separated his swift-footed and fierce elephant, put on a garland of victory and seized the (enemies') wives, their family treasures,

¹ The letters *ān-āṇa* are obstructed by a pillar.

² Read *āṇḍra*.

³ The letters in brackets are obstructed by a pillar and have been restored by reading from the stone.

⁴ Prof. Hultzsch has translated the introductory portion on pp. 36ff. of the *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. III.

⁵ The word *śeyvitta* is a compound of *śey* and *vitta*.

⁶ May be taken to mean also 'the only daughter.'

⁷ The word may be rendered also 'who was the father of his wife'.

⁸ *Āṇḍra* may also mean 'the king'.

⁹ The word *nāṅgaṇa* means also 'who was in close quarters'.

conches, parasols, trumpets (*tārai*), big drums, canopies (*mūghaḍambara*), white fly-whisks (*chāmaras*), the boar banner, the ornamental arch (*makara-tōraṇa*), a herd of camels, the metal throne, the female elephant called Pushpaka, a herd of war-elephants together with a collection of prancing horses; (*he then*) ascended the powerful lion-throne of great splendour, being bowed to by all the world, and along with his beautiful queen **Ulagamaḷuduḍaiyāl**, put on the victorious crown set with gems.

He cut off in battle field the beautiful heads, wearing flower-garlands, of the king of **Pottapi** whose horse was unsteady under the bridle (*kuśai*), and of the **Kēraḷa** (*king*) wearing ankle-rings and (*powerful on account of his*) elephants¹ as well as of the younger brother of **Jananātha** adorned with wreaths²; (*and he also*) trampled under the feet of a single rut elephant **Vira-kēsari** who wore a crown (*set with*) lustrous gems and who was the young son of the Pāṇḍya king **Srīvallabha** wearing gold ankle-rings.³

He put forth his elephant (*force*) in the field and uprooted with his hands the family of the Chēras along with their infants, and caused them to run and plunge into the Western ocean. At Vāri, he tied up the Rattas, who had numberless elephants, along with the elephants belonging to their ladies who coveted (*them*)⁴; and received also a herd of elephants which they paid as tribute together with female elephants and trappings.

In a hot battle pitched on the bank of a river of whirling water⁵ he cut off the heads of the following Daṇḍanāyakas:—Villiyanṇaṇ⁶ of great valour, Vaṇjippayan⁷, who possessed a rutting elephant, Aśōkayan (*who wore a cool*) garland, Śattiyannan of brilliant valour, Pattiyanṇan (*the minister of*) peace and war, Vimayan, who wore a honey-dribbling garland, Vaṅgāraṇ of great wisdom, the Gaṅga (*king*) of dreadful lance, the Nuḷamba (*king*) and the king of the Kāḍavas as well as the Vaidumba (*king*) who owned highly furious and rutting elephants.

After he had reached the great city (*called after*) the great river Gaṅgā, the Chāḷukya (*king*) who came from the race of the moon, felt the sting and thought 'it is better to die than live with such disgrace' and choosing as battle-field the very Kūḍal, where his sons and himself had been made to retreat, wrote, so that all might know, a letter embodying (*his*) vow—"those who do not come to Kūḍal through fear are no kings but are disgraceful liars in war," handed it over with an oral message to the Gaṅga chief Kettan renowned among the liars of Rattappāḍi and asked him to take it; and when he came, bowed at the feet of, and delivered the message to (*the Chōḷa king*), his (*i.e.*, the latter's) mind, face and glorious two arms began to glow doubly on account of the increasing joy and he advanced forth and entered the field, and not finding the approach of the king of the Vallabhas at **Karandai**, stayed there delightfully for one month more after the appointed day, and then he found him run away until his legs became sore and hid himself in the western ocean, and each of the three (*chiefs*) Dēvanāthān, Siddhi and Kēśi turned their backs.

(*The Chōḷa king*) subdued the powerful activity of Rattappāḍi 7½ lakhs, hard (*even for bards*) to sing and set crackling fire on it; and set up a pillar of victory (*jayabhadra-tūṇ*) on the bank of the Tuṅgabhadra so that the world⁷ praised him and the fierce and angry tiger (*the crest of his race*) mounted on it and sported joyfully.

¹ *Varasgi* is the reading in No. 20 of *S. I. I.*, Vol. III, and it has been taken as a proper name. The reading *vāraṇa* is better since the Chēras are noted for their elephant forces. cf. *palyānai-kō-kKaṇḍan*.

² Instead of *Dhāra*, it is preferable to read '*tār*.'

³ See note 6 on page 37 of the *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. III.

⁴ Hultzsch has rendered the passage thus:—"tied up in stables the Rattas, whose elephants were numberless, along with the elephants of the Kanniyan which he had seized."

⁵ This rendering somewhat differs from that given in the *S. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 68.

⁶ Malliyannan and Maṅgippayan are the readings in No. 30 of the same Volume.

⁷ *Nūṇān* means 'four kinds of lands, *i.e.*, *kuṇṇāji*, *mūḷai*, *pāḷai* and *neyṭal*—grassy, forest, sandy and coast tracts' and hence 'the world'.

He made the liar, who had advanced against him on a previous occasion, a Vallabha and fastened on him a *kanthikā*. He caused to be depicted beautifully on a board how the Kuntala king and (his) sons ran five times to the full knowledge of the world mounted on an elephant which had a cord (round its neck) and a hole-bearing hand.

Vowing not to return until he fulfilled the word that he formerly uttered, viz.—that he would destroy the state of the Chālukya (lordship), and their stables wherein was locked up the flower of his horse troops (?) and recover the Vēṅgi country which the Chālukya had taken,—he sent (the following) word to be announced “Hear this and if you have (any) power, come and protect yourself”.

When the array of his army which was advancing towards the (enemies') boundary had reached the great river close to the beautiful city of Vijayavāḍai (i.e., Bezvāda), he (the Chōla) drove into the forest the great battalion which had at its head Jananāḍaṇ and Tipparaiṇaṇ; caused his elephants (pōḍakam) to drink the water of the Gōḍāvari; crossed the seven Kālingas, and led his swelling elephant forces (tānai-tāvaḍi) as far as the snow-covered Mahēndra (mountain) on whose right side was carved the tiger mark and bestowed (that country) on Vijayāditya of broad arms wearing weapons of war who sought shelter at his feet (which were adorned with) flowery anklets.

Returning fast, he graciously entered (the city of) Gaṅgāpuri leaving off the Kali and bringing the goddess of victory which had attached (itself) to him. There, he assumed the *damaniṇa* as the lord of the earth (under the titles) Rājādhiraṇa and Rājarāja. The kings of the earth bowing at his feet, he sat on a pedestal set with choicest gems; exhibited in order the immense wealth, which he had brought from the fine country of Vēṅgi, removed the āli and niṅaḷa¹ and fulfilled his vow.

(Putting forth) a number of ships (laden with) excessively large forces on the ever swelling and highly protected sea, and without attempting to ford it, he (the Chōla king) began to wage a war in Iḷam (i.e., Ceylon) which cast a gloom on that army of the Singhalese wherein Kurukulataraṇaṇ who wore a golden anklet and another feudatory whose anger in war was that of thunder, fell down and were slain. A great tumult then arose and spread through the land which was not able to bear (the charge of the Chōlas) with the result that Vijayabāhu, the king (of the island) took to flight without knowing even the directions and (the Chōla king) took his queen captive, conquered carried away immeasurably large family gems along with fine crowns and made Laṅkā with its impregnable walls his own.

Crossing back the southern region, (the Chōla king) obstructed at Koṇḍai where the Chālukyan king again sent against him double the number of elephants which he had put forth on a former occasion. Among those that were seen (there) were the intelligent Nāgaiyan, Mārayan, Manmagāṇḍayan, Koṇḍayan, Āchchidaran and others. These ran away showing their backs and making such an uproar (in their flight) that resembled the noise of thunder during heavy rains. Ko. oṭṭumaḍaiyan and others lost their elephants and ran along with the commanders of infantry (pada-sāmantas). The Chōla king caught hold of prancing horses and young elephants as well as a galaxy of women that were seen (in the field) and received as before a *paraṇi*. Tuṇnamārayan, , Kēṣavan, , who were subdued by his forces the sound , Singaṇan, who was resting under a flag, and (he) planted a pillar of victory at Puli-Sūttukkal, where, getting up a hill and mounted on a vehicle (yānai) drawn by seven horses, the chief known (by the name) Śōliyavaraiyan, -daṇḍanāyaka fought. He sent

¹ The word *niṅaḷa* is phonetically connected with the skt. *niṅaḷa* ‘fetters or shackles’; and thus may be construed to convey the idea of ‘armour.’

...Mūvēndavēlār, (32) Muḍikonḍaśōḷa-Mūvēndavēlār, (33) Valavarāḍitta-Mūvēndavēlār, (34) Gaṅgaikonḍaśōḷa-Pallavaraiyar, (35) Naḍuvirukkum Uruppuṭṭūr-Yajña-Bhaṭṭa, (36) Sāvyaṇa-Śivalajjādi-Bhaṭṭa, (37) Kaṛippuṇṇattu-Śōḷadēva-Bhaṭṭa and (38) Kaṛippuṇṇattu-Anantaṇārāyaṇa-Bhaṭṭa.

Then the following persons being present viz., *Puravucaritaiṇaiṅkaḷattu-kaṇkāṇi* Kuvalaiyadivākara-Mūvēndavēlār, Arindaman-Purangarambaināṭṭu-Mūvēndavēlār, Rājarāja-Śeṇṇināḍu-kiḷavan, Virāśiṅga-Mūvēndavēlār, Alagiyaśōḷa-Viḷupparaiyan, *Puravucaritaiṇaiṅkaḷam* Śaḷukki-kulakāla-Mūvēndavēlār, Vāṇavan-Viḷupparaiyan, Valavarāja-Mūvēndavēlār, Avaniṇārāyaṇa-Mūvēndavēlār, Śiṅgaḷāntaka-Mūvēndavēlār, *Varippottagam* Pālaiyūr-kiḷavan, *Mugaveṭṭi* Jayāṅḍaśōḷa-Damaṇṇūṇṇāṭṭu-Viḷupparaiyan, Ādamaṅgalamuḍaiyāṇ, Atirājendra-Pallavaraiyan, Kūṇḍalkiḷān, *Terippu* Īṅgaikkudaiyāṇ, Māttūruḍaiyāṇ, Valavaśūḷāmaṇi-Mūvēndavēlār, *Taravusāṭṭu* Śōḷadivākara-Mūvēndavēlār, Pulikiḷān, *Palavaiyāṇ* Paṭṭālamuḍaiyāṇ, Śembivan-Miḷalaiyēlār, Araiyamāṇ, *Variyiliṇḍu* Avaniṇāla-Mūvēndavēlār, Arindaman-Viḷupparaiyan, *Varippottaga-kaṇakku* Śaṅgattimaṅgalamuḍaiyāṇ, *Valavan*-Viḷupparaiyan, *Paṭṭōlai* Śirupākkiḷān, Maṇarppākkiḷān, *Kōḷi-variṇḍiḍuvitta* *Puravucaritaiṇaiṅkaḷam* Śaḷukki-kulakāla-Mūvēndavēlār, Śiṅgaḷāntaka-Mūvēndavēlār, *Mugaveṭṭi* Śōḷamārtāṇḍa-Mūvēndavēlār, Kūṇḍalkiḷān, *Vāsittān* *varippottaga-kaṇakku* Śaṅgattimaṅgalamuḍaiyāṇ, *Variyiliṇḍu* *Puravucaritaiṇaiṅkaḷattu-Kaṇakku* Śōḷamāṇikka-Mūvēndavēlār of Śōḷamaṇḍalam, *Paṭṭōlai-eḷuḍinān* Virāśōḷa-Nemmalināṭṭu-Mūvēndavēlār,—all these being present, in the fifth year and three hundred and forty-eighth day (of the king's reign), it was entered in the accounts, that for the 75 *kaḷaṇḍu* of gold, the abovementioned *pāṭṭams* accruing from the village, the 72 *kaḷaṇḍu* and 9 *maṇḍi* of gold previously granted as *dēvadāna* to this god, making a total of 147 *kaḷaṇḍu* and 9 *maṇḍi*, the income in paddy by the *nājakēsari* measure at 16 *kaḷam* per *kaḷaṇḍu* was 2359 *kaḷam*, 1 *padakku*, 3 *nāli*, 1 *ālakku* and 3 *seviḍu*. This when converted into *arumolidevan* measure, at the rate of 1 *kaḷam*, 1 *tūni*, and 4 *nāli* of *arumolidevan* for a *kaḷam* of *nājakēsari*, became, inclusive of *kālvāsi*, *kāḷaḷavukūḷi* and *korraḷocurāsi*, 884 *kaḷam*, 2 *tūni*, 3 *nāli*, and 1 *ālakku* of paddy in excess, thus making a total of 3243 *kaḷam*, 2 *tūni*, 1 *padakku*, 6 *nāli*, 1 *ālakku* and 3 *seviḍu* of *arumolidevan*.

The taxes accruing from this village, viz., 1 *kaḷaṇḍu* of gold by *ūrkaḷaṇḍu*, 1 *kaḷaṇḍu* of gold by *kumarakechēṇam*, 3½ *kaḷaṇḍu* of gold by *mūnpāṭṭam*, 5½ *kaḷaṇḍu* of gold by *kīḷivaiṇṇāṭṭam*, in all 11 *kaḷaṇḍu* of gold, equivalent to 18 *māḍai* and 7 *mā*, or 36½ *kāṣu*, together with 28½ *kāṣu* and 4 *mā* by *daśabandam*, 25½ *kāṣu* and 3 *mā* by *māḍaikkūḷi*, 3 *kāṣu* by the account of *mudal-ḷilavu*, 1½ *kāṣu* by *vaṇṇakkakūḷi*, ¾ *kāṣu* by *mutṭāvarāṇam*, 1½ *kāṣu* by *tiṅgaḷmēra*, 118 *kāṣu* by *vēḷikkāṣu*, made a total of 216½ *kāṣu* and 2 *mā*.

Here are detailed the following expenses to be met in the temple from the above said income of paddy and *kāṣu*.

For one *śirukālai-sandi* offering to the Ālvār :—

(L. 18). One *padakku* and four *nāli* of paddy for one *kurūṇi* of rice, 1 *padakku* of paddy for 4 *nāli* of *paruppu* (broken green pulse) or 1 *kurūṇi* of *payaru*, 1 *nāli* and 1 *uri* of paddy for 1 *puḷukkukari* (boiled curry), 1 *nāli* and 1 *uri* of paddy for 1 *porikkari* (fried curry), 4 *nāli* of paddy for 1 *uri* of curd, 1 *nāli* of paddy for 1 *ālakku* of ghee, 1 *ālakku* of paddy for 1 *ālakku* of salt, 1 *nāli* of paddy for 5 areca-nuts and 1 *uri* of paddy for 20 betel-leaves, thus making a total of 5 *kurūṇi*, 5 *nāli* and 3 *ālakku* of paddy for one *sandi*.

For the *akkāraḍalai* offering at the Virāśōḷan :—

(L. 19). 1 *kurūṇi* and 2 *nāli* of paddy for 4 *nāli* of rice, 1 *padakku* of paddy for 4 *nāli* of *paruppu* or 1 *kurūṇi* of *payaru*, 1 *kurūṇi* and 4 *nāli* of paddy for 6 *nāli* of milk, 1 *tūni* of paddy for 1 *nāli* of ghee, 4 *nāli* of paddy for 8 plantain fruits, 1 *nāli* of paddy for 5 areca-nuts and 1 *uri* of paddy for 20 betel-leaves, thus making a total of 2 *tūni*, 1 *kurūṇi*, 3 *nāli* and 1 *uri* of paddy for the *akkāraḍalai* offering. The sugar required for this for a year of 360 days, at 32 *palam* per day is 11,520 *palam*, which at the rate of 576 *palam* of sugar for 1 *kāṣu* cost 20 *kāṣu*.

For the offering of *Pālpōnagam* at night :—

(L. 19f.) 1 *kurūṇi* and 2 *nāli* of paddy for 4 *nāli* of rice, 1 *kurūṇi* of paddy for 4 *nāli* of milk, 1 *nāli* and 1 *uri* of paddy for 1 *porikkari*, 4 *nāli* of paddy for 1 *ālakku* of ghee for *pōnagam* and *porikkari*, 1 *nāli* of paddy for 5 areca-nuts and 1 *uri* of paddy for 20 betel-leaves, thus making a total of 3 *kurūṇi* and 1 *nāli* of paddy for the night offering.

(L. 20). For the offering at noon to Śrī-Rāghavachakravarti :—

1 *kurūṇi* and 2 *nāli* of paddy for 4 *nāli* of rice, and 4 *nāli* of paddy for ghee, curry and areca-nuts, thus making a total of 1 *kurūṇi* and 6 *nāli* of paddy.

For sandal-paste to the Ālvār :—

180 *palam* of sandal are required for a year of 360 days at $\frac{1}{2}$ a *palam* per day and this quantity at 8 *palam* of sandal for 1 *kāṣu*, costs 22 $\frac{1}{2}$ *kāṣu*. 11 $\frac{1}{2}$ *kāḷaṇṇu* of *karpūra* are required for a year of 360 days at 5 *mā* per day and this costs 22 $\frac{1}{2}$ *kāṣu* at $\frac{1}{2}$ a *kāḷaṇṇu* of *karpūram* for 1 *kāṣu*. And 1 *kāṣu* is required for *kuṅkumam*.

(L. 21.) For lamps :—

1 *uri* of oil for 2 perpetual lamps to the Ālvār, 1 *ulakku* and 1 *ālakku* of oil for 3 lamps to burn in the inner circuit of the temple till dawn; 1 *ulakku* and 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ *seviḍu* of oil for 10 twilight lamps, at 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ *seviḍu* of oil for 1 lamp, thus making a total of 1 *nāli*, 1 *ālakku* and 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ *seviḍu* of oil per day. The oil required for a year of 360 days is 452 *nāli* and 1 *uri*¹, which, at 20 *nāli* per *kāṣu*, cost 22 $\frac{1}{2}$ *kāṣu*.

(L. 21.) For Aippaṣi festival to Aḷagiyamaṇavālar :—

5 *kurūṇi* of paddy for 1 *padakku* of rice, 2 *nāli* of paddy for 1 *uri* of *paruppu*, 1 *nāli* of paddy for 1 *porikkari*, 1 *nāli* of paddy for 1 *puḷukku-kari*, 1 *nāli* of paddy for 1 pepper curry, 2 *nāli* of paddy for 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ *seviḍu* of pepper, 4 *nāli* of paddy for 1 *ālakku* of ghee, 2 *nāli* of paddy for 1 *nāli* of curd, 1 *uri* of paddy for 1 *ulakku* of salt, 1 *nāli* of paddy for 5 areca-nuts and 1 *uri* of paddy for 20 betel-leaves, making a total of 7 *kurūṇi*. Thus, for the 12 occasions of the seven days of the festival the paddy required is 7 *kalam*.

(Ll. 22-23). For the Māṣi festival at the same rate as above is 7 *kalam* of paddy.

For offerings during the hunting festival in the garden of Virāṣōḷaṇ :—

2 *kalam*, 1 *tūṇi* and 1 *padakku* of paddy for 1 *kalam* of rice, 1 *kurūṇi* of paddy for 2 *nāli* of *paruppu*, 1 *kurūṇi* of paddy for 1 *porikkari*, 1 *kurūṇi* of paddy for 1 *puḷukku-kari*, 1 *kurūṇi* of paddy for 1 pepper curry, 4 *nāli* of paddy for 1 *ālakku* of pepper, 4 *nāli* of paddy for 2 *nāli* of salt, 1 *tūṇi* of paddy for 1 *nāli* of ghee, 1 *padakku* of paddy for 1 *kurūṇi* of curd, 1 *kurūṇi* of paddy for 40 areca-nuts, and 4 *nāli* of paddy for 2 *parru* of betel-leaves, thus making a total of 3 *kalam*. 1 *tūṇi*, 1 *padakku* and 4 *nāli* of paddy for an occasion. Hence for the 2 hunting festivals, the paddy required for offering is 7 *kalam* and 1 *kurūṇi*.

(Ll. 23-24). For offerings during *Jayantyashṭami* to Veṇṇaikkūttālvār, i.e., Kṛishṇa.

1 *kalam* and 3 *kurūṇi* of paddy for 6 *kurūṇi* of rice, 1 *kurūṇi* of paddy for 2 *nāli* of *paruppu*, 4 *nāli* of paddy for 1 *porikkari*, 4 *nāli* of paddy for 1 *puḷukku-kari*, 4 *nāli* of paddy for 1 pepper curry, 2 *nāli* of paddy for 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ *seviḍu* of pepper, 1 *nāli* of paddy for 1 *uri* of salt, 1 *kurūṇi* of paddy for 4 *nāli* of curd, 1 *kurūṇi* of paddy for 1 *ulakku* of ghee, 4 *nāli* of paddy for 20 areca-nuts, and 2 *nāli* of paddy for 1 *parru* of betel leaves, thus making a total of 1 *kalam*, 2 *tūṇi*, and 5 *nāli* of paddy. For *appa-amudu* to be offered on the same occasion 3 *kurūṇi* and 1 *nāli* of paddy for 1 *kurūṇi* and 2 *nāli* of rice, 4 *nāli* of paddy for 1 *nāli* of *paruppu*, 1 *padakku* of paddy for 1 *uri* of ghee, 1 *tūṇi* of paddy for 20 *palam* of sugar, 4 *nāli* of paddy for 1 *ālakku* of pepper, 2 *nāli*

¹ By calculation, the requirement for the year is only 427 *nāli* and 1 *uri*. It is not understood how the inscription gives an excess of 25 *nāli*.

of paddy for 2½ *seriḍu* of cumin, 1 *uri* of paddy for 1 *ulakku* of salt, 1 *padakku* of paddy for 6 cocoanuts, 4 *nāli* of paddy for 20 areca-nuts and 2 *nāli* of paddy for 1 *parru* of betel-leaves, thus making a total of 1 *kalam*, 1 *kuruni*, 1 *nāli* and 1 *uri* of paddy. For offering to be made when the deity is taken on procession in the street, 1 *padakku* of paddy for 32 plantain fruits and 1 *kuruni* of paddy for 4 *nāli* of curd. In all, the provision made for the *Jayantiyashṭamī* was 3 *kalam*, 6 *nāli* and 1 *uri* of paddy.

(Ll. 24-25). For offerings to be made on the day of Kārttigai in the month of Kārttigai :—

2 *kalam*, 1 *tūni* and 1 *padakku* of paddy for 1 *kalam* of rice, 1 *kuruni* of paddy for 2 *nāli* of *paruppu*, 1 *kuruni* of paddy for 1 *porikkari*, 1 *kuruni* of paddy for 1 *puḷukku-kari*, 1 *kuruni* of paddy for 1 pepper curry, 1 *padakku* of paddy for 1 *kuruni* of curd required for 1 *puḷingari*, 1 *padakku* of paddy for 10 *palam* of sugar, 1 *kuruni* and 2 *nāli* of paddy for 20 plantain fruits, 4 *nāli* of paddy for 1 *ālakku* of pepper, 3 *nāli* of paddy for 1 *nāli* and 1 *uri* of salt, 1 *tūni* of paddy for 1 *nāli* of ghee, 1 *padakku* of paddy for 1 *kuruni* of curd, 1 *kuruni* and 2 *nāli* of paddy for 50 areca-nuts, and 4 *nāli* of paddy for 2 *parru* of betel-leaves, thus making a total of 3 *kalam*, 2 *tūni*, 3 *kuruni* and 7 *nāli* of paddy. 1½ *kāsu* was provided for obtaining 25 *nāli* of oil for burning 200 lamps in the central shrine and in the inner circuit, at the rate of 1 *ālakku* for a lamp.

(Ll. 25-26). Expenses to be met on the birth-day asterism *Āyilēya* (*Āślēsha*) in the month *Avani*, of king Virarājendra, are as follows :—

2 *nāli* of paddy for 1 *nāli* of green pulse required for sprouting at the *tirumañjanam*, 1 *padakku* of paddy to be placed below the sprouts, 1 *kuruni* of paddy for 1 *palam* of thread to wrap round 108 *kalaśas* (pots), 1 *tūni* and 1 *padakku* of paddy to be placed under the *kalaśas*, 4 *nāli* of paddy for 2 *nāli* of rice required for powder, 1 *kalam* and 1 *tūni* of paddy for 4 *nāli* of ghee, 1 *kuruni* of paddy for 4 *nāli* of curd, 1 *kuruni* of paddy for 4 *nāli* of milk, 2 *kalam*, 1 *tūni* and 1 *padakku* of paddy for 1 *kalam* of rice required for an offering to be made on that day, 1 *padakku* of paddy for 4 *nāli* of *paruppu*, 1 *kuruni* of paddy for 1 *puḷukku-kari*, 1 *kuruni* of paddy for 1 *porikkari*, 1 *kuruni* of paddy for 1 pepper curry, 4 *nāli* of paddy for 1 *ālakku* of pepper, 2 *nāli* of paddy for 1 *nāli* of salt, 1 *padakku* of paddy for 1 *kuruni* of curd required for 1 *puḷingari*, 1 *tūni* of paddy for 1 *nāli* of ghee, 1 *kuruni* and 2 *nāli* of paddy for 30 areca-nuts, 6 *nāli* of paddy for 3 *kaṭṭu* of betel-leaves, 1 *padakku* of paddy for 10 *palam* of sugar required for *puḷingari* and 1 *kuruni* and 2 *nāli* of paddy for 20 plantain fruits, thus making a total of 6 *kalam*, 5 *kuruni* and 2 *nāli* of paddy.

(L. 27). For this festival are required one *puḍavai* (cloth) for covering the *pāligai* kept for sprouting, one *puḍavai* for being placed above the *kalam*, two *puḍavai*—consisting of one loin cloth and one upper cloth—for the *āchārya* who performs the bathing ceremony of the god, thus making in all four cloths which cost one *kāsu*. A provision of half a *kāsu* for 4 *nāli* of honey, quarter *kāsu* for 50 *palam* of turmeric, half a *kāsu* for purchasing *snapana-dravyas*, one *kāsu* for one *parisattam* to be used after bathing, one *kāsu* for the *dakṣhiṇā* of the *āchārya* performing the bathing ceremony of the god, two and a half *kāsu* for purchasing 10 *parisattam* at the rate of quarter *kāsu* for one *parisattam*, to be presented to the Śrī Vaishṇavas that served in the *Tiruvōlakkam* and those who recited the *Tiruvāymoḷi* hymns on the occasion, half a *kāsu* for one *parisattam* to be presented to the astrologer (*tiru*) who announced the festivals, thus making a total of seven and a quarter *kāsu*.

(L. 28). For the bathing of the god and for the great offering to be made on the day of *Pūrāḍam* in the month of Kārttigai which was the birth-day of the *Vaiṣya* Mādavan Dāmyan,

who built the inner enclosure of the temple and the Jananātha-maṇḍapa, a provision of 6 *kalam*, 5 *kuruni* and 2 *nāli* of paddy was made together with 6½ *kāṣu* for purchasing the necessary things for the *tirumañjana* and for presenting cloths to those that should get them.

(L. 28). For Purattāsi-Tiruvōṇam when Venṇaikkūttālvār is taken in procession to the Jananātha-maṇḍapa :—

1 *kalam* and 4 *nāli* of paddy for 5 *kuruni* of rice, 2 *kalam*, 1 *tūni* and, 1 *padakku* of paddy for 300 *palam* of sugar, 1 *kalam* of paddy for 3 *nāli* of ghee, 3 *kuruni* of paddy for pepper, *śākhus* and salt, 1 *padakku* of paddy for 80 areca-nuts and 4 *nāli* of paddy for 2 *kaṭṭu* of betel-leaves thus making a total of 5 *kalam* of paddy.

For feeding Śrī-Vaiṣṇavas in the Jananātha-maṇḍapa on *amāvāsya* days when the god presented *tīrtha* :—

(Ll. 28-29). 2 *tūni*, 1 *kuruni* and 3 *nāli* of paddy for 3 *kuruni* and 6 *nāli* of rice, for 20 persons at 1 *nāli* and 1 *uri* each, 5 *nāli* of paddy for 1 *puḷukku-kari*, 5 *nāli* of paddy for 1 pepper curry, 1 *kuruni* and 1 *nāli* of paddy for 1 *puḷitta-kari* inclusive of tamarind, 2 *nāli* of paddy for 1 *ilai-kari* (leaves), 4 *nāli* of paddy for 1 *ālakku* of pepper, 4 *nāli* of paddy for 2 *nāli* of salt, 1 *kuruni* of paddy for 1 *uḷakku* of ghee, 1 *kuruni* and 2 *nāli* of paddy for 1 *padakku* of butter-milk, 1 *kuruni* of paddy for 4 *palam* of sugar, 1 *kuruni* of paddy for 40 areca-nuts, 4 *nāli* of paddy for 2 *parru* of betel-leaves, 1 *kuruni* of paddy for 1 cook, thus making a total of 1 *kalam*, 7 *kuruni* and 3 *nāli* of paddy for each *amāvāsya*.¹ For 12 *amāvāsya*s, the provision made was 19 *kalam*, 1 *tūni* and 4 *nāli* of paddy.

(Ll. 29-30). For feeding 100 Śrī-Vaiṣṇavas in the Jananātha-maṇḍapa on the occasion of the *tīrtham* at Tiruvēṇḍaṁmalai :—

3 *kalam*, 2 *tūni*, 1 *padakku* and 7 *nāli* of paddy for 1 *kalam*, 1 *tūni*, 1 *padakku* and 6 *nāli* of rice at 1 *nāli* and 1 *uri* each, 1 *padakku* of paddy for 1 *kuruni* of green pulse, 3 *kuruni* of paddy for 1 *puḷukku-kari*, 3 *kuruni* of paddy for 1 pepper curry, 1 *tūni* of paddy for 1 *puḷitta-kari* inclusive of tamarind, 1 *kuruni* of paddy for 1 *ilai-kari*, 3 *kuruni* of paddy for 3 *uḷakku* of pepper, 1 *padakku* of paddy for 1 *kuruni* of salt, 2 *tūni* of paddy for 2 *nāli* of ghee, 1 *tūni* and 1 *padakku* of paddy for 1 *kalam* of butter-milk, 1 *tūni* and 1 *padakku* of paddy for butter-milk to the *puḷiṅgari*, 1 *tūni* of paddy for 22 *palam* of sugar, 5 *kuruni* of paddy for 200 areca-nuts, 1 *padakku* of paddy for 8 *parru* of betel-leaves, 1 *tūni* of paddy for 2 cooks, 4 *nāli* of paddy for lime, 1 *padakku* of paddy for one that supplied fire-wood, and 1 *padakku* of paddy for one that supplied *ilai-kari* thus making a total of 8 *kalam*, 2 *tūni* and 3 *nāli*.

When the party returned from Tiruvēṇḍaṁmalai after *tīrtham*, 100 Śrī-Vaiṣṇavas had to be fed at a cost of 8 *kalam*, 2 *tūni* and 3 *nāli* of paddy.

(Ll. 30-32). For feeding Śrī-Vaiṣṇavas that came on the occasion of Purattāsi-Tiruvōṇam, a provision of 8 *kalam*, 2 *tūni* and 3 *nāli*, calculated at the above rate, was made.

17 *kalam*, 1 *tūni* and 6 *nāli* of paddy were provided for feeding 150 Śrī-Vaiṣṇavas on the 6 days of the Aippaṣi festival, at 25 persons for each day and for feeding 50 Śrī-Vaiṣṇavas on the day of the *tīrtham*. A quantity of 8 *kalam*, 2 *tūni* and 3 *nāli* of paddy for the Śrī-Vaiṣṇavas that came to hear the *Tiruvāymoli* hymns on the days of the *ekādaśi* and *dvādaśi* in the month of Mārṇali and 17 *kalam*, 1 *tūni* and 6 *nāli*, calculated at the above rate, for feeding 200 Śrī-Vaiṣṇavas in the maṇḍapa on the occasion of Māśi-Makhā, were also provided.

¹An item of expenditure amounting to 5 *nāli* is omitted.

(Ll. 32 to 43). 6 *nāli* of paddy and 1 *kāsu* per day for 1 *tiru*, 3 *kuruni* of paddy and 4 *kāsu* per day, at 1 *kuruni* and 4 *nāli* and 2 *kāsu* each, for 2 persons who recited the *Tiruvāymoli* hymns, 1 *tūni* of paddy for 4 persons who cultivated the flower-garden of Virasōlan at 1 *kuruni* each per day, 1 *kuruni* and . . . of paddy per day to 1 *tiru* who brought the calendar and announced the sacred festivals and bathing days, 1 *kuruni* of paddy and 4 *kāsu* per day to 1 Vaikhānasa-dēvakanni who demanded from the appointed persons their dues and had the expenses met, 1 *kuruni* of paddy and 4 *kāsu* to 1 accountant who entered the accounts, 1 *kuruni* of paddy per day to 1 potter who supplied the necessary pots to the temple kitchen, Jananātha-maṇḍapa, the teachers and students, to the hospital as well as the *kalāśas* to the Ālvār, 4 *nāli* of paddy per day to one washerman who washed the *pariśaṭṭam* of the gods and the cloths of the Vēdic teachers and students as well as of the persons in the hospital, 4 *nāli* of paddy and 1 *kāsu* per day to Tirumukkūḍal-Pēraiyān who kept watch in the Jananātha-maṇḍapa and the hospital, 40 *kalam* of paddy for the repairs to be executed in the *tiruchchurramāligai*, i.e., the inner enclosure of the temple, 1 *padakku* of paddy per day to one who taught the R̥g-Vēda in the Jananātha-maṇḍapa, 1 *padakku* of paddy per day to one who taught the Yajur-Vēda, and 8 *kāsu* to these two at 4 *kāsu* each, 1 *tūni* of paddy and 10 *kāsu* per day to one Bhaṭṭa who expounded the Vyākaraṇa and the Rūpāvatāra, 2 *kalam*, 1 *tūni* and 1 *nāli* of paddy per day for feeding 60 persons in all—consisting of 10 persons who studied the R̥g-Vēda, 10 Brahmans who studied the Yajur-Vēda, 20 Brahmans and *Chhātras* who heard the expounding of the Vyākaraṇa and Rūpāvatāra, 10 Mahāpāñcharātras, 3 Śiva-Brahmanas, 5 Vaikhānasas and 2 . . . at the rate of 1½ *nāli* of rice to each person amounting in the aggregate to 11 *kuruni*, and 2 *nāli* of rice per day, 1 *kuruni* of paddy for 4 *nāli* of *payaru*, 6 *nāli* of paddy for 1 *puḷukku-kari*, 3 *nāli* of paddy for 1 *ilai-kari*, 1 *kuruni* of paddy for 1 pepper curry, 1 *kuruni* of paddy for 1 *puḷitta-kari* including tamarind, 4 *nāli* of paddy for 1 *ulakku* and 1 *ālakku* of pepper, 1 *kuruni* of paddy for 1 *nāli* of salt, 1 *tūni* of paddy for 1 *nāli* of ghee, 3 *kuruni* of paddy for 1 *tūni* and 1 *padakku* of butter-milk, 1 *kuruni* and 4 *nāli* of paddy for 60 areca-nuts, and 4 *nāli* of paddy for 2 *parru* of betel-leaves, 3 *kuruni* of paddy per day and 6 *kāsu* to 3 assistant cooks, at 1 *kuruni* of paddy and 2 *kāsu* each, who brought rice from Vayalaikkāvūr and supplied daily fuel, leaves and water, 1 *kuruni* of paddy and 2 *kāsu* per day to 2 maid-servants—at 4 *nāli* of paddy and 1 *kāsu* each—who attended on the *Chhātras* and *kiḍai* that were fed in the maṇḍapa, 2 *kāsu* for purchasing 75 mats for the *Chhātras*, *kiḍai* and the *ātulas* (i.e., the sick), to lie on, 9½ *kāsu* for purchasing 192 *nāli* of oil, at the rate of 20 *nāli* of oil per *kāsu*, to meet the requirement of 102 *nāli* of oil to the *Chhātras* and *kiḍai* for their oil baths during the 51 Saturdays of the year at 2 *nāli* of oil per Saturday and 90 *nāli* of oil for lamps to students at 1 *ulakku* of oil per night and 40 *kalam* of paddy for the repairs to be executed to the Jananātha-maṇḍapa, were provided.

(Ll. 43-45). The expenses for the hospital of Virasōlan are :—

1 *tūni*, 5 *nāli* and 1 *uri* of paddy for 1 *kuruni* and 7 *nāli* of rice for feeding 15 in-patients at the rate of 1 *nāli* each, 3 *kuruni* of paddy and 8 *kāsu* per day to Savarṇan Kōḍaṇḍarāman Aśvatthāma-Bhaṭṭan of Ālappākkam, who had obtained land to be enjoyed by himself and his descendants, for prescribing medicines to the patients lying in the hospital, to the several *nimanduk-kāras*, i.e., the persons bound to the temple for supplying daily requirements, and to the teachers and students (attached to the temple), 1 *kuruni* of paddy per day to one who performed surgical operations, 2 *kuruni* of paddy and 2 *kāsu* per day to 2 persons, at 1 *kuruni* and 1 *kāsu* each, that gathered medical herbs, supplied fuel and attended to the preparation of medicines, 1 *kuruni* of paddy and 1 *kāsu* per day to 2 nurses, at 4 *nāli* of paddy and ½ *kāsu* each, that attended on the patients and administered medicines, 4 *nāli* of paddy per day to one barber who served the patients, teachers and students, were provided.

(L. 46.) The medicines to be stocked in the hospital of Vīrasōlan for the year are :—

1 measure of Brāhmyam Kaḍumbūri, of exclusive of *karuṅgāy* (nut), 2 measures of Vāsā-haritakī, 1 measure of Daśamūla-haritakī, 1 measure of Bhaḷlātaka-haritakī, 1 measure of Gaṇḍiram, 1 *tūṇi* of Balākēraṇḍa-taila, 1 *tūṇi* of Pañchāka-taila, 1 *tūṇi* of Laṣunādyēraṇḍa-taila, 1 *tūṇi* of Uttamakarnādi-taila, 1 *padakku* of
., 1 *padakku* of Su sa-ghṛita, 1 *padakku* of Bilvādi-ghṛita, 2000 Maṇḍū-karavātakas, 1 *nāli* of Dravatti, 2000 Vimala, 2000 Sunētri, 2000 Tāmrādi, 1 *tūṇi* and 1 *padakku* of Vajrakalpa and 1 *tūṇi* and 1 *padakku* of Kalyāṇa-lavaṇa.

An amount of 40 *kāṣu* (is provided) for purchasing these, (procuring the) medicinal herbs, purchasing and for 1 *padakku* of bovine ghee required to be kept under the earth annually for Purāṇasarpi.

(L. 48.) (There had been provided) 2½ *kāṣu* for purchasing 45 *nāli* of oil which was required for a year of 360 days for a lamp, at 1 *ālakku* per night, to be kept burning during night in the hospital, 15 *kalam* of paddy for 180 days from Paṅguni-Uttiram to Purattāsi-Tiruvōṇam at 1 *kurūṇi* of paddy per day, to one who brought water and poured it . . . to be stocked in front of Jana-nātha-maṇḍapa; 20 *kalam*, [2 *tūṇi*] and 1 *padakku* of paddy for cardamom and artemisia; 1 *kalam*, 1 *tūṇi*, 2 *nāli*, 3 *ulakku* and 3 *seviḍu* of paddy for the *dakṣhiṇā* to be paid to one Brahman that performed *puṇyāha* (i.e., purification ceremony) and for betel-leaves and areca-nuts; and 1 *kāṣu* and 7 *mā* for (purchasing) 2 *pariṣaṭṭam* (cloths) to be presented on the day of Tiruvōṇam in the month of Purattāsi to Mādavan Dāmāyan of Vayalaikkāvūr and his descendants.

(L. 51.) (This is the account of expenses) for the paddy income of 3243 *kalam*, 2 *tūṇi*, 1 *padakku*, 6 *nāli*, 1 *ulakku* and 3 *seviḍu* and the amount of 216½ *kāṣu* and 2 *mā*.

If this (amount of) *kāṣu* were not available (owing to any default), for every *kāṣu* (of default) there shall be paid gold weighing one quarter by the *Danḍavāṇi*.

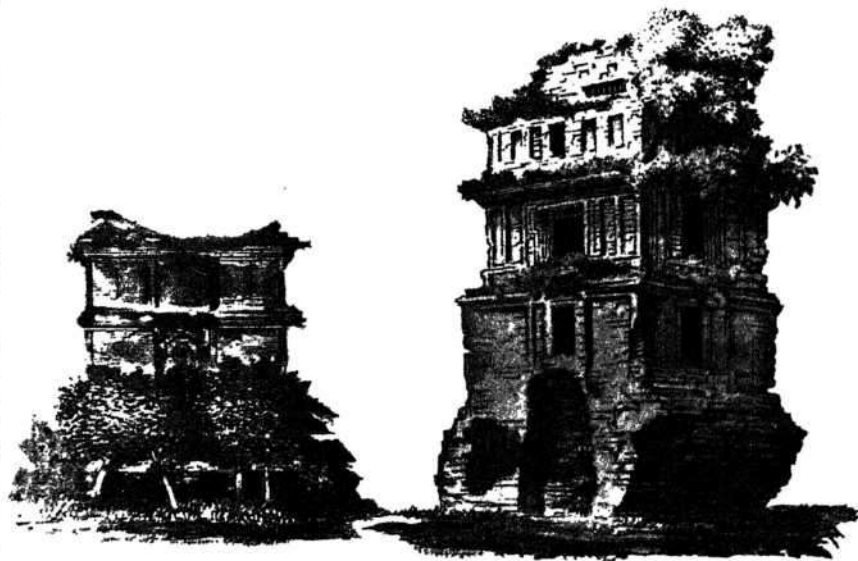
(L. 52.) Thus in accordance with the *nimanda* laid down in the sixth year (of the king), it (i.e., the inscription) was engraved so that the stipulated expenses might be met under the supervision of the *chhātrās* and teachers. Paṣupati Tiruvaraṅgadēvanār alias Rājendra-Mūvēndavēlār of Mīṇarḱuḍi in Iḍaiyaḷa-nāḍu, (a sub-division) of Vijayarājendra-vaḷanāḍu, (which was a district) of Chōḷa-maṇḍalam, the *adhikāri* (officer) who conducted the settlement of this nāḍu, having commanded, Iṇivēṭṭin Kumara-Pāṣūrkattan alias Vīrarājendra-Sēmbiyadaraiyan of Ayaṇḍampākkam in Āḡuḍi-nāḍu, (a sub-division) of Puḷar-kōṭṭam, (which was a district) of Jayaṅḡḇḇaśōḷa-maṇḍalam, had it engraved. On behalf of Dāmāyan Gaṅgaikōṇḇaśōḷan alias Sēnāpati Gaṅgaikōṇḇaśōḷa-Danmapāla, the son of Dāmāya who made this charity, the former's younger brother Dāma alias Sēnāpati Vīrarājendra-Danmapāla, Taḷuvakku-lainḇān alias Abhimānamēru Brahmanārāyan, the son of the Brahman Māṅgaḷūr Namaśśivāya-dēva of [-cha]turvēdimaṅgalam in -nāḍu, (a sub-division) of Puḷar-kōṭṭam of Jayaṅḡḇḇaśōḷa-maṇḍalam, had (the order) engraved on stone. This charity shall be under the protection of (the members) of the great assembly (*maḥāsabhā*) of Śrī-Maḍurāntaka-chaturvēdi-maṅgalam. Prosperity.

THE SEAL OF THE LARGER LEIDEN PLATES OF RAJARAJA I.



ACTUAL SIZE.

ANCIENT TOWER AT NEGAPATAM. (FROM IND. ANT. VOL. VII).



THE TOWER AS IT EXISTED IN 1846.

N. P. CHAKRAVARTI.

From photographs.



BRONZE IMAGE PRESENTED
TO LORD NAPIER IN 1868.

SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.

NO. 34. THE LARGER LEIDEN PLATES (OF RAJARAJA I.).

By K. V. SUBRAMANYA Aiyer, B.A., COIMBATORE.

The Leiden University Museum in Holland preserves two sets of copper-plate charters of the Chōlas of which the larger contains 21 leaves or plates and the smaller 3 leaves. These are popularly known as the Large and Small Leiden Grants. They were edited nearly half a century ago, i.e., in 1886 by Pandit Natesa Sastri and Burgess in Volume IV of the *Archæological Survey of Southern India*.¹ The provenance of the plates is not noticed by the authors: but regarding the larger set they say that it is engraved in Chōla-Grantha characters on 21 plates each measuring 14" by 5". They also note: "The plates are held together by a massive ring bearing a seal about 4½" in diameter with 16 knobs at about equal distances from each other round the margin. The central field contains, on the left, two fishes—the scales, fins, gills, eyes and mouth, of which are all clearly expressed; and on the right, an animal, seated dog-fashion, with its tail brought forward to touch the nearer of the fishes:—from the large tusk in its mouth, it is probably intended for a tiger: the Chōla symbol. Over it is a *chhatra*, with a *chāmara* on each side, the handles resting on the heads of two small pillars resembling lamp-stands,—each stand having a cloth knotted round the middle of it. The tops of these resemble lamp flames. A well-raised circle, double below, surrounds all this; and outside it, in raised characters of the Chōla-Grantha type, is the legend beginning at the bottom:—

Iti Rājendra-Chōlasya Parakēsarivarmmaṇaḥ rājarājanyamakūṭaśrēṇi-ratnēshu śāsanam ||"

The following additional information is found in the note recently received from Leiden, by Dr. Chakravarti, and kindly forwarded to me by him²:—"The plates are ⅝" in thickness. On the left side there is a hole (diameter 1") by means of which the plates are fastened to a massive copper-ring having an outward diameter of 13". The ring has a circular section with diameter of ⅝" and has been soldered into a cylindrical tube with raised rims. This tube, measuring 5½" in length and 1½" in section, contains a short inscription which contains the name Āpaimāṅalam in Tamil. On the top of the tube there is a massive conical projection in the form of a lotus flower, with eight pointed leaves turned downward and sixteen pointed leaves turned upward. On the upper surface of this lotus is the seal" described above. The note further informs that "the writing has not been engraved: was written first on wax tablets and from these the copper-plates have been cast *à cerc perdue*".

To the careful observations of Messrs. Burgess and Natesa Sastri I would only add that the inner one of the double line at the bottom of the raised circle is intended to denote the bow emblem of the Chēras whom the Chōlas had subdued, and that the legend requires slight emendation. Rājendra-Chōla's legend is given in two stone inscriptions published in the *South-Indian Inscriptions (Texts)*, Volume V,³ and also in the seal of the Tiruvālaṅgādu plates.⁴ With the help of their readings the legend on the seal of the Leiden plates given by Burgess and Natesa Sastri may be corrected into:—

Ītad-Rājendra-Chōlasya Parakēsarivarmmaṇaḥ [1*]

rājad-rājanya-makūṭa-śrēṇi-ratnēshu śāsanam [11*]

¹ Pp. 204 ff.

² [At my request Lt.-Col. Th. van Erp of Rijks Ethnographisch Museum, Leiden, kindly sent, through the good offices of Prof. J. Ph. Vogel, excellent ink-impressions of the grant from which the facsimiles accompanying this article are prepared.—Ed.]

³ General Nos. 578 and 579.

⁴ *A. S. R.*, for 1903-04, p. 224.

That this must be the reading is clear from the authors' own remarks that the symbol " used for the first syllable of *Rājendra* and for the third syllable of *rājarājanya* is quite different from that employed for *ra* elsewhere in the legend, being more like what one might expect to find for *dra* or *pra*." The photograph of the seal kindly sent by Lt.-Col. Th. van Erp was examined by me in the office of the Government Epigraphist for India and found to agree with the reading given above. I may remark that there is no punctuation mark in the legend.

At the time the large Leiden plates were published, the account furnished in them formed the only authentic source for Chōla history and served to remove some of the misconceptions and wrong conjectures regarding a few of the members of the Chōla family. The editors had correctly estimated the worth of the record when they said that it was 'the first Chōla inscription yet translated containing much definite information respecting the dynasty, and must be regarded as of the greatest importance'. The genealogy it furnished superseded those published by Sewell in his *Lists of Antiquities*¹ and formed an important basis for future investigations. Since the editing of these plates, a number of valuable Chōla records have been edited critically. Of these, the most important is the Tiruvālaṅgādu grant discovered by me in 1906 and edited in the *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Volume III.² No less useful is the stone inscription of Vīrarājendra found at Kanyākumāri by the late Gopinatha Rao and edited by me in the *Travancore Archaeological Series*, Volume III.³ The Anbil plates of Sundara-Chōla and the Madras Museum plates of Uttama-Chōla, the former edited in the *Epigraphia Indica*⁴ and the latter in the *South-Indian Inscriptions*,⁵ are other important ones. Besides these epigraphical sources, there are a few Tamil historical texts which also aid the student in his study of the Chōla history. These are the *Kalīṅgattupparanī* and the *Kulōttuṅgaśōlaṅ-ulā*, first noticed by the late Kanakasabhai Pillai in the *Indian Antiquary*, *Vikramaśōlaṅ-ulā*, *Rājarājaśōlaṅ-ulā* and others, the texts of which had since been edited with care.

Considering the time of publication, it must be said that the inscription on the Leiden plates has been fairly well made out. But there are a few mistakes of the authors as well as of the printer which mar the text and distort the sense. They could be easily corrected without having recourse to the original, mainly with the help of the reading of other allied records. I noted down the mistakes when I took up its study seriously while editing the Kanyākumāri inscription in the *Travancore Archaeological Series* nearly 15 years ago. On that occasion, I also revised the text of the Leiden plates, which on comparison with the impressions now kindly secured by the Government Epigraphist is found to agree. One of the serious defects in the previous edition of this inscription is the wrong arrangement of some of the plates. The plate marked there as "Fifteenth plate; second side" is really the fourteenth plate, second side. Similarly the plate marked "Fourteenth plate: second side" is in fact the fifteenth plate, second side. The inscription then reads through without any interruption; the regular order of the lines 284 to 316 given in the volume should be 284, 305 to 315, 295 to 304, 285 to 294 and 316.

While the published Sanskrit text is almost free from errors of transcription, the Tamil portion contains too many mistakes to be noticed here. The best way will be to give a correct version of the whole with proper division of words adding foot-notes wherever serious changes are effected. Most of the mistakes are simple ones due to taking *ra* for the length stroke from which it is hardly distinguishable or due to taking the basic consonant as the first combined consonant and vice

¹ Vol. II, pp. 154-156.

² See pages 383 to 439.

³ Pages 87 to 158.

⁴ Vol. XV, pp. 44-72.

⁵ Vol. III, pp. 264 ff.

² On each side, the first plate contains 10 lines, the second 11 lines, and the third and the fourth 12 lines. While the obverse of the fifth plate has only 9 lines, the reverse of it contains 12 lines.

The language and alphabet of the second section is Tamil, though Grantha letters are used in some words of Sanskrit origin. It contains 332 lines of writing and covers the obverse and reverse sides of sixteen plates.¹ These plates are marked with the numerals 1 to 16 as in the Sanskrit portion. The omission of *pulli* or *virāma*, and the shaping of *nu* and *lu* alike are the only points worthy of note.

Omission of letters are noticeable in *grām* (l. 49) for *grāman*, *vija* (l. 67) for *vijaya*, *samāhvaḥ* (l. 97) for *samāhvayaḥ*, *Jayaṅgaśōla* (l. 108) for *Jayaṅgaśōla*, in the Sanskrit portion; *pūṇmai* (l. 56) for *pūṇḍamai*, *°yūdattu* (l. 126) for *°yūḍaruttu*, *Kshatriśikhā* (l. 240) for *Kshatriyaśikhā*, *brahmadēn-* (l. 212) for *brahmadēyaṇ-*, *Nannimaṇḍala* (l. 247) for *Nannimaṇḍala*, *piśūḷṇdu* (ll. 232, 253, 268) for *piśūḷṇdu*, and *eḷudi* (l. 234) for *eḷudiṇṇ* in the Tamil portion.

Both the Sanskrit and the Tamil portions are in the script of the 11th century A.D. The writing of the Sanskrit section and the writing from the latter half of line 323 up to line 332 are alike, and seem to be somewhat in a different hand from the main Tamil section from lines 1 to 323 of the 16 Tamil plates.

We shall now notice the contents of the inscription. In the Sanskrit portion, the first verse is in praise of Vishṇu² while the second is an invocation to the gods for the continuance of the Chōla family. Verses 3 and 4 introduce certain mythical ancestors of the solar family to which the Chōlas belonged. They are Manu³ the son of Ahimakara (i.e., Sūrya); his son Ikshvāku; the virtuous Māndhātā⁴ born in his family; his son Muchukunda⁵; his son Vajubha; and Śibi⁶ born in his family. Of the last, the poet exclaims "who, excepting Vyāsa, could extol the qualities of this king who protected his life only for the benefit of others!" (v. 5). The eponymous Chōla⁷ is

¹ There are generally 10 lines on each face except on IIB, VIIIB, IXA and B, XIVB and XVA, which contain 11 lines each, and XVB, and XVIa, which have 13 lines each.

² Verse 9 of Canto VIII of *Kalīngattupparāṇi* starts the mythical ancestry of the Chōlas from Vishṇu and carries it in regular succession through Brahman, Marīchi, Kaśyapa, and Sūrya.

³ Verse 10 of Canto VIII of *Kalīngattupparāṇi* states that Ikshvāku was the son of Manu who was the son of Sūrya. It refers to the rendering of justice by Manu, to the astonishment of all, by holding the life of his own son as being no better than that of the calf overrun by the wheels of his car. The verse reads:—

Avv-Arukkaṇ magan-āgi Manu mēdini purand ariya-kādalāṇaiy āviṇadu kaṇṇu-nigar-eyr-

e-vvarukkamum viyappa muṇai-śeyda kadaiyum Ikkuvāguv-ivaṇ-mainḍaṇ-eyā vanda pariśum [1*].

It is interesting to note that the account of the *Periyapurāṇa* of Manu rendering justice to a cow whose calf was run over by the car of his son, by running his own car over the latter, finds mention in an inscription of Vikrama-Chōla found at Tiruvārūr (No. 456 of S. I. I.—Texts, Vol. V, pp. 174ff.). This gives some more details that are not found in the hagiology. Here it is stated that a cow having rung the bell put up at the gate (of the palace) of Manu, the king sent his minister (*mantrin*) Ubhaiyakulāmalan of Pālaiyūr in Inṅa-nāḍu to know the cause of the ringing. On his reporting that a cow rang the bell, Manu came out, saw the cow and her calf that lay dead, enquired and learnt, that the calf was run over by the car in which his son drove and considering his son's life as being equal to that of the calf, he ordered his minister to run a car over his son. The minister set out with a heavy heart and piercing his ears died. The *dvārapālas* (i.e., gate-keepers) informing the king of the happening, he felt sorry and himself ran the car over his son. At this juncture, the God showed His Grace by restoring to life the calf, the minister and the son of Manu. The king presented the calf to the mother cow and set out for *tapas* with the minister, anointing the revived son in his place and appointing to the office of his minister, the minister's son named Sūrya.

⁴ Before Māndhātā, the *Kalīngattupparāṇi* introduces Purandara as being the son of Ikshvāku (VIII, v. 11.).

⁵ Māndhātā and Muchukunda are described in verse 12. The former is described as making the fierce tiger and the deer drink together at the same *ghāṭ*.

⁶ In verse 13, Śibi is referred to only by his act of cutting his flesh from his body without the least agitation and entering the scales to equal the weight of the dove; and before him is mentioned one (i.e., Prithulāksha) who carried the nectar arising from the churning of the ocean to the gods.

⁷ Speaking of Chōla, the *Kalīngattupparāṇi* (verse 14) states that he formed the Chōlamanḍala and that Surādhirāja, i.e., Suraguru and others came in his line. The same verse also speaks of Rājākēśarin and Parakēśarin.

then introduced as being born in his family (v. 6). It was after his name that the kings born in the family were called Chōlas. This is of importance in indicating that the name Chōla was first applied to a person, and then to the family, to the people and to the country. In this family was **Rājakēśarin** and in the latter's family was **Parakēśarin** (v. 7). It is stated that the names, or rather the titles, Rājakēśarin and Parakēśarin were borne alternately by kings born in the Chōla family (v. 8). Thus it is made clear that only ruling members of the line assumed the said titles and not the others. The next person mentioned as belonging to the family is Suraguru who acquired the name Mrityujit by conquering the god of death¹ (v. 9). In his family was Vyāghrakētu whose descendant was Pañchapa² (v. 10). From here, the information furnished in the plates relates to historical persons. King **Karikāla** who is described as the god of death to his enemies, is said to have been born in his family. The fact noted about him is that he constructed embankments to the river Kāvērī (v. 11). He seems to have won lasting fame by this deed. The composer of the Kanyākumāri inscription draws special attention to the damage caused annually to the country by the river when it was in floods. The building of embankments to it not only alleviated the frequent sufferings of his subjects but turned the very source of evil into good and made the country grow in wealth and prosperity. And posterity never failed to mention with gratitude this noble act of the king.³ His renovation of the city of Kāñchī, which as we know was the capital of the Pallavas from very early times, is recorded in the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates.⁴ In these ways Karikāla seems to have used the riches which he must have obtained by his successful fight with Trilōchana-Pallava and the influence which he must have gained thereby. In the first of these works, Karikāla was helped by several of the subjugated kings including Trilōchana-Pallava.⁵ The date of Karikāla has been taken to be the 5th century A.D.⁶ In Karikāla's family was king **Kōchchaṅgaṇṇāṇ**. He is described as the bee at the lotus feet of Śambhu (v. 12). While the story of Kōchchaṅgaṇṇāṇ's previous birth as spider weaving cobwebs over the *liṅga* at Jambukēśvaram is detailed in the *Periyapurāṇam* and the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates,⁷ his building activities and devotion are referred to in the *Dēvāram*. His victory in the battle of Kaḷumalam is fully described in the *Kaḷavaḷi*.⁸ After him came **kō-kKiḷi**. A descendant of Kiḷi was **Vijayālaya** (v. 13). While

¹ Mrityujit is described in the *Kalīngattupparaṇi* (Canto VIII, v. 15) as "one who showed to Kāla (i.e., the god of death) his way of conduct". In *S. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 417, n. 2, it has been pointed out that the poem evidently refers to Suraguru and Mrityujit as two different kings.

² After Mrityujit, Vyāghrakētu and Pañchapa are the only two kings mentioned in the Leiden plates. The former is referred to in the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates by his other name Chitraratha and it is stated that his banner-cloth bore the emblem of the tiger. The *Kalīngattupparaṇi* evidently speaks of him when it refers to 'one who put in his flag Indra as the tiger'. Pañchapa is described in the *Tamil* poem as 'he who offered his blood to be drunk forcibly'. The Kanyākumāri inscription speaking of Pañchapa states that he cut open five arteries of his body and fed with blood five Yakshas.

³ *Tat-kulē Kalikālō=bbhūt Kāvērī-tīra-kṛin=ṇṛipaḥ* (above, Vol. VII, p. 153). *Tasmin kulē samabhavat Kalikāla-Chōlō vīrah Kavēra-tanayān=taṭinēn vidhātā* (ibid, p. 150). *Tōḷudu maṇṇarē karai-ṣey Poṇṇi* (*Kalīngattupparaṇi*, VIII, v. 20).

⁴ *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. III, pp. 417f., v. 42.

⁵ *Charana-sarōruha-vihita-vilōchana-Trilōchana-pramukh-ākhila-prūhviśvara-kārita-Kāvērī-tīra* (above, Vol. XI, p. 340, n. 2). *Kavēra-tanayā-[vē]l-ō[?]-laṅghana-praśamana-pramukh-ādy-anēk-ātiśaya-kāriṇaḥ*..... *Karikālaya* (Punyakumāra plates, above, Vol. XI, p. 345).

⁶ Above, Vol. XI, p. 340.

⁷ See *S. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 418, verse 43 and note 4. See v. 3 of Tirunāvukkaraśu's *Dēvāram* on Tiruchchāy-kāḍu and his hymn on Tirunāipallī, verse 2; also Sundaramūrttināyanār's hymn on Tiruvāḍudurai, verse 2. The Māḍakkōyil at Tiruvaigal is said to have been constructed by Śēṅgaṇṇāṇ: see Jñānasambandar's hymn on that place.

⁸ K. V. S. Aiyer's *Historical Sketches of Ancient Dekhan*, pp. 187 and 188, and also above, Vol. XI, p. 156, n. 6.

the Kanyākumāri inscription states that he constructed the town of Tañchāpurī in the Chōla country, the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates say that he captured that city and built the temple of Nisumbhasūdanī in it.² Since we know from the Śendalai pillar inscriptions that Tañchāpurī was one of the principal cities³ of Perumbiḍugu-Muttaraiyan, who flourished immediately before the time of Vijayālaya, the conclusion is irresistible that the latter must have conquered the Muttaraiyan chief and wrested the town from his possession and made it his capital.⁴ As such the information furnished in the Kanyākumāri inscription is not quite correct. And since we know from Vēlūr-pālayam plates that Nandivarman III, who was not far removed from Vijayālaya, had a certain Chōlamahārāja *alias* Kumārāṅkuśa as his *ājñāpti*,⁵ it is not impossible that this Vijayālaya succeeded him and eventually made himself independent or paved the way for his son to raise the canopy of a dominion in Southern India. Of Āditya, the son of Vijayālaya (v. 14), much information is not given in the Leiden plates. But we know from other sources that he was a Rājakesāri-varman⁶ and had the name Kōḍaṇḍarāma,⁷ that he was a great conqueror and knew no defeat,⁸ that he was on friendly terms with the Chēra king Sthāṇu Ravi⁹ and the Western Gaṅga Prithvīpati II,¹⁰ that he extended his territory into Toṇḍai-nāḍu¹¹ and killed or defeated the Pallava king Aparājita,⁷ that he acquired Koṅgu,¹² that he built large temples to Śiva on both banks of the Kāvēri and that he reigned from A.D. 870 to 907.¹⁰ Āditya's son was Parāntaka (I.) (v. 15). He is said to have founded big towns, to have effected some conquests and to have covered with gold the temple of Indumauli, *i.e.*, Śiva at Vyūghrāgharā (vv. 16-17). His achievements recorded in other places are the signal defeats inflicted on the Pāṇḍya Rājasiṅha, the acquisition of the Bāṇa kingdom and the bestowal of it on his ally the Western Gaṅga Prithvīpati II,¹³ the conquest of Ceylon,¹⁴ the overcoming of the Rāshtrakūṭa Kṛishṇarāja III in battle¹⁴ and the establishment

¹ *Trav. Arch. Series*, Vol. III, p. 155, v. 54.

² *S. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 418, vv. 45, 46.

³ Above, Vol. XIII, pp. 134ff.

⁴ *Historical Sketches of Ancient Dekhan*, p. 211. There are ample evidences of the rule of the Muttaraiyans in the Pudukkōṭṭai State and Tanjore and Trichinopoly Districts. See pages 138-39, above, Vol. XIII.

⁵ See *S. I. I.*, Vol. II, p. 512, v. 26, and the Tamil portion which follows it. It is said that this Chōlamahārāja was called the heroic head jewel of the Chōla race, that the glory of his prowess was well known, that his liberality was that of Karṇa and that his conduct was upright.

⁶ Above, Vol. XV, p. 68, v. 17.

⁷ *Trav. Arch. Series*, Vol. III, p. 155, v. 55.

⁸ Above, Vol. XV, p. 68, v. 18.

⁹ *S. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 221.

¹⁰ Above, Vol. XIX, pp. 81ff.

¹¹ *Historical Sketches of Ancient Dekhan*, p. 213.

¹² These are recorded in the Udayēndiram plates of Prithvīpati II (*S. I. I.*, Vol. II, p. 387, vv. 9 and 10). The charter distinctly refers to two invasions of the Pāṇḍya country, in the earlier of which Parāntaka I. defeated the Pāṇḍya king and captured his city, and in the later he not only defeated the Pāṇḍya but also slew an immense army despatched to his aid by the lord of Laṅkā. Parāntaka's first invasion of Madura may be placed in A.D. 910 when he assumed the title 'Madiraiyōṇḍa'. The second invasion referred to above may be placed in about A.D. 918 which is the date of one of his inscriptions mentioning the battle of Vēlūr in which it is also stated that Parāntaka defeated the allied forces of Pāṇḍya and the king of Ceylon.

¹³ The earliest inscription that gives to Parāntaka I., the epithet "Madiraiyūṇḍa" being dated in the 37th year of his reign, his conquest of Ceylon must be said to have taken place in or about A.D. 944. The Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates referring to this event state that "all the waters of the sea were not enough to quench the fire of the Chōla king's anger, which consumed the enemies and which was put out only by the tears of the wives of the king of Siṅhaḷa, cut and killed by the king's weapons" (*S. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 419, v. 52). The Kanyākumāri inscription states that the name Siṅhaḷāntaka was acquired by Parāntaka I., by this achievement (*Trav. Arch. Series*, Vol. III, p. 155, v. 59).

¹⁴ *Trav. Arch. Series*, Vol. III, p. 155, v. 58. Parāntaka's conquest of the Rāshtrakūṭa Kṛishṇa III must have happened before A. D. 944 which is the earliest date of Kṛishṇa III's records in the Tamil country subject to the rule of the Chōlas (No. 375 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1909).

of several *agrahāras* called after his name *Vīranārāyaṇa*.¹ The first over-seas invasion—which was to be continued long afterwards—was undertaken by him. He reigned for 48 years² from A.D. 907 and paid great attention to the internal administration of his country. Verse 18 states that *Parāntaka* had three sons named *Rājāditya*, *Gaṇḍarāditya* and *Ariṇjaya*. Of these, **Rājāditya** is said to have been the lord of the earth after *Parāntaka* I. had passed away (v. 19), and fighting with *Kṛishṇarāja*, i.e., the *Rāshṭrakūṭa* king *Kṛishṇa* III, he is reported to have met with his end (v. 20). The incorrectness of the statement contained in verse 19 that *Rājāditya* became the lord of the earth after *Parāntaka* has been clearly shown on pages 82-83 of *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIX, where, in a footnote, several records of *Parāntaka* I., dated in regnal years corresponding to A.D. 947, 948, 952 and 953 have been cited. Because the battle of *Takkōlam*, in which *Rājāditya* lost his life, took place in A.D. 947 and is referred to in a record of A.D. 949, it is evident that he did not survive his father, who lived and reigned, according to a recently discovered inscription dated in the 48th year, up to at least A.D. 955. From verses 21 and 22 we learn that *Gaṇḍarāditya* reigned over the *Chōḷa* dominion and founded a city after his name on the north bank of the *Kāvērī*,³ and passed away after a son named *Madhurāntaka* had been born to him. The last statement is significant inasmuch as it indicates that *Madhurāntaka* was a child at the time of his father's demise. The next seven verses (vv. 23-29) state that *Ariṇjaya*, his son **Parāntaka II** who fought a sanguinary battle at a place named *Chēvūr*⁴ (v. 25), and the latter's son **Āditya II** who is said to have played sportively with *Vīra-Pāṇḍya* while he was yet a youth (v. 28), ruled the kingdom in succession and that **Madhurāntaka** succeeded *Āditya II* (v. 29). Thus, from the statements of the plates it is evident that the three kings *Ariṇjaya*, *Parāntaka II* and *Āditya II* held the reins of government only during the minority of *Madhurāntaka* and gave him the kingdom when he came of age. Their reigns must accordingly have been short. That this was actually the case can be gathered from a consideration of the time of the rule of *Uttama-Chōḷa*. His stone inscriptions carry his reign to 16 years and one of them gives *Kali* 4083 as the equivalent of his 13th year.⁵ As such, his rule lasted from A.D. 969 to 985. Therefore, it is certain that the intervening kings between *Parāntaka* I. to *Madhurāntaka*, omitting of course *Rājāditya*, who, as shown above, did not survive his father, must have reigned in the interval A.D. 955 to 970. Verses 30 to 34 speak of **Rajārāja I.**, the successor of *Uttama-Chōḷa*. He is said to have conquered the countries of *Pāṇḍya*, *Tuḷu*, *Kēraḷa* and also *Simhaḷendra* and *Satyāśraya*. The genealogy furnished in the present plates is given below in a tabular form for easy reference along with those supplied by the *Tiruvālaṅgāḍu* plates, the *Anbil* plates, and the *Kanyākumāri* inscription.

¹ *Ibid.*, v. 60.

² *Annual Report on South-Indian Epigraphy* for 1932, p. 49.

³ This place has been identified with *Kaṇḍarādittam* in the *Trichinopoly* District.

⁴ In some inscriptions he claims "to have driven the *Pāṇḍya* into the forest". The *Kanyākumāri* record states that the quivering *Pāṇḍya* contemporary of his crossed the mountain and fled away. *Sundara-Chōḷa*'s general *Parāntakan* *Śrīyavēlār*, a *Koḍumbālūr* chief, is said to have lost his life in a battlefield in *Ceylon* in the 9th year of the king's reign (above, Vol. XII, p. 124, and note 3).

⁵ *A. R. on Epigraphy* for 1908, p. 63.

| The Tiruvālaṅkāru plates. | Anbil plates of Sundara-Chōla. | The Kanyākūmārī inscription. | The Leiden plates |
|---|---|--|--|
| Sun-Manu-Ikshvāku-Vikukshi-Purañjaya <i>alias</i> Kakutstha-Kakshivat- ... Māra...Yuvanāsava-Mādhāttri-Muchukunda... Vaḷabha-Prithulāksha-Pārthivachūdāmanī ... Dirghabhū <i>alias</i> Chandrajit—Sāmkr̥iti...Pañchapa... Satyavrata <i>alias</i> Rudrajit ...Auśinara Sibi...Marutta ... Dushyanta-Daushyanti (Bharata)-Chōla or Chōla-varman. | Vishnu-Brahmā-Marīchi-Naśyaṇa-Aryama... Anahāvira ... Chandrajit-Uśinara-Sibi... Chōla. Śeṇṇi, Killi, etc. Karikāla, etc. Kōchehangannāṇ : (built temples for the lord of Gauri in all countries, v. 13). | Brahmā-Marīchi-Kaśyapa-Vivasvān-Manu-Ikshvāku-Vikukshi-Shravya-Purañjaya... Prithu ... Kuvālēva ... Māndhāttri ... Muchukunda ... Harischandra ... Sagara ... Bhagiratha ... Rituparna ... Dilipa ... Rāma ... Chōla. | Sun-Manu-Ikshvāku-Māndhāttri-Muchukunda-Vaḷabha ... Sibi ... Cl |
| Rājakesarivarman or Rājakesarin. | Nallattikkōṭṭu. | Rājakesarin. | Rājakesarin. |
| Parakēsarin. | Vaḷabha. | Parakēsarin. | Parakēsarin. |
| Chitraratha. | Śrikantha. ^a | Mrityuji. | Suraguru <i>alias</i> Mṛityu. |
| Chitrāsava. | Vijayalaya. | Virasena. | Vyāghrakētu. |
| Chitradhanvan: (brought Kavērakanyakā). | Rājakesarin : (built large temples of stone to Śiva on both banks of the Kāvērī). | Chitra or Vyāghrakētu. | Pañchapa. |
| Suraguru <i>alias</i> Mṛityujit. | Vira-Chōla : (reduced Ma-dhurā, married the daughter of the Keraja king who was also called Paḷuvēt-tarayar). | Pushpakētu. | Karikāla: (constructed embankments to the Kāvērī). |
| Chitraratha <i>alias</i> Vyāghrakētu. | Ariñchika: (married Kalyāni, the daughter of the Vaidumba king). | Kētumāla. | Kōchehangannāṇ : (devotee of Śambhu). |
| Narēndrapati. | Sundara-Chōla: (also called Rājakesarin and Parāntaka; his virtuous rule and his martial glory described in vv. 27-30). | Samudrajit. | Kō-kKilli. |
| Vasu (Uparichara). | | Pañchapa. | Vijayalaya. |
| Viśvajit. | | Nṛimrāja. | Āditya. |
| Perumatkilli. | | Manoratha. | Parāntaka I: (covered the temple of Śiva at Vyāghragraha with gold). |
| Kalikāla (Karikāla) : renovated Kāñchī with gold ; constructed embankments to the Kāvērī). | | Perumatkilli. | |
| | | Karikāla. | |
| | | Vaḷabha. | |
| | | Jagadekamalla. | |
| | | Vyālabhayankara. | |

² Tiruverumbūr was called Śrīkaṇṭha-chaturvēdimangalaṁ.

| The Tiruvālaṅkāḍu plates. | Anbil plates of Sundara-Chōla. | The Kanyākumāri inscription. | The Leiden plates. |
|---|--------------------------------|--|---|
| <p>... Kōchcheṅgaṇṇāṇ : (a spider in his previous birth ; devoted to Sambhu). ... Vijayālaya : (captured Tañchāpuri ; consecrated Niśumbhasūdanī). ... Ādityavarman : (conquered in battle the Pallava Aparājita and took possession of his country). Parāntaka (I.) : (defeated Pāṇḍya, Simhaḷa ; built a Dabhra-sabbā to Śiva).</p> <p>Rājāditya : (defeated Kṛṣṇarāja and went to heaven). Gaṇḍarāditya : (became king after his father). Arindama : (became the best of kings).</p> <p>Parāntaka (II.) : (called a Manu and Sundara ; on his death his queen Vāpa-vaṇmahādēvi committed <i>satī</i>).</p> <p>Āditya (III.) : (ruled the earth after Parāntaka (II.) ; killed the Pāṇḍya king in battle).¹</p> <p>Aruṇmolivarman : (performed <i>tulābhāra</i> ; captured the town Viḷindā ; conquered the Pāṇḍya Amara-bujaṅga, and burnt the lord of Laṅkā ; defeated Satyāśraya ; killed Āndhra-Bhīma ; conquered the country of Paraśurāma, and subdued the kings of Gaṅga, Kāliṅga, Vēṅgi, Magadha, Āraṭṭa, Oḍḍa, Surāshṭra and Chāḷukya).</p> | | <p>Vijayālaya : (constructed Tañchāpuri in the Chōḷa country). Āditya (I.) <i>alias</i> Kōḍaṇḍarāma : (killed the Pallava king). Parāntaka (I.) : (killed the Pāṇḍya king, destroyed Madhurā and acquired the title of Madhurāntaka ; conquered the unconquerable Kṛṣṇarāja and was famed as Vira-Chōḷa ; having killed the lords of Simhaḷa acquired the title of Simhaḷāntaka ; established <i>agrahāras</i> called after his other name Viranārāyaṇa). Arindama. Parāntaka (II.) : (hearing of his advance the Pāṇḍya king crossed the mountain and fled). Rājarāja (I.) : (Satyāśraya fled from the battlefield). Madhurāntaka <i>alias</i> Rājendra-Chōḷa : (conquered Kuntala, made Mānyakhēṭa a playground for his armies ; had the kings of Kulūta and Utkala slain and the chiefs of Kāliṅga and Viṇśa destroyed ; burnt Kaṭāha). Rājādhirāja (set fire to Kalyāṇapura, and conquered Āhavamalla). Virarājēndradēva <i>alias</i> Vira-Chōḷa : (slew at Kūḍalsāṅgama the kings</p> | <p>Parāntaka II : (fought a sanguinary battle at Chēvūr). Āditya (II) <i>alias</i> Karikāla : (fought with Vira-Pāṇḍya). Rājarāja I : (conquered the Pāṇḍya, Tuḷu, Kēraḷa, Simhaḷendra and Satyāśraya ; destroyed ships at Kāndaḷūr-Sālai ; captured Vēṅgaināḍu, Gaṅgapādi, Nulambapādi, Taḍigaipādi, Kuḍamalaiṇāḍu, Kollam, Kāliṅgam, and Iḷam ; and removed the splendour of the Seḷiyas). Madhurāntaka (Rājendra-Chōḷa).</p> |

¹ After Āditya (II), his paternal uncle Madhurāntaka bore the burden of the earth and installed Aruṇmoli in the office of heir-apparent : his devotion to Śiva is described.

| The Tiruvālaṅgādu plates. | Anbil plates of Sundara-Chōla. | The Kanyākumāri inscription. | The Leiden plates. |
|---|--------------------------------|--|--------------------|
| Madhurāntaka <i>alias</i> Uttama-Chōla, Rājendra-Chōla and Chōlendra-simha : (conquest of the quarters with a powerful army; invasion of the South, the Pāṇḍya country and the flight of the Pāṇḍya king to the Malaya hill; his son Chōla-Pāṇḍya left in charge of the kingdom; invasion of the Western region, crossing the Sahya and fighting with and defeating the lord of Kēraja and leaving Chōla-Pāṇḍya in charge of the west also; entry into Kāñchi and conquest of Jayasimha : | | of the Māgnāta family; conquered the Vēṅḍi and the Kālīṅga countries; established <i>brahmanāyikas</i> in the Chōla, Tūṇḍira, Pāṇḍya, Gaṅḡavāṭi and Kulūta countries; and saw the back of Āhavamalla three times). | |

After tracing the pedigree of the Chōlas the Sanskrit portion of the inscription states that king Rājārāja *alias* Rājākēsarivarman gave in the 21st year of his reign the village of Anaimaṅgalam to the lofty shrine of the Buddha in the Chūlāmaṇivarman-vihāra, which the ruler of Śrīvishaya and Kaṭāha named Māraviṇḍayōttuṅḡavarman of the Śailēndra family having the Makara crest, the son of Chūlāmaṇivarman, had erected in the name of his father at the delightful city of Nāgapaṭṭana in Paṭṭana-kūṭṭam, a sub-division of Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷanāḍu (ll. 73-86) and that after Rājārāja had passed away, his son Madhurāntaka caused a permanent edict to be made for the village granted by his father (vv. 35-36). The Sanskrit *praśasti* given in this inscription was composed by a Brāhmaṇa resident of Koṭṭaiyūr named Anantanārāyaṇa of the Vasishṭha family (v. 39) : it was ordered by the officer Tillaiyāli of Kāñchivāyil, otherwise known as Rājārāja-Mūvēndavēl, to be neatly incised (vv. 40-42). On the direction of the lord of Kaṭāha and at the instance of Tuvavūravāṇ Anukkaṇ, the son of Śrīmūn Aṭikaḷ (Aḷigaḷ)¹, the five artisans of the Bhōvya family at Kāñchīpura, viz., Vāsudēva *alias* Rājārāja-Mahāchārya, Śrīraṅga and Dāmōdara, the two sons of Kṛishṇa, Kṛishṇa son of Vāsudēva, and Purushōttama, the son of Ārāvamṛita incised the *praśasti* and affixed their signatures to it (vv. 43-48).

A word may now be said about the composer of the *praśasti* and the engravers of the grant. Since it is stated that this permanent edict was caused to be made by Madhurāntaka (*i.e.*, Rājēndra-Chōla I., the son of Rājārāja I., there is no doubt that the *praśasti* was composed during his reign by his court poet. The composer's name given in it is Anantanārāyaṇa and not Nandanārāyaṇa as Messrs. Burgess and Natesa Sastri have it. He was a Vāsishṭha and a resident of Koṭṭaiyūr. The Tiruvālaṅgādu grant, which was issued in the early part of the same reign, *i.e.*, in the 6th or the 7th year, is said to have been drawn up by Nārāyaṇa the son of Śarṅkara. The village of Koṭṭaiyūr, to which the composer of the *praśasti* in the Leiden plates belonged, is renowned as the birth place of Pūvattabhaṭṭa-Sōmayājiyūr, one of the Chōla officers that conducted enquiries in temples². It is indentical with the village of that name in the Kumba-

¹ On this word, see note 1, p. 243 below.

² No. 227 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1921.

konam Taluk of the Tanjore District. From one of the inscriptions of the place it is learnt that it was situated in Innambar-nādu¹. While the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu grant was incised by four persons, the Leiden plates were engraved by five. The proper names that occur in both are Śrīraṅga (Tiruvāraṅgan) and Dāmōdara, who were the sons of Kṛishṇa, and Purushōttama the son of Ārāvamṛita. While the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates give the additional name Ārāvamurta, the son of Kṛishṇa, the Leiden plates furnish the names Vāsudēva, son of Kṛishṇa, and his son Kṛishṇa. The attribute *a-kṛishṇa-charitaḥ Kṛishṇa-sambhavō=pi mahāmatiḥ* is given to Ārāvamurta in the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates, which distinctly state that Śrīraṅga and Dāmōdara were his younger brothers, whereas it is applied to Vāsudēva *alias* Rājarājappērāchāriyaṇ in the Leiden plates which mention Śrīraṅga and Dāmōdara immediately after him without specifying any relationship. The common application of the epithet cannot point to the identity of the individuals Vāsudēva and Ārāvamurta. But it is not unlikely that both Vāsudēva and Ārāvamṛita were the elder brothers of Śrīraṅga and Dāmōdara. The title Rājarājappērāchāryyaṇ borne by Vāsudēva might have been granted by Rājarāja I. himself, during whose reign the gift recorded in the Leiden plates was actually made, though the document was finally issued in the reign of Rājēndra-Chōla I. This grant might even be slightly earlier than the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu grant issued in about the 6th year. In the Sanskrit portion, the word *hōvya* is used to denote the family (*anvavāya*) of the persons that incised the inscription on the plates and they are also called *chittirākāriṇaḥ*. In mentioning their names in the Tamil portion which follows, the persons that incised the edict get the epithet *ōviyaachchittirākāri*. It is thus made clear by the inscription itself that *hōvya* is only a variant of the Tamil *ōviya*. The word *ōviyam* occurs in the Tamil classical work *Maṇimēgalai*² in reference to a treatise called *ōviya-nūl* and this is made evident by the commentary of Aḍiyārkkunallār on *Vēṇiḱkāḍai*³ of *Silappadikāram*. Thus, we are led to think that *hōvya* or *ōviya* is not the proper name of a family or caste but is the name of a profession, and that profession, we know from the inscription, to be 'painting' (*chittirākāri*). This sense of the word *ōviya* is clearly obtained from two other references in the *Maṇimēgalai*⁴ and *Jivakachintāmaṇi*.⁵ In the second reference, the commentator Nachchinārkkīṇiyar furnishes the synonym 'chittirākārar' for *ōviyar*, as in the Leiden plates. In this connection, it is also worth noting that *ōvu* is used in the sense of "a painting" in *Maduraikkāñchi*.⁶ From what has been said above, it looks as if inscriptions were in the first instance painted on the materials, stone or metal, by painters, though the incising might have been left to be done by carvers on stone or metal. But it is not unlikely that both painting and carving were done by the same individuals; that is to say that *lēkhakas* knew both painting and carving.⁷

In the **Tamil portion** of this grant it is said that on the **92nd day after the 21st year of his reign**, king Rājarāja, while he was in the pavilion, on the southern side of his palace called Rājāsrayan, erected in a suburb of Taṇjāvūr, declared that the income of 8,943 *kalam*, 2 *tūṇi*, 1 *kurunī*, and 1 *nālī* of paddy accruing from the payment of the assessment on 97 *vēli*, 2 *mā*, 1½ *kāṇi*, 1 *mundirigai*, *kīl* of three *mā*, three *kāṇi* and one *mundirigai* and *kīl* of half and 2 *mā* of land comprising the village of Āṇaimaṅgalam,—including such as had ceased to be *paḷḷich-*

¹ No. 241 of the same collection for 1927.

² Canto II, ll. 30-31, which read *nāḍaga-magaḷirkkku naṅgaṇam vaḡuttav-ōviya-chchennūl-urai-nūr-kkiḱak-kaiyūm*.

³ See ll. 23-26.

⁴ Canto 5, l. 7.

⁵ Verse 102 of the *Gāndaruvatattaiyār-Iḷambagam*.

⁶ See l. 365.

⁷ This is evident from the use of the words *veṭṭiṇōm*, *āchāriyaṇ* and *chittirākāri* used in connection with the writers of this document.

chandas (i.e., grants made to Buddhist or Jain temples), and omitting such as had been excluded in survey,—should be given as a tax-free *pallichechanda* to meet the requirements of the *palli*, i.e., the shrine of the Buddha in the Chūlāmaṇivarmavihāra which was being constructed by Chūlāmaṇivarmaṇ, the king of Kaḷāram, at Nāgaṭṭaṇam in Paṭṭanakūṭṭam, a sub-division of Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷanāḍu. This oral order of the king was committed to writing by the official who generally writes down the royal orders, was signed by four persons who bore the designation *tirumandiravōlai-nūṭṭayam*, i.e., Superintendents of Royal Writs, and was issued. In accordance with it, it was ordered to be entered in the accounts by the officials bearing the designation *karumamārāyūm*, i.e., Secretary, and *naḍuvirukkum*, i.e., arbitrators. Four officials of the tax department styled *puravuvāri* and three others styled *varippottayam* (i.e., maintainers of tax registers) being present, the entry in the state registers was made. This done, arrangements were made for drawing up the deed of gift, giving it to the donee and effecting the necessary changes in the divisional or village accounts. For the ceremony of walking along the boundaries taking round a female elephant, pointing out the limits and marking them with stones and milk-bush, one official called *kaṅkāṇi-naḍuvirukkum*, i.e., superintendent of arbitrators, four *Bhaṭṭas* and one *puravuvāri* officer were nominated; and a royal order was issued to the *nāṭṭār*, i.e., the members of the Divisional Assembly stating that they should be present with the nominated persons, point out in detail the boundaries and draw up and give the deed of assignment to the donee (ll. 49-50). On hearing the approach of the royal mandate, the administrative body of the division went in advance, and paying obeisance to the order, received it on their heads and acted as directed in the order. The deed drawn up by them is actually what is incised on plates I to XVI (Tamil portion), which, after reciting the contents of the royal order noted above, gives in detail the boundaries of the lands comprising the village of Āṇaimaṅgalam which is the object of the grant, specifies the conditions to be observed by the donees and the privileges to be enjoyed by them and bears the signatures of the persons that were present at the time of its being drafted. The names of the officials of Rājārāja I. that figure in this inscription, their designations and the villages with district and subdivision, to which they belonged, are given in List A; and the names of the persons who signed the deed, with their official designations, and the *sabhā* or *ūrār* of villages on whose behalf they attested it, are given in List B.

Here king Rājārāja I. is surnamed Rājārājakēsarivarman and is said to have cut off the ships at Kāndaḷūr-Śālai, to have taken Vēṅgai-nāḍu, Gaṅgapāḍi, Nuḷambapāḍi, Taḍigai-pāḍi, Kuḍamalai-nāḍu, Kollam, Kāliṅgam and Iḷamaṇḍalam with the aid of his highly powerful and victorious army, and to have deprived the Śēliyas of their splendour. In the numerous collection of stone inscriptions of Rājārāja I., Kāndaḷūr-Śālai sometimes occurs in the shortened form Śālai. That it was an important place in the Chēra kingdom is made clear from the epithet "*Vīra-Pāṇḍyaṇ talaiyūm Śēralaṇ Śālaiyūm Iḷaiyūm koṇḍa*" (who took the head of Vīra-Pāṇḍya, the Śālai of the Chēra king and Laṅkā) applied to the Chōḷa king Rājādhirāja I.¹; and that it was a port town having a large number of ships is evident from the phrase "*eṇṇalil vēlai-keḷu Kāndaḷūr-Śālai*" occurring in the historical introduction of the same king in describing his campaign against the Chēras.² As the destruction of the ships at Kāndaḷūr-Śālai is first recorded in Rājārāja's stone

¹ A. R. of the Trav. Arch. Department for 1920-21, p. 65.

² Though *Śālai* and *kalam* mean also 'feeding house' and 'vessel' it seems improper to introduce this sense of the words in the phrase *Śālai-kalam-arutta* and to say that the Chōḷa king caused the discontinuance of "the feeding house or boarding school of the Chēras" (Trav. Arch. Series, Vol. II, p. 3f.) for, it would turn one of the important military achievements of that king, on which he may be said to have prided himself by repeating it in his deeds of glory (i.e., the historical introduction), into an ignoble act which the king would hardly have allowed to be mentioned in his *meṅkīrti*.

inscriptions dated in the 10th year of his reign, it must have taken place in about A.D. 994. Though the epithet *Kāndaḷūr-Śālai kalam-aṟutta* is applied in most records to Rājarāja I., there is but a single inscription which states that the king "by ordering his army, effected the destruction of ships at Kāndaḷūr-Śālai¹". Vēngai-nāḍu is the country of the Eastern Chālukyas; Gaṅgapāḍi is the territory of the Western Gaṅgas of Talakkāḍ; and Nuḷambapāḍi is the province subjected to the rule of the Noḷambas. Kuḍamalai-nāḍu occurs in the form Kuḍagumalai-nāḍu in one of the Mysore State inscriptions² and may be the same as Coorg. But, it may also be interpreted as Malai-nāḍu (*i.e.*, the hill country) lying on the western side (*kuḍa* or *kuḍagu*). In this case, Malai-nāḍu or Kuḍamalai-nāḍu may be taken to represent the country of the Chēras.³ And it is worthy of note that some of the Tanjore inscriptions of Rājarāja I. state that he defeated the Chēra king (*Chēramāṇ*) and the Pāṇḍyas in Malai-nāḍu and presented the booty obtained there to the temple of Rājarājēśvara which he built at Tañjāvūr.⁴ The conquests of the places mentioned above are registered in the king's records dated between the 12th and the 14th years as having been effected with the help of his highly powerful and victorious army. Thus between A.D. 997 and 998 Rājarāja seems to have overcome the Western Gaṅgas, the Noḷambas, the chief of the Coorg province or the Chēras, and the Eastern Chālukyas. Inscriptions dated between the years 14 and 15 (A.D. 998-999) add Kollam and Kalingam to the king's conquests. Bearing the name Kollam there were two places on the West coast. They had the distinguishing epithets Kurakkēṇi and Pandalāyani.⁵ The former is Quilon, a station in the Shencotta-Trivandrum line of the South Indian Railway, and the other is Pandalāyani near Quilandy, a station in the Mangalore line of the same Railway. Both appear to have been cities of considerable importance in early times. According to the Kōṭṭayam plates of the Chēra king Sthāṇu Ravi, a contemporary and ally of the Chōḷa sovereign Rājakesarivarman Āditya I. (A.D. 870-907), a Christian Church—the earliest that is known from lithic records—was built at Kurakkēṇi-Kollam, which was subject to the immediate rule of the Vēṇāḍu Chief Aiyanaḍigaḷ-Tiruvaḍi and his heir-apparent Rāma-Tiruvaḍi.⁶ The Vēṇāḍu Chiefs are often called Kōḷambhādhiśas from the fact that they were the lords of Kōḷambha, *i.e.*, Quilon.⁷ Pandalāyani-Kollam or Kōlam is said to have been made the capital of a kingdom by Rāmaghaṭa-Mūshikēśvara.⁸ The chiefs of this place are called in lithic records 'Irāmakuṭa-Mūvar'.⁹ If Kollam referred to as having been captured by Rājarāja I. in his historical introduction is Kurakkēṇi-Kollam, *i.e.*, Quilon, he must have got it from the chief of Vēṇāḍu after defeating him, and if it is Pandalāyani-Kollam, he must have wrested it from Irāmakuṭa-Mūvar. Both these chiefs were subordinate to the Chēra king. Probably, referring to the conquest of the Chēras herein noted as having been effected by the army of Rājarāja I., the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu grant says that the commandant of the king captured the town of Viḷinda whose moat was the sea, whose extensive ramparts were glorious and high, (and) which was impregnable to the enemy warriors, thus omitting Kollam but mentioning Viḷiṇam (*S. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 421, v. 79). The Sēṇūr inscription of Rājarāja I., which is somewhat differently worded from the rest, states that the Chōḷa sovereign conquered the haughty kings of Kollam, Kolladēśam and Koḍai.

¹ No. 121 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1923.

² *Ep. carn.*, Vol. III, Tn. 122.

³ Kielhorn's *Southern List*, Nos. 704 and 764.

⁴ See Tanjore temple inscription mentioning this conquest.

⁵ See *J. R. A. S.*, 1922, p. 172.

⁶ *Trav. Arch. Series*, Vol. II, pp. 63 and 70.

⁷ *A. R. of the Trav. Arch. Department* for 1920-21, p. 54, para. 29.

⁸ *J. R. A. S.*, 1922, p. 166.

⁹ *A. R. on South Indian Epigraphy* for 1930, Part II, para. 46.

gōlūr (Cranganore) and that the kings of the sea (*kaḍal-araiśar*) waited on him¹. Here must be noted one other event, which seems to have taken place in the king's 14th year of reign (A.D. 998) and which seems to have furnished the king with the grandiloquent epithet *tanṇēḷil vaḷar āḷiyuḷ ellā yāṇḍum toḷutaga viḷaṅgum yāṇḍē Śēḷiyarai-ūṭṣu-koḷ* meaning that "in the very year of his growing prosperity when he became the object of adoration in all quarters, he took away the splendour of the Śēḷiyas (i.e., the Pāṇḍyas)". This event was considered to be of such prime importance that it was ever afterwards inseparably associated with his title and name in all his later inscriptions and the epithet bodily removed to the end of the introduction giving place to the mention of later additional conquests before it. It is not unlikely that the king himself was engaged in the fight against the Pāṇḍyas and secured such unqualified success which gave him the permanent epithet while the additional conquests effected by the army were inserted before the phrase *tiṇḍirāl veṇṇi taṇḍāṇ=koṇḍu*.² An exact parallel to this may be found in the epithet *Sōṇāḍu koṇḍu Mudikoṇḍaśōḷapurattu virābhishēkam paṇṇiy-aruḷiya*,³ which was similarly associated with the name of Māravarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I., and taken to the end of his introduction giving his later conquests an earlier place. The Śēṇūr inscription adds that the Chōḷa sovereign destroyed Madura, i.e., the capital of the Pāṇḍyas and places that event before the conquests of Kollam, Kolladēsam and Cranganore.⁴ Speaking of the Pāṇḍya conquest the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu grant says that when Rājarāja I. set out to conquer the South, the moon as if to afford protection to the Pāṇḍya king born in his family, became the white parasol of the invader; and records also that Amarabhujaṅga was seized⁵. The last item of conquest mentioned in the Leiden plates is Īlamaṇḍalam, i.e., the province of Ceylon. This was effected with the help of the army. Perhaps Rājarāja himself did not go to Ceylon. As the event is mentioned for the first time in the historical introduction of the 16th year, it has to be placed in A.D. 1001. Quite in agreement with the stone inscriptions that it was the highly victorious army which effected the conquest of this item also, the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu grant registers the event in these words:—"This terrible General of that (*king Aruṇmoḷivarman*) crossed the ocean by ships and burnt the Lord of Laikā (Ceylon)".⁶

Since no additional conquests are recorded in Rājarāja's inscriptions from the 16th to the 20th years and since the annexation of Raṭṭapāḍi 7½ lakhs is noticed in the inscriptions of the 21st year and after,⁷ it seems that the invasion against the Western Chālukya country took place in some part of the 21st regnal year of the king (A.D. 1005). As the Leiden plates are also dated in the 21st year and 92nd day and as they do not mention Raṭṭapāḍi 7½ lakhs, it is evident that the conquest was effected in the latter part of A.D. 1005, after the date of this grant, i.e., after the 92nd day of the 21st year of reign. The greatness of Rājarāja I. as a conqueror is evident from the fact that he was able to bring under subjection not only the rulers of almost all the provinces of South India but also the king of Ceylon. It would thus appear that Rājarāja I. was the greatest sovereign of the day, greater than any of his predecessors and had a high claim for imperial honours. However much the valour of this king and the conditions that were prevailing in the various

¹ *Madras Epigraphical Report* for 1912, Part II, para. 22.

² The 16th year inscriptions of Rājarāja I., add Īlam to the list of conquests effected with the help of the army and this is inserted before *tiṇḍirāl* and the epithet *tanṇēḷil* taken after it. In the records of the 21st year and later, another conquest effected with the help of the army, viz., that of the Western Chālukya country or Raṭṭapāḍi 7½ lakhs, is mentioned. We find it also similarly entered after Īlam and the epithet of the king taken to the end of the introduction.

³ See above, Vol. VI, p. 302.

⁴ *Madras Epigraphical Report* for 1912, Part II, para. 22.

⁵ *S. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 421, cv. 77-78.

⁶ *Ibid.*, v. 80.

⁷ *Madras Epigraphical Report* for 1892, para. 6.

provinces of the Deccan in his day might have contributed to the success of his arms (in his vast scheme of conquests), credit must necessarily be given to "the highly powerful army" with whose aid he is expressly stated in hundreds of inscriptions to have effected the enlargement of his dominions.

A word about the conditions of the various states of the Deccan may not be out of place here. In fact it is necessary to know them to understand what opportunities presented themselves to Rājarāja I. and how he availed himself of them. During the period when Rājarāja I. was heir-apparent, which according to the Tiruvālaṅkāḍu grant covered the reign of Uttama-Chōla¹ (A.D. 970-985), there reigned over the Pāṇḍya country a king named Vīra-Pāṇḍya who boasts of "having taken the head of the Chōla king".² As opposed to this, more than one ruler of the Southern provinces, who could be regarded as his contemporaries, have assumed the title "who took the head of Vīra-Pāṇḍya". One of these latter was the Chōla king Āditya II *alias* Karikāla and about him the grant under publication states that though a young boy he played sportively with Vīra-Pāṇḍya³. Others are the Koḍumbālūr chief Vikramakēśari and Pārthivēndravarmān⁴, both of whom appear to have been the Chōla king's allies. From this it can be safely said that there were hard fights between the parties. In some of these, Vīra-Pāṇḍya must have been successful and in others his opponents. In ascertaining the actual truth in such a matter, the places of distribution of their inscriptions may be regarded as a sure test of their claims. This seems to be in favour of neither party. So far, we have not come across any inscriptions of Vīra-Pāṇḍya in the Chōla country. Nor have we any record of his opponents in the Pāṇḍya territory, as we do find in the case of Parāntaka I. and Rājarāja I. The struggle between the Chōlas and the Pāṇḍyas was a hard and continuous one. It commenced in the reign of Chōla Parāntaka I. against Rājasinha-Pāṇḍya and his ally the king of Ceylon and was continued ever afterwards. Parāntaka II *alias* Sundara-Chōla is said to have driven the Pāṇḍya into the forest; and of his general Parāntakan Śrīyavōlār it is reported that he gave up his life in a battle in Ceylon⁵. Āditya Karikāla's claim to have conquered Vīra-Pāṇḍya has just been noted. Rājarāja I. had to renew the struggle and his success was better than that of his predecessors. The numerous inscriptions of his found all over the Pāṇḍya country—i.e., Madura and Tinnevely districts—testify to the fact that his overlordship was acknowledged in that quarter⁶. Even the very name of the territory was changed into Rājarāja-Pāṇḍināḍu⁷. For this continuance of hatred between the Chōlas and Pāṇḍyas there were good grounds. From the time when the ancient Chōlas ceased to be a ruling power and lost their hold of their ancient possessions in Trichinopoly and Tanjore districts and until Vijayālaya started a new line at Tanjore, their original home was occupied by the Pāṇḍyas on the one side and the Pallavas on the other: and there were severe fights between these two powers themselves. To wrest back from the new incumbents the kingdom, which had become theirs by long enjoyment and which they would not easily yield, led the Chōlas to be continually at war with the Pāṇḍyas.

While this was the case with the kingdoms in the extreme south of the Peninsula, the state of affairs in the countries of Vēṅgī, Kālīṅga and Raṭṭa, i.e., the dominion of the Rāshtrakūṭas was

¹ *S. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 420, v. 70.

² Nos. 163 of 1894 and 65 of 1896 which are dated in the 4+2nd year and 15+4th year of this king.

³ See below, p. 241, verse. 28. Stone inscriptions of Parākēśarivarman "who took the head of Vīra-Pāṇḍya" have been attributed to this king.

⁴ *Historical Sketches of Ancient Dekkan*, pp. 235-236.

⁵ See above note 4, p. 219.

⁶ See his inscription at Āpaimalai near Madura published in *S. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 239, No. 106; also No. 119 of 1905.

⁷ See Madras Epigraphical Collections Nos. 408 of 1906, 70 of 1907, 392 and 613 of 1916.

anything but satisfactory. In the last quarter of the 10th century A.D., these countries were thrown into confusion, being torn by internal dissensions, and were subjected to wars and counter-wars bringing in their train all the evils of an unsettled life, reducing to the position of subordinates the dynasties that wielded once an extensive power and enjoyed high prosperity, and resulting in the deposition of rightful heirs, affording scope for rising into prominence of families which held but subordinate and feudatory positions and leaving some of the legitimate rulers to seek the aid of others to regain their lost position and country. The years 972-5 were highly eventful in the history of these countries. In A.D. 972-3, Siyaka Harsha, the Paramāra king of Mālwa, it is said, gained a victory over the Rāshtrakūṭa Khōṭṭiga and the latter's capital Mānyakhēṭa, i.e., Mālkhēḍ, was plundered and pillaged either by him or by his successor Muñja¹. This was followed by the rising of the Western Chālukya Taila II, who, in A.D. 973-4 overthrew Khōṭṭiga's successor Kakkala and acquired the fortunes of the Rāshtrakūṭas, leaving the once flourishing Raṭṭa rule to remain only in the memory of the people². At the very time when the Rāshtrakūṭa rule was wiped out, the Vēṅgī country, deprived of its legitimate ruler by the deposition of Dānārṇava, was experiencing a feverish desire to obtain a suitable lord and, it is said, it was only assuaged, after 27 years, by the appearance of Chālukya-Chandra, i.e., Śaktivarman. The earlier opinion as regards the interregnum in the Vēṅgī country was that it was caused by the Chōḷas. Dr. Burnell, speaking of this period, said that it was a period of anarchy and suggested that it should be attributed to a Chōḷa invasion; and Dr. Fleet suspected that the Vēṅgī country must have been conquered by the Chōḷas but considered that the claim of the Chōḷa king Rājarāja I. to have conquered Vēṅgī was merely an honorary one based on some previous king's conquests, as that scholar was under the impression that Rājarāja's reign began in A. D. 1003 or 1004³. That the country of Vēṅgī, though deprived of its legitimate ruler Dānārṇava, was not subject to anarchy is established by the rule of Bādapa, Tāḷa and others belonging to the collateral line of the Eastern Chālukyas; and that the claim of Rājarāja I. to have conquered Vēṅgī was only honorary and must be based on a prior Chōḷa ruler's conquest is disproved by the fact that none of the predecessors claims it. On the other hand, the fact that Dānārṇava ruled for the short period of 3 years (970-972-3) and the evidence of the Conjeeveram inscription, that he killed (or defeated) Kāmārṇava, who must be no other than his contemporary the Eastern Gaṅga king Kāmārṇava IV (A.D. 950-980) might be reasonably taken to show that the latter made a counter invasion of the Eastern Chālukya dominion and brought about Dānārṇava's deposition⁴. The accession of Śaktivarman, the son of Dānārṇava, to the Vēṅgī throne immediately following Rājarāja's invasion suggests that the very object of the invasion might have been to secure the country to its rightful owner and was probably undertaken on behalf of the deposed Dānārṇava.

Here it may be remarked that the Sanskrit portion of the inscription on the Leiden plates, which contains the *praśasti* of the Chōḷa family, was composed later than the Tamil portion and during the time of Madhurāntaka, the son and successor of the donor, i.e., the Chōḷa king Rājarāja I. The *praśasti* seems to have been added on as a learned preface to the matter of fact Tamil portion which, as stated already, sets forth in detail everything relating to the grant of the village of Āṇaimaṅgalam to the *paḷḷi* in the Chūḷāmaṇivarman-vihāra at Nāgapattāṇam. While according to the Tamil portion the *viḥāra* was in the course of construction by Chūḷāmaṇivarman, the chief of Kaḍāram, at the time of the grant, i.e., the 21st year of the reign of the Chōḷa king Rājarāja I. (A.D. 1005), the Sanskrit introduction states that it was built by Māraviṇjyōttuṅgavarman, the son of Chūḷāmaṇivarman, in the name of the latter. This apparent discrepancy

¹ Above, Vol. I, pp. 225 f.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 269; Vol. IV (Nilgund Inscr.), p. 206; and Vol. XII, pp. 311 f.

³ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XX, p. 272.

⁴ Above, Vol. XXI, pp. 29 ff. For *paritalla* (p. 34, l. 48) read *parisulla*.

may be explained by saying that the construction of the Chūlāmaṇivarma-vihāra was undertaken by the Kaṭāha king Chūlāmaṇivarman himself in about the 21st year of the reign of Rājārāja I. but was completed by Chūlāmaṇivarman's son Māraviṇyāyōttuṅavarman in the reign of Rājārāja's son Rājendra-Chōla I. The number of years taken for the building of the *vihāra* which is not less than 9 and the munificent grant made to it by Rājārāja I. of the entire income from the village of Ānaimaṅgalam amounting to 8943 and odd *kalam* of paddy for a year for the upkeep of the *paḷḷi* in it, speaks to the loftiness of the structure which in the words of the *prasasti* writer is said to have lowered Kanakagiri, *i.e.*, Mount Mēru. In connection with this building we may note the following observation of Sir W. Elliot made in 1878 :—

“ Till within the last few years there was to be seen on the Coromandel coast, between one and two miles to the north of Negapatam, a tall weather-beaten tower, affording a useful landmark to vessels passing up and down the coast. It went by various names, as the Puduveligōpuram, the old pagoda, Chinese pagoda (Valentyn mentions it Pagood China in 1725) and in the map of the Trigonometrical survey (sheet 79) it stands as the Jeyna (Jaina) pagoda. But save in name it has nothing in common with Hindu or Mahomedan architecture, either in form or in ornament. Tradition is silent as to its origin or purpose, and although it has been the subject of frequent speculations, no satisfactory theory has been formed to account for it.” In 1846 Sir W. Elliot saw it. He describes : “ I found it to be a somewhat four sided tower of three stories, constructed of bricks closely fitted together without cement, the first and second stories divided by corniced mouldings, with an opening for a door or window in the middle of each side. At the top of the lowest story were marks in the wall showing where the floor of the second had been fixed. The top was open. The base of the ground story was worn at the angles, from collision with passers-by and cattle, but the structure was solid and firm. No trace of sculpture or inscription was visible.” (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VII, p. 224.)

The history of its disappearance is shortly this :—The Jesuits expelled from Pondichery settled in its vicinity and applied for permission in 1859 to dismantle it. Captain Oakes, the District Engineer, recommended its demolition stating it to be an old ruin, crumbling to decay and not deserving the name of an ancient monument, as it had neither sculpture nor inscription. Sir W. Elliot protested against it and the Governor deferred final orders until he saw it himself. Meanwhile Sir W. Elliot left India. Sir Charles Trevelyn went to Negapatam, was not impressed with its high antiquity, thought that expenditure on it was a waste of public money, did not concur in the recommendation for demolition but directed its being fenced round with an enclosure to secure its safety and at the same time ordered photographs of it to be taken. These orders were not carried out. In 1867 the Jesuits renewed their petition, the Chief Engineer recommended repairs and the tower was allowed to stand. He added “ there is no doubt that it is used as a landmark for vessels approaching the Negapatam roadstead ” and the Master Attendant of the port had expressed the opinion that “ the native population objected to its removal ”. Then came the final order (28th August 1867) : “ The Governor in Council is pleased to sanction the removal of the old tower at Negapatam by the officers of St. Joseph's College, at their own expense, and the appropriation of the available material to such school building purposes as they appear to have in contemplation ”. Sometime after, Lord Napier visiting Negapatam was presented with a bronze image found in the excavation connected with the college.

The construction of the Chūlāmaṇivarma-vihāra and the *paḷḷi* in it, to which the grant of the village of Ānaimaṅgalam, registered in these plates, was made, is referred to in lines 6-7, 13-15, and 200-1 and in all these places, the building is said to be in the course of construction by Kaṭārattaraiyaṇ, and not even once as having been built. In the first of the references given above, Kaṭārattaraiyaṇ is also called Chūlāmaṇivarman. King Rājārāja I. gave his oral order on the

92nd day after the 21st year of his reign that the grant should have effect from that very year. After the due observance of all the formalities, which took full two years and seventy-two days, the deed was finally drawn up and presented on the 163rd day after his 23rd year (Il. 322f.). It is only from the later Sanskrit introduction, composed during the reign of Rājendra-Chōla I., that we learn that Kaṭāṭattaraiyaṇ was not a mere local chief but was a member of the Śailēndra family and the lord of the country of Śrī-Vishaya and that he was ruling over Kaṭāṭa and had the *Makara* crest. Now the question arises as to how Chūḷāmaṇivarman, the lord of Śrī-Vishaya and the ruler of Kaṭāṭa or Kaṭāram, came to erect a big *vihāra* for the Buddha at Negapatam in the heart of the distant Chōla dominion and how the powerful Chōla king came to grant the entire revenues of a village for the upkeep of a *paḷḷi* in it. It is a significant fact that the historical introduction of the Chōla king as detailed in these plates does not mention Kaṭāṭa, i.e., Kaṭāram or Śrī-Vishaya. And therefore the inscription leaves us entirely in the dark as to what kind of relationship existed between Kaṭāṭattaraiyaṇ (i.e., the lord of Kaṭāṭa) and the Chōla king Rājārāja I. Nor are we given to understand the circumstances under which the grant was made, i.e., whether it was done at the request of the Kaṭāṭa ruler or on the Chōla king's own initiative. But for the somewhat later Sanskrit introduction, any one, reading only the Tamil original grant, might be led to think that Kaṭāṭattaraiyaṇ must have been a local chief of affluence and subordinate to the Chōla king. Now, for aught we know, Rājārāja I. was tolerant of all religious creeds prevalent in his dominion, though his special leaning was towards Śaivism. In this connection, his construction of the Bṛihadīśvara temple, called Rājārājēśvara after his name, at his capital Tanjore, and the immense gifts made to it from the treasures which he had acquired as booty in the conquests of the Chēra and the Pāṇḍya kings in Malai-nāḍu and the Chālukya king Satyāśraya, and his assumption of the significant surname Śivapādaśēkhara, are worth remembering. Rājārāja I. was no mean monarch. It was he that for the first time in the annals of the Chōlas maintained a large standing army which consisted of 900,000 men and which is spoken of in his inscriptions as "highly powerful and victorious". The power of his arms, as we have seen already, was felt in India from Kalinga in the north to the southern cape and beyond the seas in Ceylon; but no mention is made of Kaṭāṭa. From the conquest of Kaṭāṭa described in detail in the records of the 16th year onwards of the reign of Rājendra-Chōla I., we learn that it was a kingdom of considerable importance and contained many strongly fortified places such as Śrī-Vijaya, i.e., Śrī-Vishaya of the Leiden plates, Paṇṇai, Malaiyūr, Māyirūṇḍam, Pāmuriḍēsa, Pāṇḍāsōka, Pappāla, Mēvilimbanḡam, Viḷaippandūr, Takkōla, Mādamalingam, Nakkavāram, etc. As such, if Rājārāja I. had really conquered Kaṭāṭa, it would certainly have found mention in his historical introductions. The omission seems to indicate that he did not conquer it. On the other hand the fact that Kaṭāṭattaraiyaṇ was enabled to commence the construction of a monumental Buddhist *vihāra* at Negapatam in the Chōla country in the 21st year of Rājārāja I. and that the latter assigned the revenues of a village for the upkeep of a shrine in it might lead one to infer that the Kaṭāṭa ruler must have made a successful invasion of the Chōla country. This is, however, negatived for the reason that the inscription is not issued in the name of the Kaṭāṭa ruler but in the name of the Chōla king. Can it not therefore be said that the Kaṭāṭa ruler was on friendly terms with the mighty Chōla king and obtained his permission to build the *vihāra* in question and that the latter made endowments to a *paḷḷi* in it, which, as we know from the smaller Leiden plates, was called Rājārājapperumbalḷi after the name of the Chōla king?

One other observation may be made with regard to the connection of the Buddhists with Negapatam. In the traditional account of Tirumaṅgai-Ālvār, who is described in the *Gurupāramparā* as a feudatory of the Chōla king of his day, it is stated that he once went to Nāga-paṭṭaṇam, got inside the Buddha temple at the place, carried away the gold image that was

enshrined within it and melting the same utilised the amount in building walls and other structures in the Raṅganātha temple at Śrīraṅgam. If there is any truth in this, it would show that long prior to the construction of the Chūlāmaṇivarma-vihāra, i.e., before the beginning of the 9th century, Negapatam was renowned as a Buddhist centre and had in it a Bauddha monument. We do not know if the *vihāra* that was erected in the days of Rājaraṅga I., was a new one or was only the renewal of the old monument.

The order of the king granting the village of Āṇaimaṅgalam was addressed to the *nāṭṭār* (the Divisional Assembly), the *brahmadēya-kīḷavar* (i.e., the head men of the *brahmadēyas*), the *ūṛgaḷilār* (i.e., the body of *ūr*) of *dēvadānas*, *paḷlichchandas*, *kaṇimurruṭṭu* and *veṭṭippēru* and to the *nagaras*. It will be shown below that in carrying out this order, men of several *brahmadēyas* and the *ūrār* of several villages, *dēvadānas* and *veṭṭippēru* actually took part. It is to be noted that this order, though addressed to all these bodies of men, was in the first instance received by the *nāṭṭār* only and was executed by all as required. The *nāṭṭār* appear to have had a better standing than the rest and the others were all subject to their administrative control. Here are four distinct assemblies, viz., (1) the assembly of the division (*nāḍu*), (2) the assembly of the *ūr*, (3) the assembly relating to the *brahmadēyas*, i.e., the *sabhās*, and (4) the *nagara* by which is perhaps meant the body of merchants. What is meant by a *brahmadēya*, *dēvadāna*, or *paḷlichchanda* is generally well known. They refer respectively to villages or lands granted to Brāhmaṇas, Hindu temples, and Jaina or Buddhist shrines. The significance of *kaṇi-murruṭṭu* is not so plain. The word *kaṇi* is used in ancient Tamil works to denote the person or persons that announce to the king the time of day or night. They are also called *nāḷigaikkanaḱkaṇ* or *kaḍigaṇiyār*¹. It is not unlikely that their services were paid for by grants of lands or villages as other services were. *Murruṭṭu* may be taken to mean "complete yield". This sense of the word is obtained from its usage in reference to a piece of land granted to a temple in the text of an inscription from Kīlappaluvūr² where we find the phrase "*i-nnilam uludu payir-ērri murruṭṭum koṇḍuvandu tirumurruṭṭu aḷappadāgarum*". The use of the word *murruṭṭu* after the group *dēvadāna-paḷlichchanda-kaṇi* seems to indicate that in the case of lands of villages granted to temples, Buddhist or Jaina shrines, and to the announcers of time to the king, the entire produce without any incidental deductions should be made over to the respective donees. It is not unlikely that we meet with phrases like *dēvadāna-murruṭṭu*, *paḷlichchanda-murruṭṭu*, and *kaṇi-murruṭṭu*. The separation of *brahmadēyas* from the group is perhaps due to the fact that they had assemblies of their own called *sabhās*, different, of course, from the assembly of the *ūr*, as we see it in this very inscription. That a particular village might have had more than one assembly according to its constitution could also be gathered from the circumstance that Kaḍambaṇūr had both the *sabhā* and the *ūrār* and one person on behalf of each of these assemblies signed the deed in respect of that village.

The transactions of the *nāḍu*, the *sabhā* and the *ūr* are usually recorded by the command of these bodies, by persons who bore the official designations *Madhyastha*, *Karaṇattāṇ* and the like. The functions of these individuals were perhaps similar to those of the secretaries of regularly constituted associations. Sometimes, we find that the order to these individuals is given by a single member instead of by the body collectively. This member is designated by the term *Tiruvadigaḷ*. In all likelihood *Tiruvadigaḷ* meant the President of the assembly. In this connection it is particularly worthy of note that he is stated to be one of the members constituting the body. This is made evident from the wording of an inscription of Rājaraṅga I.³, viz., *sabhaiyullirundu sabhai-tTiruvadi paṇippa eḷudineṇ ivvūr madhyasthaṇ Mantrikulottamaṇ magan Karppagap-*

¹ See *Jivakachintāmaṇi*, v. 2733, and *Silappadigāram*, Indira^o 1. 49.

² No. 678 of *S. I. I.*, Vol. V.

³ No. 34 of *S. I. I.*, Vol. VII.

piriyapēn. Since the Secretary is called the *madhyastha* of the village, it may be even said that he was the accountant of the village and had a function in the assembly. In List B (p. 23 below), the official Kuṇavaṇ Nandi *alias* Alaṅkārapriyaṇ occurs thrice (Nos. 4, 15 and 16), first as the *madhyastha* of the *sabhā* of Mūṅgirkūḍi secondly as the *karapattāṇ-madhyastha* of the *sabhā* of Pirambil and lastly as the *karapattāṇ-madhyastha* of the *ūrār* of Kaḍambāṅḍi. If all these refer to a single individual, it would show that one could hold the position of a *karapā* or *madhyastha* of several villages. Perhaps the three villages Mūṅgirkūḍi, Pirambil and Kaḍambāṅḍi were close to one another.

From a number of inscriptions, we see clearly that the *sabhā* and the *ūr* were transacting their business independently. Though this was the case, they appear to have been completely subject to the orders of the king which they implicitly carried out. In this connection we may draw attention to the fact that the grant of the village of Āpaimaṅgalam, registered in the Leiden plates, was first made by the king without any reference to these bodies and was even entered in the State accounts, and the bodies were only required to give effect to it. Another point to note is, that as occasion required, the State deputed one or more persons to co-operate with the local bodies in the conduct of their business. Thus, in the matter of marking the boundaries of the village and drawing up the deed of gift, no less than six persons—all State officials, one being a *naḍuvirukkuṁ*, one *puravuvāri* and four *Bhaṭṭas*—were nominated. In fact it was one of these officials that actually drew up the deed of gift: it is worthy of note that he was not even a resident of any of the villages of the division of Paṭṭaṇa-kūṭṭam.

From List B it will be seen that the assemblies of no less than 26 villages took part in going round the boundaries of Āpaimaṅgalam whose revenues were assigned by the Chōla king Rājārāja I. to the Bauddha shrine at Nāgapaṭṭaṇam. Like Āpaimaṅgalam, these villages were also situated in the sub-division Paṭṭaṇa-kūṭṭam of Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaṇaṇḍu. Many of them bear the names given in the inscription even at the present day. Ten of these villages, *viz.*, (1) Kaḍambapūr, (2) Nāraṇamaṅgalam, (3) Mūṅgirkūḍi, (4) Śaṇṇamaṅgalam, (5) Koṭṭārakkūḍi, (6) Naṇṇimaṅgalam, (7) Poruvaṇḍu, (8) Pirambil, (9) Uvarkkūḍi, and (10) Tirukkaṇṇaṅḍi were administered by *sabhās*: except (4) and (10), the rest are expressly called *brahmadēyas*. Of the remaining places, fourteen, *viz.*, (1) Narimaṇḍam, (2) Śūttamaṅgalam, (3) Kōvūr, (4) Uttūr, (5) Ālaṅḍi, (6) Tuṇaiyūr, (7) Kaḍambāṅḍi, (8) Śēndamaṅgalam, (9) Kurraṇlam, (10) Tirunāvūr, (11) Muṇjikkūḍi, (12) Kaḍambavalavūṭṭai, (13) Paṇḍu-Korraṅḍi and (14) Veṅkiḍaṅḍi were under the control of the administrative bodies of the *ūrār*: it is worthy of note that none of these fourteen villages is called a *brahmadēya*. In the case of two other villages, *viz.*, Vēlaṅḍi and Śīru-Śēndamaṅgalam, neither the *sabhā* nor the *ūrār* is mentioned. But as regards the latter, there is the possibility of its having been subject to the authority of the *ūrār* of Śēndamaṅgalam of which it must have formed part. It is not known why the assemblies of Śīvalaiyūḍi (l. 103) and Nallūrcheri (l. 163) which, according to the boundaries given, were in the outskirts of Āpaimaṅgalam do not figure among the signatories.

The ceremony of circumambulating the granted village, fixing its limits and marking the latter with stones and milk-bush, was performed by the members of the assemblies of the *sabhā* or the *ūrār* of the abovenamed twenty-six villages, at whose bidding and on whose behalf an official or two invariably signed the document. Besides these, on behalf of the other two villages two persons signed the deed. Āpaimaṅgalam itself contributed two individuals for the purpose. Of these, one, a Vellāla by caste, rode on the back of an elephant, pointed out the boundaries and signed the document, while the other a Brāhman also attested it. The four Bhaṭṭas who were nominated by the Government to co-operate with the representatives of the several divisions of the district in this matter, did so and affixed their signatures to the deed which they helped to be drawn up and given to the donee.

The officials who signed the deed at the command of the *sabhā* or the *ūrār* are variously called *madhyasthaṇ*, *karaṇattāṇ*, *vēḷkōvaṇ*, *karaṇattāṇ-vēḷkōvaṇ* or *karaṇattāṇ-madhyasthaṇ*.

The deed evidencing the gift, by the king, of the village of Ānaimaṅgalam, drawn up as aforesaid in accordance with the royal order issued to the *nāṭṭār* of Paṭṭaṇa-kūṭṭam in Kshatriya-śikhāmaṇi-vaḷaṇāḍu, conveying in due form the revenues of the village to the donees, stipulates the conditions (*vyavasthā*) to be observed by, and specifies the privileges (*parihāras*) conferred on, the said donees, i.e., the authorities of the Bauddha *viḥāra* at Nāgapattāṇam. It is interesting to note that the word *parihāra* has been defined by such an early authority as Kauṭilya, in his *Arthaśāstra*, in the following words :—

Jātēr=viśēṣhēṣhu purēshu ch=aiva grāmēshu dēśēshu cha tēshu tēshu anugrahō yō nripatēr= nidēśūt taj-jñāḥ parihāra iti vyavasyēt ||¹

That favour, which by the command of the king has been bestowed on special castes, cities, villages or countries, is called a *parihāra* by one who knows it. From the use of the words *parihāra* and *anugraha* as synonyms, it can be gathered that the king refrained from taking the incomes due to him and favoured the donees with their gift.

The conditions for the enjoyment of the grant stated in this inscription are :—

(1) When fresh channels have to be dug, they shall be so done as to admit of an easy flow of water. With their aid, the lands of the village shall be irrigated. After the fields are irrigated, the waste or the excess water shall be collected and led away.

(2) Water passing in the existing channels for irrigating the lands of this village shall be allowed to do so as usual and the excess water shall, consistently with the prevailing custom, be collected. And none shall be permitted to cut any branch channels from them, to dam them across, to put up small picottahs or to bale out their water in baskets.

By these two clauses, the donees are given the sole right to the use of the existing irrigation channels and the privilege of opening fresh channels for irrigation in such a way as to admit of an easy flow of water.

(3) Good water (intended for drinking) shall not be used for common purposes, but that water may be dammed and made to irrigate lands.

This clause prevents the contamination of the sources of water intended for drinking purposes. The sanitary effect of it needs no saying.

(4) Mansions and big buildings shall be constructed with burnt bricks only.

This condition is perhaps intended to secure safety and permanency to stately edifices and to prevent their collapse and consequent loss arising from the use of bad materials such as unburnt bricks.

(5) Large wells shall be sunk.

This is possibly to afford facilities for irrigating dry lands that have no access to the existing irrigation channels.

(6) Coconut trees shall be planted in groves.

(7) *Damanaka*, *maruvu*, *iruvēli*, *sembaga*, *śeṅgaḷuṇṇīr*, mango, jack, areca-palms, *koḍi* (perhaps vines or betel creepers) and such other useful plants of various descriptions shall be grown.

These two clauses seem to afford facilities for availing to the fullest extent the resources of the village and to add to its wealth and beauty.

(8) Big oil-presses shall be installed.

(9) The irrigation channels passing through the lands of this village to other villages in the outskirts shall be permitted to flow without any impediment by the donee; and similarly also

(10) The channels passing through outside villages to irrigate the lands of this village shall be allowed to flow uninterrupted by the people of the outlying villages.

¹ Dr. Shama Sastri's second ed., p. 73.

The object of the last two clauses is perhaps to secure peace and harmony among the people of the adjacent villages and to safeguard their rights.

The next clause (11) prohibits the Īlavas from climbing the palmyra and cocoanut trees, possibly for tapping them for toddy : and the last clause (12) allows the use of big drums and ornamental arches by influential or aristocratic families living in the village and accustomed to have them by tradition or by family suffrage. The clause is indirectly meant to secure non-interference by the donees of the rights of privileged persons.

Subject to the above conditions the donees are given the *parihāras*, i.e., the privilege of realising and enjoying all such incomes as *nāḍāṭchi*¹, *ūrūṭchi*, *vaṭṭināḷi*, *pidānāḷi*, *kaṇṇālakkāṇam*, *vaṇṇārappārai*, *kuśakkāṇam*, *nīrkūli*, *ilaikkūlam*, *tarippuḍuvai*, *taragu*, *taṭṭārappāṭṭam*, *iḍaippāṭṭam*, *āṭṭuk-kirai*, *nallā*, *nallerudu*, *nāḍukāval*, *ūḍupōkku*, *virpiḍi*, *vāḷamanjūḷi*, *ulgu*, *ōḷakkūli*, *maṇrupāḍu*, *māvirai*, *tīyeri*, *īlampūṭchi*, *kūttikāl*², etc., which the donor, i.e., the king had the right to realise. The inscription states that these incomes shall not hereafter be claimed by the king but that they shall go to the donees.

After the deed had been completed, the following five persons, who were probably Royal officers of high standing, set their signatures to it (last plate : second side) :—

(1) Araiyaṇ Arumoḷi *alias* Rājēndraśōḷa-Pallavaraiyaṇ, the headman of Naḍār in Tiraimūr-nāḍu, a sub-division of Uyyakkonḍār-vaḷanāḍu (ll. 323-25).

(2) Krishṇaṇ Rāmaṇ *alias* Rājēndraśōḷa-Brahmamārāyaṇ of Kēraḷāntaka-chaturvēdimaṅ-galam in Veṇṇāḍu, a sub-division of Uyyakkonḍār-vaḷanāḍu (ll. 325-27).

(3) Īrāyiravaṇ Pallavayaṇ *alias* Uttamaśōḷa Pallavaraiyaṇ of Araiśūr in Pāmbuṇi-kūṛram, a sub-division of Nittavinōda-vaḷanāḍu (ll. 327-9).

(4) Dyēdaigōmapuṛattu Dāmōdara-Bhaṭṭaṇ of Kaḍalaṅguḍi in Kuṟukkai-nāḍu, a sub-division of Rājēndrasimha-vaḷanāḍu (ll. 329-30).

(5) Araiyaṇ Śikaṇḍaṇ *alias* Miṇavaṇ-Mūvēndavēḷāṇ, the headman of Kuṟumbil in Ambar-nāḍu, a sub-division of Uyyakkonḍār-vaḷanāḍu (ll. 330-32).

In these names, it is particularly worthy of note that Nos. (2) and (3), i.e., Krishṇaṇ Rāmaṇ and Īrāyiravaṇ Pallavayaṇ, who bore the titles Mummaḍiśōḷa Brahmamahārāyaṇ and Mummaḍiśōḷa Pōśaṇ respectively in the body of the Tamil document (lines 19f., 21-22, 52 and 53) probably after the surname Mummaḍiśōḷa borne by Rājārāja I., had their titles changed into Rājēndraśōḷa Brahmamārāyaṇ and Uttamaśōḷa Pallavaraiyaṇ when they affixed their signatures at the end of the document (see lines 325-7 and 327-9). The altered titles take after the names of Rājēndra-Chōḷa I. and indicate that when these persons affixed their signatures king Rājēndra-Chōḷa I. had assumed regal powers. It will thus be seen that this is in accordance with the paleographical indications noted on page 17.

Īrāyiravaṇ, Pallavayaṇ, with the surname Mummaḍiśōḷa-Pōśaṇ, figures in a number of inscriptions of Rājārāja I. of varying dates and is styled one of the *Perundaṇam* (of the king). His connection with the temple at Tiruvallam in the North Arcot District is known from the inscriptions of that place.³ The village Araiśūr, whence he hailed, is stated to have been situated in the Chōḷa country (*Śōḷa-nāḍu*) and to have belonged to the sub-division Pāmbuṇi-kūṛram on the southern bank (of the Kāvērī).⁴

¹ For the significance of these terms see pp. 343 f. of my *Historical Sketches of Ancient Dekhan*.

² This word may be interpreted as "quarter (*paṇam*)" to be paid by the dancing women (*kūtti*). It has not to be mistaken for *kutukkal* which occurs in other records and means 'default'.

³ Nos. 208 to 210, 216, 219 and 238 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1921.

⁴ No. 216 of the same.

Kaḍalaṅguḍi in Kuṟukkai-nāḍu, a sub-division of Rājēndrasimha-vaḷanāḍu, to which the officer Dāmōdara-Bhaṭṭaṇ belonged, was also called Viḍēlviḍugu-chaturvēdimāṅgalam¹ and Gaṅgaikoṇḍaśōḷa-chaturvēdimāṅgalam² and contained in it the village of Tiru-Vēlvikuḍi now called Tiruviḷakkuḍi³ in the Mayavaram Taluk of the Tanjore District. Though several inscriptions state that this Kaḍalaṅguḍi, surnamed Viḍēlviḍugu-chaturvēdimāṅgalam and Gaṅgaikoṇḍaśōḷa-chaturvēdimāṅgalam, was situated in Kuṟukkai-nāḍu,⁴ two records mention it as being in Nallārūr-nāḍu.⁵ That Rājēndrasimha-vaḷanāḍu was also in the Chōḷa country (Sōḷa-maṇḍalam) is known from an inscription of Śeṅguṇṇam⁶ in the North Arcot District.

LIST A.

| Designation. | Name of person. | Village. | Sub-division. | District. | Lines. |
|---|--|---------------------------------|----------------------|---------------------------------|---------------------|
| <i>Olai-eḷudum</i> or <i>Man-dira-ōlai</i> | Amudaṇ Tirttakaraṇ | Viḷattūr | Āvūr-kūṇṇam | Nittavinōda-vaḷanāḍu. | 17, 18, 50. |
| <i>Olai-nāyagaṇ</i> or <i>Man-dira-ōlai-nāyagaṇ</i> | Kriṣṇaṇ Rāmaṇ <i>alias</i> Mummaḍiśōḷa-Brahma-mahārāyaṇ | Kēraḷāntaka-chaturvēdimāṅgalam. | Veṇṇāḍu | Uyyakkoṇḍār-vaḷanāḍu. | 19-20, 52, 325-327. |
| Do. | Irāyiravaṇ Pallavayaṇ <i>alias</i> Mummaḍiśōḷa-Pōsaṇ | Araiśūr | Pāmbuṇi-kūṇ-ram. | Nittavinōda-vaḷanāḍu. | 21-22, 53, 327-29. |
| Do. | Vēḷaṇ Uttamaśōḷaṇ <i>alias</i> Maḍurāntaka-Mūvēnda-vēḷaṇ | Paruttikkūḍi | Neymali-nāḍu | Arumolidēva-vaḷanāḍu. | 22, 23, 54. |
| <i>Karumamārāyūm</i> | Ārūraṇ Aravaṇaiyaṇ <i>alias</i> Parākramaśōḷa-Mūvēndavēḷaṇ | .. | .. | .. | 25, 314. |
| Do. | Tattaṇ Śēndaṇ <i>alias</i> Śembiyaṇ-Mūvēndavēḷaṇ | .. | .. | .. | 26, 314. |
| Do. | Aruṅguṇṇamuḍaiyaṇ Māp-pēraṇ Poṟkāri | .. | .. | .. | 27. |
| Do. | Piśaṇṇaṇ Pālūr <i>alias</i> Miṇavaṇ-Mūvēndavēḷaṇ | Kēṟkuḍi | Tirunaṇaiyūr-nāḍu. | Kāṣṭhatriya-śikhāmaṇi-vaḷanāḍu. | 29, 30, 312. |
| Do. | Śaṅkaraṇārāyaṇaṇ Araṇ-gaṇ | Vaṅganagar | Puraṅgaram-bai-nāḍu. | Arumolidēva-vaḷanāḍu. | 30-31. |
| Do. | Śōḷavēḷaṇ | .. | .. | .. | 315. |
| Do. | Korramaṅgalamuḍaiyaṇ | .. | .. | .. | 312. |
| Do. | Tēvaṇkuḍaiyaṇ | .. | .. | .. | 312. |
| Do. | Araiśūruḍaiyaṇ | .. | .. | .. | 315. |

¹ No. 121 of the same collection for 1926.

² No. 143 of the same.

³ No. 108 of the same.

⁴ No. 120 of the same.

⁵ Nos. 121 and 135 of the same.

⁶ No. 149 of 1921.

LIST A- *contd.*

| Designation. | Name of person. | Village. | Sub-division. | District. | Lines. |
|-----------------------------------|---|--|-----------------------|---------------------------------------|----------------|
| <i>Naduvirukkum</i> | Paramēśvara-Bhaṭṭa-sar- vakraṭayājin | Puḷḷamaṅga- lam. | .. | .. | 27, 28, 315. |
| Do. | Dāmōdara-Bhaṭṭaṇ | Kaṇḍalaṅṅūḷi . | .. | .. | 28, 329-330. |
| Do. | Tanmaṇḍi-Bhaṭṭaṇ | Veṇṇaiṇallūr | .. | .. | 32, 42. |
| Do. | Tiyambaka-Bhaṭṭaṇ | Paṣalai . | .. | .. | 32. |
| Do. | Pūvatta-Bhaṭṭaṇ | Koṭṭaiyūr . | .. | .. | 313. |
| <i>Puravuvāri</i> | Korṇaṇ Poṅkāri | Kiḷṇallūr . | .. | .. | 33. |
| Do. | Śūrriyaṇ Tēvaṇḍi | Kaḷumalam . | .. | .. | 33, 34. |
| Do. | Tēvaṇ Sāṭṭaṇ | Paḷuvūr . | .. | .. | 34. |
| Do. | Aṇaiyaṇ Talikkulaṇaṇ | Kaḷḷikuḍi . | .. | .. | 35, 48, 206-7. |
| Do. | Kōḍaṇḍaṇ Śēṇaṇ | Āḷaṇṇūḷi . | .. | .. | 316. |
| Do. | Iḷavaḍiḷaḷ Naḷḷāṇaṇ | Pūḍamaṅgalam | .. | .. | 317. |
| Do. | Karṇagaṇ Sūlai | Āḷattūr | .. | .. | 317f. |
| <i>Varippottagam</i> | Kumaṇaṇ Araṇḍaṇ | Sāṭṭaṇpūr | .. | .. | 36. |
| Do. | Śiṅgaṇ Veṇḱūḍaṇ | Paruttaiyūr | .. | .. | 36, 318. |
| <i>Varippottaga- Kaṇakku.</i> | Mādēvaṇ Būmi | .. | .. | .. | 320. |
| <i>Varipūḷiḍu</i> | Tāḷi Virāśōḷaṇ | Uṇuvūr | .. | .. | 320f. |
| <i>Mugaveṭṭi</i> | Kiḷvāy Kaṇavadi | .. | .. | .. | 319. |
| Do. | Muṇḍaṇ Araṇḍaṇ | .. | .. | .. | 319. |
| Do. | Śaiyadaṇ Amalaṇ | .. | .. | .. | 319. |
| Do. | Tattaṇ Śikittāṇ | .. | .. | .. | 319f. |
| <i>Paṭṭōlai</i> | Porumūṇ Ambalaṭṭūḷi | .. | .. | .. | 321. |
| Do. | Śikaṇḍaṇ Dēvaṇ | .. | .. | .. | 321. |
| Do. | Mākāḷaṇ Ariṇḷi | .. | .. | .. | 322. |
| Do. | Nakkaṇ Maṇḍuḷaṇaṇ | .. | .. | .. | 322. |
| <i>Bhaṭṭa</i> | Pārkkulattu Paṇṇā- bha-Bhaṭṭaṇ | Tirunallūr . | Vēḷū-nāḷu | Kṣatriya- śikhāmaṇi- vaḷaṇṇūḷu. | 44, 45, 304-5. |
| Do. | Pērēmapurattu Veṇṇaiya- Bhaṭṭaṇ | Do . | Do. | Do. | 46, 307f. |
| Do. | Dvēdaigōmapurattu Nan- diśvara-Bhaṭṭaṇ | Viranārāyaṇa- chaturvēdi- maṅgalam. | Kāra-nāḷu | Itājēndra- simha-vaḷa- nāḷu. | 46-7, 309-10. |
| Do. | Tūṇṇil Śrīdhara-Bhaṭṭaṇ | Śrī-Tuṇḱa- maṅgalam alias Abhi- māṇa- bhūṣaṇa- chaturvēdi- maṅgalam. | Tirunārāyur- nāḷu. | Kṣatriya- śikhāmaṇi- vaḷaṇṇūḷu. | 42-44, 301. |

LIST B.

| No. | Name of person. | Designation. | sabhā or ūrār. | Village. | Lines. |
|-----|---|-------------------------------|----------------|--|---------|
| 1 | Muppattiravaṇ Yajñan <i>alias</i> Kappanūḍiyan | <i>Madhyasthaṇ</i> | <i>sabhā</i> | Kaḍambaṇūr (<i>brahmadēya</i>). | 212f. |
| | Nārāyaṇaṇ Dāmōdaraṇ | <i>Vaikhānasa</i> | <i>ūrār</i> | Do. | 213f. |
| 2 | Irunūṇṇuvaṇ Uttamaṇ <i>alias</i> Brahmamaṇḡ- galyaṇ | <i>Madhyasthaṇ</i> | <i>sabhā</i> | Nāraṇamaṇḡalam (<i>brahmadēya</i>). | 216f. |
| 3 | Nārāyaṇaṇ Orri | .. | .. | Vēlaṇḡuḍi . . | 220. |
| 4 | Kuṇavaṇ Nandi <i>alias</i> Alaṇkārapiyaṇ | <i>Madhyasthaṇ</i> | <i>sabhā</i> | Mūṇḡḡiḡkuḍi (<i>brahmadēya</i>). | 223f. |
| 5 | Aimbattiravaṇ Viḷḷēvi- ḡugaṇ | Do. | <i>ūrār</i> | Narimaṇḡram | 225f. |
| 6 | Ediraṇ Śāttan <i>alias</i> Nānūṇṇuvaṇperuṇḡōvēl | <i>Vēḷkōvaṇ</i> | Do. | Śāttamaṇḡalam | 230f. |
| 7 | Durukkaṇ Kamudaṇ | <i>Karaṇattāṇ-Madhyasthaṇ</i> | <i>sabhā</i> | Śannamaṇḡalam | 233-35. |
| 8 | Ūraṇ Chandraśēkharan <i>alias</i> Brahmamaṇ- galyaṇ | Do. | Do. | Kottāraḡkuḍi (<i>brahmadēya</i>). | 237ff. |
| 9 | Aiyyaṇ Aiyyaṇ | Do. | <i>ūrār</i> | Kōvūr | 240ff. |
| 10 | Nakkaṇ Muḷḷi | Do. | Do. | Uttūr | 244f. |
| 11 | Kaṇṇaṇ Alaṇkārapiyaṇ | Do. | <i>sabhā</i> | Naṇḡpimaṇḡalam (<i>brahmadēya</i>). | 247ff. |
| 12 | Māḍēvaṇ Ūraṇ | <i>Karaṇattāṇ-Vēḷkōvaṇ</i> | Do. | Poruvaṇūr (<i>brahmadēya</i>). | 251-53. |
| 13 | Kāśyaṇaṇ Sūryyaṇ Araṇ- gaṇ | <i>Karaṇattāṇ</i> | <i>ūrār</i> | Ālaṇḡuḍi | 255f. |
| 14 | Bhāradvāji Tirutti Vaikundaṇ | Do. | Do. | Tuṇaiyūr | 258-9. |
| 15 | Kuṇavaṇ Nandi <i>alias</i> Alaṇkārapiyaṇ | <i>Karaṇattāṇ-Madhyasthaṇ</i> | <i>sabhā</i> | Pirambil (<i>brahma- dēya</i>). | 261-62. |
| 16 | Do. | Do. | <i>ūrār</i> | Kaḍambaṇḡuḍi | 263f. |
| 17 | Ūraṇ Aiyyaṇ | <i>Madhyasthaṇ</i> | Do. | Sēndamaṇḡalam | 266f. |
| 18 | Eṭṭi Valaṇḡuḷiyaṇ Saṅgaṇ | .. | .. | Śiṇu-Sēndamaṇḡa- lam. | 269f. |
| 19 | Dēvaṇ Ūraṇ | <i>Karaṇattāṇ-Vēḷkōvaṇ</i> | <i>ūrār</i> | Kuṇṡālam | 272-3. |
| 20 | Chaturmukhaṇ Araṇḡaṇ | <i>Madhyasthaṇ</i> | Do. | Tirunāvūr | 275-6. |
| 21 | Māṇāgaṇ Nārāyaṇaṇ | <i>Karaṇattāṇ-Vēḷkōvaṇ</i> | <i>sabhā</i> | Uvarkkuḍi (<i>brahma- dēya</i>). | 278-80. |
| 22 | Māṇāgaṇ Kaṇṇaṇ | Do. | <i>ūrār</i> | Muṇḡjikuḍi | 282-3. |
| 23 | Atirāmaṇ Iṇubattunāḷvan <i>alias</i> Muṇḡṇṇuvaṇ | Do. | <i>sabhā</i> | Tirukkaṇṇaṇḡuḍi | 286-7. |

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i, a.

i, b.

ii.a.

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15. ti-gambhīra-guṇasya rājñāḥ [1*] Vyūsam kavīnām=riṣabhām viḥāya kō vā guṇā-
 16. n=varṇṇayitūṁ samarthāḥ [5*] Tad-vaṁśa-vārākara-pūrṇāchandrō nidhiḥ kalā-
 nām=a-
 17. janishta Chōḷaḥ [1*] yad-vaṁśa-jātā yad-upajñam=ēva Chōḷ-ābhīdhānan=dadhāti
 kshītīsūḥ [6*]
 18. Tatō jit-ākṣhil-ārāti rāj=āsīd=Rājakēsari [1*] tataḥ para-pura-ddhvaṁsa-parō=bhūt
 19. Parakēsari [7*] Rājakēsariṇō nāma Parakēsariṇō=sya cha [1*] sva-vaṁśa-janma-
 nām
 20. rājñām=ājñ=āsīt parivṛittitāḥ [8*] Tad-vaṁśe Śuragurur=asta-vairi-varggō rājñ-
 drō

Second Plate ; First Side.

21. Ravi-kula-kētur=āvirāsīt [1*] yō jitvā raṇa-bhuvi Mrityum=apy=ajayyan=dushprāpām=
 alabha-
 22. ta Mrityujit-samākhyām [9*] Vyāghrakētur=abhavat=tad-anvayē vairi-vā[ra*]ṇa-
 mṛigādhi-
 23. pō nripaḥ [1*] Pañchapō=jani tad-anvayē bali pārtthivō=rtthi-jana-kalpapāda-
 24. paḥ [10*] Ari-kālō mahīpālāḥ Karikālas=tad-anvayē [1*] āvirāsīd=asau chakrē
 Kū-
 25. vēri-tira-bandhanam [11*] Kōchchamkaṇṇān=abhavad=akhīla-kṣmādhīp-ārādhit-
 āmghri-
 26. r=vvaṁśe tasya prathita-mahimā Śambhu-pād-ābja-bhṛīṅgaḥ [1*] Kōkkīḷi-śrīpati-
 27. r=amala-dhīr=anvavāyē tadyē bhūpālō=bhūd=akhīla-nripati-śrēṇi-chū-
 28. d-ārchchit-āmghriḥ [12*] Vijayālayō=jani tad-anvayē jayī vijit-ākṣhil-āvani-talō
 ma-
 29. hābalāḥ [1*] prajāman-nripēndra-makūṭa-sthala-skhalan-maṇi-rasmi-rañjita-pad-
 āmbuja-dvayaḥ [13*]
 30. Adityō bhūbhṛitas=tasmād=udagād=anūta-dyutiḥ [1*] dhvast-ārāti-mahīpāla-ddhvānta-
 cha-
 31. kraḥ pratāpavān [14*] Ananta-ratna-prakar-aika-vāsād=udāra-sattvād=udiyāya
 tasmā-

Second Plate ; Second Side.

32. t [1*] Parāntakō viśva-hitāya rājā Rāj=ēva dugdh-āmbunidhēḥ kalābhiḥ [15*]
 Ā-Chakra-
 33. vāḷam=avanīm sa vijitya sarvvām rakshan sukhēna Kali-kāla-tamō-mśumālī [1*]
 grā-
 34. mān=nivēśya vividhān=mahatō yaśōbhiś=śubhrīchakāra śarad-abhra-nibhair=ddig-
 antān [16*]
 35. Sva-bā[hu*]-vi(i)ryy-āvajit-ākṣhil-āsā-mukh-ōpanit-āmala-hātakēna [1*] samāvṛīṇō
 36. n=mandiram=Indumaulēr=vVyāghrāgrahārē¹ Ravi-vaṁśa-kētuḥ [17*] Tasy=aśēsha-
 na-

¹ The length of *ghrā* seems to have been inserted afterwards.

- 37 rēndra-vandita-pada-dvandvasya putrās=trayas-irō-āgni-dyutayō-bhavan=narapatē-
 38 s=Sutrāma-tulya-śriyaḥ [1*] Rājāditya iti kṣhītan nigaditaś=śrī-Gaṇḍarāditya ity=u-
 39 kt=Ōriṇjaya ity=aśēsha-jagati khyāt-ābhīdhānō balī [18*] Saṁrakshya kṣhitim=
 amburā-
 40 śi-raśanān=dharmm-ānuyātē divam yātē tatra Parāntakē para-bala-ddhvams-aika-
 dakshē
 41 nripē [1*] bhūpāl-āvali-mauli-līḍha-charaṇa-dvandvas tadīy-ātmaḥ Rājāditya i-
 42 ti śrutas=sa balavān=āsīd-avanyāḥ patiḥ [19*] Rājādityas=sa vīrō Ravi-kula-
 tilakaḥ

Third Plate ; First Side.

- 43 Kṛishṇarājan² sa-sainyaṁ saṁkshōbhy ākshōbhyam ājau nija-niśita-śarai-
 44 s=sampatat(d)bhīs=samantāt [1*] nāg-ēndra-skandha-varttī vidalita-hṛidayas=tan-niśāt-
 ēshu-pūtai-³
 45 z=āruhy=ōchchair-vvimānan-tribhuvana-mahitō vīra-lōkaṁ jagāma [20*] Rājādityē
 46 surapura-vadhū-vaktra-paṇikēruhāṇām pritiṁ karttūṁ gatavati mahātējasi kṣmā-
 47 m=aśēshām [1*] vīrō-rakshat kṣhapita-sakal-ārāti-sāndr-āndhakārō
 48 bhrātā tasya prathita-mahimā Gaṇḍarādityavarmma [21*] Utpādya putram=
 Madhurāntak-ā
 49 khyam Kavēra-kany-ōttara-tīra-bhūmau [1*] grā[ma*]m mahāntaṁ=cha nijēna nāmā
 pa-
 50 ratra-hētōs=sa divaṁ=jagāma [22*] Tasmin-divaṁ gatē dēvē śasūsa sa-
 51 kalām=mahim [1*] Ariṇjayō=ri-bhūpāla-vana-dāvānalō balī [23*] Ariṇjayād=
 aja-
 52 ni Purāntak-ōpamaḥ Parāntakaḥ para-nripa-chakra-marddanaḥ [1*] apālayaj=
 jalanidhi-mē-
 53 khalām=mahim sukhēna yō nija-guṇa-raṇjita-prajaḥ [24*] Chēvūra-nāmani⁴
 purē
 54 nija-chāru-chāpa-mukt-⁵ātisūta-śura-rūsi-nirantar-āśaḥ [1*] sūt-āsi-bhinna-ripu-danti-

Third Plate ; Second Side.

- 55 girindra⁷-niryyad-rakt-ūpagū bahuvidhā niravarttayāt saḥ [25*] Karikāl-ānya-
 nāmā-
 56 nam=Ādityam=udapīpadat [1*] Rājārājaṁ=cha rājēndrō Ravi-varṇsa-śikhā-maṇim
 [26*]
 57 Śuralōka-paritrāṇa-parē tasmin Parāntakē [1*] naralōka-paritrāṇam=Ā-

¹ The ē sign of rē is at the end of the previous line.

² After ja the length sign has been entered and erased.

³ The letter t is entered in the next line.

⁴ There is something like a virāma mark on the left top of mma.

⁵ After ma in nāmāni, the length sign has been entered and erased.

⁶ After ta in muklūti, a length sign has been entered and erased.

⁷ Read gir-indra.

- 8 dityō vidhivad=vyadhāt ||[27*] Sa **Vira-Pāṇḍyēna** sa-hēlam=ājau chikrīḍha(ḍa) bālō
 9 Manu-vamśa-dīpaḥ [1*] mataṅgajēn=ēva mad-ōtkaṭēna mṛigēndra-śābō(vō) ba-
 0 la-garvvitēna ||[28*] Divaṅ gatē tatra narādhip-ādhipē sa Gaṇḍārāditya¹-su-
 1 tō² mahā-bhujāḥ [1*] apūlayad=vāridhī³-mēkhalām=mahīm=Mahēndra-kīrtti-
 2 r=**mMadhurāntakō** nṛipaḥ ||[29*] Tasmin=yātē Tridaśa-nīlayan=trātum=urvīpat-
 īndrē
 3 vīrō viśva-kshiti-pati-lasan-mauli-līdh-āṅghri-pīṭhaḥ [1*] dōshṇā Śēsh-ōraga-pa-
 4 ti-tanu-śrī-mushā **Rājarājō** gurvīm=urvī-dhuram=udavahach=Chōḷa-vamśa-pradīpaḥ
 ||[30*] Ji-
 5 tvā sa Pāṇḍya-D(T)uḷu-Kēraḷa-Simhaḷēndra-Satyāśray-ādi-nṛipatīr=n⁴nija-bāhu-vīryyāt
 [1*] ā-
 6 dāya tat-kari-turaṅgama-ratna-rūṣṭrāṇy=āsā daś=āpi yaśasā dhavaḷi-chakāra⁵
 ||[31*] Kri-

Fourth Plate ; First Side.

- 7 ta-dig-vija[ya*]_{s=sa} Rājarājāḥ karadīkṛitya mahīpatīn=aśēshān [1*] nyavasat⁶ sva-
 purē sukhān-nṛi-
 8 7pēndras=tridivē lōka-namaskṛitō yath=Ēndraḥ ||[32*] Ā śailād=ahimāṁśu-janma-
 mahi-
 9 tād=ā dakṣiṇ-āmbhōnidhēr=ā ch=Āst-āhvaya-parvvatāt⁷ giripatēr=ā Śambhun-
 ādhi-
 0 shṭhitāt [1*] rājānō nija-vamśa-rakṣhaṇa-parā bhōktuñ=cha bhōgān=bahūn=nityā Nitya-
 1 vinōda-pāda-kamala-dvandvaṁ samāśīśriyan ||[33*] Yatas=sa rājā nija-pā-
 2 da-bhājām rājñām=udārō bahudh=āśrayō=bhūt [1*] ataḥ prithivyām=amita-
 3 prabhāvaṁ Rājāśrayan=tan=nigadanti santaḥ ||[34*] Sō=yam=akhila-kalā-kalāpa-
 4 pārāvāra-pāradīśv=āsēsha-nṛipa-chakra-chāru-chāmīkara-kirīṭa-kōṭi-gha-
 5 ṭit-ānēka-māṇikyā-marīchi-puñja-puñjarīkṛita-pāda-pīṭhō **Rājarājō Rājakēsari-**
 6 **varmmā** sva-sāmrājya-varshē ēkaviṁśatitamē nikhila-dharaṇi-tilakāyamānē **Ksha-**
 7 ***triya-śikhāmaṇi-vaḷanāḍu-nāmni** mahati janapada-nivahē **Paṭṭana-kkūrṇa-nāmni**
 janapa-
 8 dē=nēka-sura-sadana-satra-prap-ārām-ābhīrāmē vividha-saudha¹⁰-rāji-rājamānē **Nā-**

Fourth Plate ; Second Side.

- 9 **gīpattanē** nija-mati-vibhava-vijita-Suraguruṇā budha-jana-kamala-vana-marichimālīn=ā-

¹ Read *Gaṇḍārāditya*. The length of *rā* seems to have been omitted at first and then inserted wrongly before *r* instead of after it.

² The *ē* sign of *tō* is at the end of the previous line.

³ Read *vāridhī*.

⁴ Read *nṛipatīn=nija*.

⁵ After *chakāra*, a *visarga* has been entered and erased.

⁶ The letters *vasat* are written over an erasure.

⁷ The *ē* sign of *pē* is incised at the end of the previous line.

⁸ Read *°tād*.

⁹ From this line, Tamil characters are interspersed with Grantha.

¹⁰ The words *vividha-saudha* are written over an erasure. After *dha*, a length stroke has been erased.

- 80 rtthi-jana-kaipapādapēna Śailēndra-varṇsa-sambhūtēna Śrīviśay-ādhipati-
 81 nā Kaṭāh-ādhipatyam=ātanvatā Makara-ddhvajēn=ādhiḡata-sakala¹-rāja-vidyasya
 Chūlā-
 82 maṇivarmmaṇaḥ putrēṇa śrī-Māravijayō²-ttuṃḡavarmmaṇā sva-pitur=³nnāmaḥ
 nirmāpitam=adha-
 83 rīkṛta-Kanakagiri⁴-samunnati-vibhavam=atiramaṇīyaḥ=Chūlāmaṇivarmma-vihāram-
 adhiva-
 84 satē Buddhāya tasminn⁵=ēva janapada-nivahō Paṭṭapa-kkūṛra-nāmnī janapa-
 85 dē kariṇī-parikramaṇa-vispasṭa-sīmū-clatushṭayam=Āṇaimarṅgal-ābhi-
 86 dhānaṁ grāmam=adāt || Itthan=dēvēna dattasya sva-pitrā chakravartinā [*]
 grāmasy=āsyā ga-
 87 tē⁶ tasmin=dēvabhūyam=mahaujasi ||[35*] Tat-simbhāsanaṁ=ārūḡhas=tat-putrō Madhu-
 rāntakaḥ [*]
 88 śāsanaṁ śāsvatan=dhīmān kārayitv=ūdiśa[n*]-nripaḥ ||[36*] Śēshō=śēshām=mahīm
 yāva-
 89 d=dhattē=śēsh-ōrag-ōsvaraḥ [*] sthēyāt=tāvan-vihārō yam vibhavēna sa-
 90 h=āvanau ||[37*] Sō=yarū Kaṭāh-ādhipati[*]-ggupānān=nivāsa-bhūmir=mmahita-
 pra⁷-

Fifth Plate ; First Side.

- 91 bhāvaḥ [*] āgāminaḥ prūrtthayātē narēndrān dharmmaṁ sad=ēmam=mama
 rakshat=ēti ||[38*] Grāmē
 92 ramyē jagati mahitē Kōṭṭayūr-ābhidhānē Lakṣmī-dhāmāny=ajani vimalē yō
 Vasishṭh-
 93 ānvavāyē [*] sat-saṁsēvī vimala-charit=⁸Onantanārāyaṇ-ākhyas=sō=
 94 yan=dhīmān=arachayad=imām=agrajanmā prūstasti ||[39*] Tasya rū-
 95 jñō⁹ mahīm¹⁰ sarvvān=dharmmēṇa parirakshataḥ [*] ajayyasya
 96 jit-āsēsha-ripu-bhūpāla-sambhatēḥ ||[40*] Mahādrikāri(ṛ)
 97 matimāns=Tillayāli-samāhva[ya*]ḥ [*] yaj-janma-bhūr=abhūt¹¹ bhūmau Kāñchi-
 vāyil=i-
 98 ti śrutaḥ ||[41*] Yō Rājārāja-Mūvēndavē=iti prathitō bhuvi [*] tan-niyō-
 gād=i-
 99 daṁ sō=yarū śāsanaṁ sādhdv=akārayat¹² ||[42*] ॐ ॥ ॐ ॥ ॐ

¹ After *sakala*, a letter has been entered and rubbed out.

² The letter *yō* in *vijayō* is a correction.

³ The letter *nnā* is a correction.

⁴ Read *giri*.

⁵ The letters *tasminn*=ē^o are written over an erasure.

⁶ The ē sign of *tē* is at the end of the previous line.

⁷ The last letter *pra* is a correction.

⁸ The proper name seems to be *Anantanārāyaṇa* and not *Nandanārāyaṇa* as Messrs. Burgess and Natesa Śastri have taken.

⁹ The ē sign of *jñō* is written at the end of the previous line.

¹⁰ Read *mahīm*.

¹¹ Read *abhūd=bhūmau*.

¹² The letters *sādhdvakāra* seem to have been entered over an erasure.

,a.

v, l.

v, a.

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Fifth Plate ; Second Side.

- 100 Kaṭāl-ādhipatēs=tasya niyōgāt=Tuvavūravān [*] Aṇukka iti vikhyātaś=srīmān=
Aṭika¹-ātmajaḥ ||[43*] ௨
- 101 Vinītō guṇa-sampannas=svāmi-kārya-hitē rataḥ [*] śāsanaṁ śāsvatam=idam=achikarad=
udāra-dhīḥ ||[44*] ௨
- 102 Rājārāja-mahāchāryyō Vāsudēv-āpar-āhvayaḥ [*] a-kṛishṇa-charitaḥ Kṛi-
shṇa-sambhavō=pi mahāmatih ||[45*] Śrīraṅga-Dāmōdara-nāmadhēyau Kṛishṇ-
ātma-
- 104 jau Kṛishṇa-pad-ābja-bhrīṅgau [*] Kṛishṇ-ābhidhānō=pi cha Vāsudē-
va-śarīrajō nīraja-chāru-nētraḥ ||[46*] Ārāvamṛita-putraś=cha Purushō-
ttama-sa[rū*]jñitaḥ [*] sparddhamānō=kshara-nyāsē Chitraguptēna chitraguḥ
||[47*]
- 107 Hōvy-ānavāya-tilakāḥ Kāñchīpura=samutbhavāḥ² [*] prasastim=ēnām=ali-
khan pañch=aitē chitrakārīṇaḥ ||[48*] I-śśāsanam vetṭinōm Jayañkon[da]śō-
la-maṇḍalattu śrī-Kāñchipurattu ōviya-chchitrakāri Kṛishṇaṇ Vāsudēvaṇ-āṇa
Rājārāja-ppō-
- 110 rāchāryyaṇḍum Kṛishṇaṇ Tiruvaraṅgaṇum Kṛishṇaṇ Dāmōdiraṇum Vāsudēvaṇ
Kṛishṇaṇum
- 111 Ārāvamirdu³ *Purushōttama⁴ṇṇum||௨|| ௨||௨

Tamil Portion.

First Plate ; First Side.

1. Svasti śrī ||[*] ௨ Kōñcīṇmaikonḍāṇ Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaṇanāṭṭu=
2. pPaṭṭana-kkūṛrattu nāṭṭarkkum brahmadēya-kkīlavarkkum dēvadāna-ppaḷḷi-
3. chchanda-kkaṇi-murrūṭṭu⁵-vetṭappērr-ūrgaḷilārkum nagaraṅgaḷilārkum
4. namakku yāṇḍu irubatt-onṇāvadu nāl tonṇūrr-iraṇḍināl
5. Tañjāvūr=ppurambaḍi māḷigai Rājāśrayanil terkkil maṇḍabat-
6. tu nām irukka=kKīdāratt-araiyaṇ Chūlāmaṇipanmaṇ Kshatriyaśikhā-
7. maṇi-vaṇanāṭṭu=pPaṭṭana-kkūṛrattu Nāgapaṭṭaṇattu eḍuppiḷḷiṇṇa Chūlā-
8. maṇipanma-vihārattu=ppaḷḷikku vēṇḍum nivandattukku Kshatri[ya*]śikhāmaṇi-va-
9. ṇanāṭṭu=pPaṭṭana-kkūṛrattu Āṇaimaṅgalam paḷḷichchandam iraṅgal-ulpaḍa aḷa-
10. ndapaḍi nīṅgal nīkki nilaṇ tonṇūrr-ēḷēy-iraṇḍu-mā mukkāṇiy-araikkā-

¹ Abhikaḷa is the reading given in Volume IV of *Archæological Survey of South India*. As the letter *h* is quite differently shaped from *t*, there is no doubt that the proper name here given is *śrīmān Aṭikaḷ* (Aḍikaḷ) and not Abhikaḷa.

² Read *samudbhavāḥ*.

³ The reading given in the *A. S. of S. I.*, Vol. IV, p. 208 is *Ārāvamirtuvum*. The additional *vum* is clearly a mistake. There is no trace of it in the plate. If *vum* is retained, there would be six names; but there must be only five for it is stated in line 108 *pañch-aitē chitrakārīṇaḥ*. Moreover, what is required is a double name like *Kṛishṇaṇ Vāsudēvaṇ*, etc., in which the first component indicates the name of the father. In fact we have it stated in verse 47, that this individual's name was *Purushōttama* and that he was the son of *Ārāvamṛita*.

⁴ The letter *pu* is corrected from *pi*.

⁵ Read *maṇṇum*.

⁶ The reading of *A. S. of S. I.*, Vol. IV, (p. 208, l. 114) is *murrurud*. It is evidently a mistake. The plate reads only *murrūṭṭu* which is also found in other inscriptions.

First Plate; Second Side.

- 11 ni mundirigai=kkil-mūṇru-mā mukkāṇi mundirigai=kkil araiyēy=iraṇ-
- 12 ḍu-māvināl irai-kattina kāṇikkaḍaṇ nelli eṇṇāyirattu=ttollāyi-
- 13 rattu nārpattu mu-kkalaṇē iru-tūṇi=kkurūṇi oru-nāliyum Kaḍārat-araiyaṇ
- 14 Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷanāṭṭu=pPaṭṭaṇa-kkūrattu Nūgapaṭṭaṇatt=eḍuppi-
- 15 kkiṇṇa Chūlāmaṇipanma-vihārattu=ppallikku iruppāḍ-āga yāṇḍu irubat-
- 16 t-onṇāvadu-mudal paḷlichchanda-irai-iliy-āga variyil=iṭṭu-kkuḍukka-
- 17 v=eṇru nām śolla nām ōlai eḷudum Nittavinōda-vaḷanāṭṭu Ā-
- 18 vūr-kkūrattu Viḷattūr-kilavaṇ Amudaṇ Tirttakaraṇ eḷuttiṇālum nam ḍ-
- 19 lai-nāyakaṇ Uyyakkonḍār-vaḷanāṭṭu Venṇāṭṭu=kKēraḷānta[ka*]-chchaturvvē-
- 20 dimaṇgalattu Kṛishṇaṇ Irāmaṇ-āṇa Mummaḍiśōḷa-Brahmamāhārāyaṇum¹ Nitta-

Second Plate; First Side.

- 21 vinōda-vaḷanāṭṭu=pPāmbuṇi-kkūrattu Araiśūr-uḍaiyāṇ Irūyiravaṇ Palla-²
- 22 vayaṇ-āṇa ³Mummaḍiśōḷa-Pōṣaṇum Arumolidēva⁴-vaḷanāṭṭu Neṇmali-nāṭṭu=pParu-
- 23 ttikkudaiyāṇ Vēḷāṇ=Uttamaśōḷaṇ-āṇa Madurāntaka-Mūvēndavēḷāṇum
- 24 oppiṇālum pukka nan=tittippaḍiyē variyil=iṭṭu-kkolgav=eṇru
- 25 nam karumam-ārāyūm Ārūraṇ Aravaṇaiyūṇ-āṇa Parākkiramaśōḷa-Mūvē-
- 26 ndavēḷāṇum Tattaṇ Śēdan-āṇa Śēmbiyaṇ-Mūvēndavēḷāṇu-
- 27 m Aruṇuṇṇam-uḍaiyāṇ Māppēraṇ Poṇkāriyūm naḍuvirukkum Puḷḷa-
- 28 maṇgalattu=pParamēśvara-Bhaṭṭa-Sarvvakratuyāṇiyum Kaḍalaṇḍuḍi=tTāmōdara-Bhaṭ-
- 29 m nam karumam-ārāyūm Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷanāṭṭu tTirunaṇaiyūr-nāṭṭu=kKaṇ-
- 30 yāṇ Piśaṇṇaṇ Pālūr-āṇa Miṇavaṇ-Mūvēndavēḷāṇum Arumolidēva-vaḷanāṭṭu=

Second Plate; Second Side.

- 31 pPuraṇḡarambai-nāṭṭu Vaṇṇanagar-uḍaiyāṇ Śaṅkaranārāyaṇaṇ-Araṇṇaṇum naḍuvi-
- 32 rukkuṇ Vēṇṇaṇallūr=tTammaḍi-Baṭṭaṇum Paśalai=tTiyambaka-Baṭṭaṇum śo-
- 33 lla=ppuravuvāri=kKilīnallūr-kilavaṇ Koṇṇaṇ Poṇkāriyūm Kaḷumalam-uḍai-
- 34 yāṇ Śūṇṇiyaṇ Tēvaḍiyūm Paḷuvūr-uḍaiyāṇ Tēvaṇ Śūṭṭaṇum
- 35 Kaḷikkudaiyāṇ Aṇaiyaṇ Taḷikkulavaṇum varippottagam Śā-
- 36 ttaṇūr-uḍaiyāṇ Kumaraṇ-Araṇṇaṇum Paruttiyūr-kilavaṇ Śiṅgaṇ Ve-
- 37 ṇkāḍaṇum irundu yāṇḍu irubatt-onṇāvadu nāl tonṇūr-ā-
- 38 riṇāl paḷlichchandam iraiy-iliy-āga vari[yi*]=iṭṭu-kkuḍutta taṅga=nāṭṭu=pPaṭṭaṇa-
- 39 kkūrattu Āṇaimaṇḡalam aḷandapaḍi nūṅgal nīkki nilaṇ tonṇūr-ē-
- 40 lēy=iraṇḍu-mā=kkāṇiy=araikkāṇi mundirigai=kkil-mūṇru-mā mukkāṇi

¹ Read *Brahmamāhā*.

² *Pallavayaṇ* has been taken as *Pallava[rai*]yaṇ* by inserting *rai*, in *A. S. of S. I.*, Vol. IV, p. 209. As there is not a single place where *Pallavaraiyaṇ* occurs, the proper name *Pallavayaṇ* needs no correction.

³ *mma* in *Mummaḍi* is written over an erasure.

⁴ The letters *vavaḷā* in *dēva-vaḷa* are damaged.

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SCALE: ONE-HALF.

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41 mundirigai kīl-araiyēy=iraṇḍu-māyum [pidi] śūlndu piḍāgai naḍappi[p*]pad-āga=
kkaṇkāni naḍu¹.

Third Plate ; First Side.

42 virukkum² Venṇainallūr=tTammaḍi-Bhaṭṭaṇaiyum³ Baṭṭaṇ Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-
va-
43 laṇāṭṭu=tTirunaṇaiyūr-nāṭṭu śrī-Tuṅgamaṅgalam-āṇa Abhimānabhūṣaṇa-chchla-
turvvē-
44 dimaṅgalattu=tTūrpil Śrīdhara-Bhaṭṭaṇaiyum i-ṇṇāṭṭu Vēlā-nāṭṭu=tTirunallū-
45 r Pārkkulattu=pPaṇṇanāba⁴-Bhaṭṭaṇaiyum ivv-ūr Pērēmapuṇṇattu⁵ Venṇaiya-
46 Bhaṭṭaṇaiyum Rājēndrasimha-valānāṭṭu Kāra-nāṭṭu=ttaiyūr śrī-Vīraṇārāya-
47 ṇa-chchaturvvēdimāṅgalattu ⁶Dvēdaigōmapuṇṇattu Nandiśvara-Bhaṭṭaṇaiyum pura-
vuva-
48 ri Kaḷḷikkudaiyāṇ Anaiyaṇ⁷ Taḷikkulaṇaiyum pēr⁸=ttandōn=tā-
49 ṅaḷum ivargaḷōḍu niṇṇu ellai terittu=ppiḍi śūlndu piḍāgai naḍandu kallu-
50 ṇ=kalliyum nāṭṭi aṇavōlai še[y*]du⁹ pō¹⁰-ttagav=enṇum vāṣagattāl mandira-
51 u-vōlai Viḷattūr-kilavaṇ Amudaṇ Tīrttakaraṇ eḷuttinālum mandiravōlai nā-

Third Plate ; Second Side.

52 yakaṇ Kṛishṇaṇ Irāmaṇ-āṇa Mummaḍiśōḷa-Brahmamahārāyaṇum Araiśūr-uḍai-
yāṇ [I]-
53 rāyiravaṇ Pallavayaṇ-āṇa Mummaḍiśōḷa-Pōṣaṇum Paruttikkudaiyāṇ
54 Vēlāṇ=Uttamaśōḷan-āṇa Madurāntaka-Mūvēndavēlā¹¹.
55 ṇum oppinālum [*] Tiru-magaḷ pōla=pperu-[ni]la-chchelviyu-
56 n=taṇakkēy=urimai pūṇ[ḍa*]mai maṇa-kkoḷa=kKāndaḷūr-
57 chchālāi kalam=aṇutt-aruḷi Vēṅgai-nāḍuṇ=Gaṅgapāḍiyu[m*] Nu-
58 laṇbapāḍiyuṇ=Taḍigaipāḍiyuṇ=Kuḍamalai-nāḍuṇ=Kollamuṇ=Kali-
59 ṅamum eṇ-ḍisai puḷaḷ tara Īla-maṇḍalamun=ti[ṇ*]-ḍiṇal-venṇi-ttaṇ-
60 ḍār=koṇḍu taṇṇ=eḷil vaḷar ūliyuḷ=ellā yāṇḍuṇ=to¹²

¹ This word is omitted in *A. S. of S. I.*, Vol. IV, p. 209, text-line 152.

² This word has been incorrectly read as *kaḷukkum* in the above. The official designation *naḍuvirukkum* of *Venṇainallūr=tTammaḍibhaṭṭaṇ* actually occurs in text line 142 f. on the same page.

³ This word has been incorrectly read as *ttatṭaṇaiyum* in the *A. S. of S. I.*, Vol. IV, p. 209, text-line 153.

⁴ The Tamil letters *nāba* are written in smaller characters than the rest and *ba* appears as a convex curve. The traces show that the Grantha letter *bha* was originally written and then erased. The reading given in the *A. S. of S. I.*, Vol. IV, p. 209, text-line 156 is *Parapa(-la)*.

⁵ The reading of this word given in *A. S. of S. I.*, Vol. IV, is *Perampura* in line 156 and *Verempura* in line 158 which are clearly inadmissible.

⁶ The reading in *A. S. of S. I.*, Vol. IV, is *{Dvēda(?)}-kōmpuṇṇattu*.

⁷ This word has been wrongly read as *aṇaiyāda* in text-line 159 of *A. S. of S. I.*, Vol. IV, p. 209.

⁸ Read *pēr tandōm* : see, above p. 215.

⁹ Without inserting *y*, we may read *śēdu* which is but the colloquial form of *śeydu*. But as the inscription uses *śeydu* later on (ll. 204 and 206), it is preferable to have here also the grammatically correct form.

¹⁰ *Pōttaga* seems to be the contraction of *pōga* and *taga*.

¹¹ The *ē* sign of *vō* is entered at the end of the previous line.

¹² The letters in this line are larger in size than those in the other lines.

¹³ There is space for the length of *to* at the commencement of the next line, but it is not written.

61 lutaga viḷaṅgum yāṇḍēy Śēliyarai=ttēsu ko| śrī-kōv=I.

Fourth Plate ; First Side.

- 62 rājarājakēsarivarṃmar-ūṇa śrī-Rājarājadēvaṅku yāṇḍu irubatt-ōṇṇāvadu nāṭṭō-
63 mukku=ttirumugam vara [*] nāṭṭōmun-tirumugaṇ=kaṇḍu edir-eḷundu sēṇṇu-
toḷudu vā-
64 ṅgi=ttalai-mēl vaittu=ppiḷi sūḷṇdu piḷṇḍai naḍandu ellai teṇṇittu kallu-
65 ṇ=kaḷḷiyu[m*] nāṭṭi aravōlai śeyda nilattukku kkiḷpāṅk-ellai Kshatri-
66 yaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷanāṭṭu=pPaṭṭaṇa-kkūṇṇattu kKōvūr mēl-ellai¹ [*]
67 Kōvūr=ttachcha=ṇilattukkum Kōvūr-kKāvidiy-ōḍaikkum[m*] mēṅkun=[*]
68 teṅk=ṇṇum ivv-ūr=pPugaiyūṇṇiy-eṇṇum nilattukku mē-
69 ṅkun [*] teṅk=ṇṇum ivv-ellaiyē kiḷakku nōkki ppōy i-ṇṇilāt-
70 tukku teṅk=ṇṇum Pugaiyūṇṇiy-eṇṇum nilattukku mēṅkun [*] te-
71 ṅk=ṇṇum mēṅk=ṇṇum Pugaiyūṇṇikkum=ppāyūm vāyakkāḷiṇ mēlaiy-a-

Fourth Plate ; Second Side.

- 72 raikkālil nāṇṇukkāl-āga aṭṭi=kkiḷanda śiṅu-varambukku vaḍakkum [*] ṇṇum ivv-
arai-
73 kkālilēy mēṅku nāṇṇukkāl-āga aṭṭi=kkiḷanda śiṅu-varambukku mēṅkun [*] ṇṇum
74 i-nnāṇṇukkālukkēy teṅku varamb-āga aṭṭi=kkiḷanda varambukku vaḍakkum [*]
ṇṇu-
75 m ivv-araikkālil mēl-varambukku mēṅkun [*] ṇṇum ivv-araikkā-
76 liṇ teṅkil=pPugaiyūṇṇiy-araikkālukkum mēṅkun [*] ṇṇum ida-
77 ṇ teṅkil Kōvūr=kkuśava-niḷaṇ oru-māv-araikkum mēṅkun [*] idaṇ teṅkil
78 oru-māv-araikkum mēṅkun [*] idaṇ teṅkil ṇḍaiyil naḍuvukku tteṅkun [*] iṇ-
79 ṇum i-kKōvūr ellaikkum mēṅkun [*] teṅk=ṇṇum Kōvūr veḷḷāḷaṇ A-
80 raiśūr² Maṇiyāḍi³ oru-māvukku mēṅkun [*] idaṇ teṅkil ṇḍai naḍuvukku-tteṅkun [*]
i-
81 vv-ōḍaiyē teṅ-kiḷakku nōkki=ppōy mēṅ-Paḷḷavāyakkāl ivv-ō-

Fifth Plate ; First Side.

- 82 ḍaikkēy viḷunda iḍattukku mēṅkun [*] ṇṇum mēṅ-Paḷḷavāyakkālil teṅ-
83 karaikkum=tteṅkun Kōvūr Mēḷpaḷḷattu mēl-varambukku mēṅkun [*] ivv-ūr Mē-
84 ḷpaḷḷattu veḷḷāḷaṇ Uṇṇāppaḷi⁴ Pākkaraṇ araikkālil vaḍa-varambukku va-
85 ḍakku[m*] [*] ivv-araikkālil mēlai ṇḍaiyil naḍuvukkum veḷḷāḷaṇ Pa-
86 ramēśvaraṇ Naṇaiyūr araikkālukkum mēṅkun [*] ivv-ōḍaiyil naḍu-⁵

¹ The letters *mēlḷai*, written at the end of this line, are in bigger characters.

² The letter *ḍu* almost encircles the previous letter in *naḍuvukku*.

³ The *ai* sign of *rai* is written at the end of the previous line.

⁴ Before *ḍi* in *Maṇiyāḍi* the letter *ḷ* has been entered and erased.

⁵ The letters *ṇpa* in *mēṇṇaḷḷa* are written over an erasure.

⁶ The reading given in *A. S. of S. I.*, Vol. IV, text-lines 195 and 276 is *Uṇṇāppaḷi-pākkāṇ*. The plate clearly reads *rā*, not *ru*. It being a double name it has to be read as given in our text.

⁷ The letter *ḍu* almost encircles the previous letter.

THE LARGER LEIDEN PLATES OF RAJARAJA I. (IV).

a.
[Tamil script on a dark background with a circular hole in the center. The text is arranged in horizontal lines, with some characters appearing to be in a different script or dialect. The right margin contains numbers 82, 84, 86, 88, and 90.]

b.
[Tamil script on a dark background with a circular hole in the center. The text is arranged in horizontal lines. The right margin contains numbers 92, 94, 96, 98, and 100.]

vi, a.
[Tamil script on a dark background with a circular hole in the center. The text is arranged in horizontal lines. The right margin contains numbers 102, 104, 106, 108, and 110.]

N. D. Chakravartty

SCALE: ONE-HALF.

SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.

112 உமதுவெவலையுந் துதிக்கதுமதுவெவலையுந் துதிக்கதுமதுவெவலையுந் துதிக்கது
114 மதுவெவலையுந் துதிக்கதுமதுவெவலையுந் துதிக்கதுமதுவெவலையுந் துதிக்கது
116 மதுவெவலையுந் துதிக்கதுமதுவெவலையுந் துதிக்கதுமதுவெவலையுந் துதிக்கது
118 மதுவெவலையுந் துதிக்கதுமதுவெவலையுந் துதிக்கதுமதுவெவலையுந் துதிக்கது
120 மதுவெவலையுந் துதிக்கதுமதுவெவலையுந் துதிக்கதுமதுவெவலையுந் துதிக்கது

122 கந்தவெணையுமதுமையுந் துணைவதேன்கிழவரம்புநூநகிழநூமடுதனய
124 வரம்பெய்யுமதுதென்கிழநூநெய்யுமதுவரம்புநூநகிழநூமடுதனய
126 வரம்பெய்யுமதுதென்கிழநூநெய்யுமதுவரம்புநூநகிழநூமடுதனய
128 வரம்பெய்யுமதுதென்கிழநூநெய்யுமதுவரம்புநூநகிழநூமடுதனய
130 வரம்பெய்யுமதுதென்கிழநூநெய்யுமதுவரம்புநூநகிழநூமடுதனய

132
134
136
138
140

87 vukku mērkum [*] Kōvūr vellāḷaṇ=Aiyyāraṇ Śēndaṇ araikkāliṇ
 88 kottattu ivv-ōḍaikkē mērkum [*] ivv-araikkālukkū=tterku-
 89 m [*] Mēlpāḷa-nilattiṇ kottattu ivv-ōḍaikkēy mērkum [*] ivv-ō-
 90 ḍai¹ Eṇivattī-vāykkālukkēy viḷunda idattaku mērkum [*] ivv-Eṇivattī-vāykkā-
 91 lukkē mērkum [*] iṇṇum ivv-Eṇivattī-vāykkālukkēy terku [*] ivv-E-

Fifth Plate; Second Side.

92 rivattī-vāykkālukkē mērkum [||*] Teṇpārka-ellai ivv-Eṇivattī-vā-
 93 ykkālukkū vaḍakkum [*] ivv-Eṇivattī-vāykkālē mērku nōkki=chche-
 94 ṇru i-vvāykkālay-ūḍaruttu=tteṇ-karaikkēy=ēri terk-iṇṇu-
 95 m ivv-Āṇaimaṇḡalattu brahmadēyattu=ppaḍugai vēli nila-
 96 ttiṇ mēl-ellaiyē seṇru te[n]-²maḍalāy=kkidanda. ḍaikk-
 97 ku mērkum [*] ivv-ellaiyē [t]erku nōkki=chcheṇru mērkk-i-
 98 ṇṇum ivv-ōḍaikkēy vaḍakkum [*] iṇṇum ivv-ōḍaikkū
 99 vaḍakku nōkkiy=Eṇivattī-vāykkālu[k]kēy=ur=adaṇku kiḷakkum [*] ivv-Eṇivattī-
 100 vāykkālay=ūḍaruttu vaḍa-karaiyēy=ēri i-vvāykkāliṇ vaḍa-karaiyē³
 101 mērku nōkki=chcheṇru i-vvāykkālukkū vaḍakkum [*] ivv-ellaiyēy

Sixth Plate; First Side.

102 mērku nōkki=chcheṇru i-vvāykkāl tāṇ kiḍandavārē mērku nōkki i-ṇṇāṭṭu-p-
 103 Paṭṭaṇa-kkūrrattu brahmadēyam Śīvalaiyukuḍiyil nilaṇ nāṇ-māvil vaḍa-varam-
 bēy=ur-
 104 ru i-vvarambē mērku nōkki=chcheṇru ivv-ellaikkū vaḍakkum [*] ivv-ellai-
 105 yē⁴ mērku nōkki=chcheṇru Paḷaviḷapp-āṇa ḍaiyēy=urru ivv-ellai-
 106 kku vaḍakkum [||*] Mēlpārka-ellai vaḍakku nōkki Nāṭṭuppōkku=ttalai-
 107 vāyar vetṭappēṇrukkū=kkilakkum [*] vaḍakk=iṇṇum i-ṇṇāṭṭu=pPaṭṭa-
 108 ṇa-kkūr[ṇ*]attu Muṇḡikuḍi nilattiṇ kiḷ-ellaiy-āṇa ḍaiyēy=urru-iv-
 109 v-ōḍaiyiṇ naḍuvēy vaḍakku nōkki=chcheṇru ivv-ōḍaiy=ulppaḍa ivv-ō-
 110 ḍaikkū=kkilakkum [*] ivv-ōḍai tāṇ kiḍandavārēy vaḍakku nōkki i-mMuṇḡiku-
 111 ḍi nilamēy=urru i-mMuṇḡikuḍikkū=kkil⁵-ellaiy-āṇa ḍaiyēy=urru vaḍakk-iṇ

Sixth Plate; Second Side.

112 ṇum ivv-ellaikkū=kkilakkum [*] ivv-ōḍai tāṇ kiḍandavārēy pala muḍokkum⁶-u-
 113 ḍoṇḡi vaḍakku nōkki i-mMuṇḡikuḍi nilamēy=urru i-mMuṇḡikuḍikkū=kkil-ellaiy-āṇa
 114 ḍaiyē vaḍakk=iṇṇum ivv-ellaikkū=kkilakk=iṇṇum ivv-ōḍai tāṇ ki-
 115 ḍandavārēy vaḍakku nōkki=chcheṇru idanai viṭṭu i-mMuṇḡikuḍi vellāḷa-
 116 ṇ Irāmaṇ Gōvindaṇ nānmāviṇ teṇ-varambēy=urru ivv-ellaiyē va-

¹ The *ai* sign of *ḍai* is written at the end of the previous line.

² Read *vaḍalāy*.

³ At the end of line 100 and at the beginning of line 101 there is unwritten space for one or two letters. It is not clear if some letters were written and erased.

⁴ The *ē* sign of *yē* is entered at the end of the previous line.

⁵ Read =*kkil*-

⁶ *Muḍokku* and *muḍoṇḡi* are perhaps mistakes for *muḍakku* and *muḍaṇḡi*.

- 117 ḍakku nōkki=chchenru i-mMuñjikuḍi brahmadēyam-āṇa nilattiṇ teṇ-varambē-
 118 y=urru idaṇukku=tterkum [*] idaṇukkēy kiḷakkum [*] iṇṇum i-mMuñjikuḍi
 119 brahmadēyam nilattukkēy vaḍakkum [*] ivv-ellaiyē vaḍakku nōkki=chchenru i-
 120 mMuñjikuḍi vellāṇ-vagai=kkīl-ellaiy-āṇa nilattukku=kkilakkum [*] iv-
 121 v-ellaiyē vaḍakku nōkki=chchenru vaḍa-mērku nōkki Muñjikuḍi Ūdārimaya-

Seventh Plate ; First Side.

- 122 kkal=enṇum nilamēy=urru i-ṇṇilattiṇ kīl-varambukku=kkilakkum [*] idaṇ vaḍa-
 123 varambēy mērku nōkki=chchenru vaḍa-varambukku vaḍakku[m*] i-chcheyiṇ
 mēlai-ppa-
 124 raiyōḍai vaḍakku nōkki=chchenru ivv-ōḍaikku=kkilakkum [*] ivv-ōḍaiyē vaḍa-
 125 kku nōkki=chchenru ivv-Āṇaimaṅgalattukku=ppāya=kkallina¹ Rāja-
 126 rājaṇ-vāykkālēy=urru i-vvāykkālaiy-ūḍa[rū*]ttu vaḍa-karaikkēy=ēṇi
 127 ivv-Āṇaimaṅgalattu brahmadēyattu=kKālavāy=enṇum nilatti-
 128 ṇ kīl-varambukku=kkilakkum [*] vaḍakku nōkki=chchenru[m*] kiḷakku nōkki=chche-
 129 ru[m*] ivv-Āṇaimaṅgalattu brahmadēyattu=kKīlāṇ² Kīlāṇ kār-cheyiṇ teṇ-va-
 130 rambēy=urru=tteṇ-kiḷakku nōkki=chchenru idiṇṇu vaḍa-kiḷakku nōkkium
 131 kiḷakku nōkkium śeṇṇa ellaikku=tterkum kiḷakkum [*] idaṇ vaḍa-varambēy

Seventh Plate ; Second Side.

- 132 vaḍa-mērku nōkki=chchenru idaṇukku vaḍakkum [*] iṇṇum ivv-Āṇaimaṅgalattu
 133 brahmadēyattu Āritan Śiriyāṇ Kaḍambaṇ mūṇru-māviṇ kīl-varambukku=kkilakkum [||*]
 Va-
 134 ḍapārka-ellai i-chcheyiṇ teṇ-varambēy kiḷakku nōkki=chchenru idaṇukku=tterku-
 135 m [*] i-ṇṇāṭṭu=pPaṭṭana-kkūṇṇattu brahmadēyam Pirambil Koṭṭiḍal-āṇa nilat-
 136 tiṇ ellaiyēy kiḷakku nōkki=chchenru ivv-Āṇaimaṅgalattu brahmadēya-
 137 ttu Vāchchiyaṇ Paramēśvaraṇ Pūvaṇ nilattiṇ mēl-varambēy³=urru=adaṇku=t-
 138 terkum [*] i-ṇṇilattukkēy mērkuṇ=terkum kiḷakkum [*] i-ṇṇāṭṭu brahmadēyam
 139 Pirambil Koṭṭiḍal-āṇa nilattiṇ kīl-varambukku=kkilakkum [*] i-vvarambēy vaḍakku
 nōkki=ch-
 140 chenru Viḷapp=enṇum āṇiṇ teṇ-karaiyēy=urru=tteṇ-karaikku=tterkum [*] i-kkarai-
 141 yē⁴ kiḷakku nōkki=chchenru ivv-Āṇaimaṅgalattu Mahādēvar dēvaḍāṇam-āṇa o-

Eighth Plate ; First Side.

- 142 ru-māv-araiyiṇ mēl-varambēy=urru i-vvarambukku mērkuṇ [*] i-vvarambēy terku
 143 nōkki i-ttēvar dēvaḍāṇam-āṇa Muḷlivaravaiyiṇ⁵ mēl-varambēy=urru i-
 144 vvarambukku mērkuṇ [*] i-vvarambē terku nōkkium=kiḷakku nōkkium=che-
 145 ṇru i-ttēvar kuḷamēy=urru i-ttēvar kuḷattukku=ppāyūm vāykkā-

¹ The reading *pāykkallina* given in A. S. of S. I., Vol. IV, is due to the mistake of taking *ya* and *ṇa*. for *y* and *ṇ*. In so doing, the sense is obscured.

² A letter has been entered and erased after *-kki*.

³ The letters *bēy* of *bēy=urru* are written over an erasure.

⁴ After *yē*, a letter has been entered and erased.

⁵ This proper name may also be read *Muḷlivāvat*.

THE LARGER LEIDEN PLATES OF RAJARAJA I. (V).

viii,a.

42 ராஜவல்லபன்மலையாபயமபெயரதுபவபயநதிமதநிபவபவபெயரதெந்நி 142
44 தெநிநிபவபவபெயரதெந்நிபவபவபெயரதெந்நிபவபவபெயரதெந்நி 144
46 பவபவபெயரதெந்நிபவபவபெயரதெந்நிபவபவபெயரதெந்நி 146
48 ராஜவல்லபன்மலையாபயமபெயரதுபவபயநதிமதநிபவபவபெயரதெந்நி 148
50 தெநிநிபவபவபெயரதெந்நிபவபவபெயரதெந்நிபவபவபெயரதெந்நி 150

viii,b.

52 ராஜவல்லபன்மலையாபயமபெயரதுபவபயநதிமதநிபவபவபெயரதெந்நி 152
54 தெநிநிபவபவபெயரதெந்நிபவபவபெயரதெந்நிபவபவபெயரதெந்நி 154
56 பவபவபெயரதெந்நிபவபவபெயரதெந்நிபவபவபெயரதெந்நி 156
58 ராஜவல்லபன்மலையாபயமபெயரதுபவபயநதிமதநிபவபவபெயரதெந்நி 158
60 தெநிநிபவபவபெயரதெந்நிபவபவபெயரதெந்நிபவபவபெயரதெந்நி 160
62 பவபவபெயரதெந்நிபவபவபெயரதெந்நிபவபவபெயரதெந்நி 162

ix,a.

34 ராஜவல்லபன்மலையாபயமபெயரதுபவபயநதிமதநிபவபவபெயரதெந்நி 164
36 தெநிநிபவபவபெயரதெந்நிபவபவபெயரதெந்நிபவபவபெயரதெந்நி 166
38 பவபவபெயரதெந்நிபவபவபெயரதெந்நிபவபவபெயரதெந்நி 168
70 ராஜவல்லபன்மலையாபயமபெயரதுபவபயநதிமதநிபவபவபெயரதெந்நி 170
72 தெநிநிபவபவபெயரதெந்நிபவபவபெயரதெந்நிபவபவபெயரதெந்நி 172

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146 liṇ mēl-varambē teṭku nōkki=chcheṇṇu i-ttēvar dēvadānaṇ=Ka-
 147 ṇavadikāl-āṇa nilattiṇ mēl-varambukku mēṭkum [*] i-kKaṇavadikāl-āṇa
 148 teṇ-varambēy kiḷakku nōkki=chcheṇṇu i-vvarambukku=tteṭkum [*] i-t-
 149 tēvar dēvadāṇam-āṇa Mcḷukkuppuraṁ oru-māviṇ mēl-varambukku mēṭkum [*] ivv-oru-
 150 māviṇ teṇ-varambēy kiḷakku nōkki=chcheṇṇu i-vvarambukku=tteṭkum [*] i-ttē-
 151 var dēvardānam mukkāṇiyiṇ teṇ-varambēy kiḷakku nōkki=chcheṇṇu Pat-

Eighth Plate ; Second Side.

152 tal-vāykkālēy=urṛ=adaṭku=tteṭkum [*] i-pPattal-vāykkālīṇ mēl-karaiyē va-
 153 ḍakku nōkki=chcheṇṇu Viḷappēy=urṛ=adaṭku=kkiḷakkum [*] i-vViḷappaiy=ūḍaṭu-
 154 ttu vaḍa-karaikkēy=ēṛi i-nnāṭṭu=pPaṭṭaṇa-kkūṛattu brahmadēya[m*] Mūṅgir-¹
 155 kuḍiy=ellaiyēy=urṛu ivv-ellaiyē vaḍakku nōkkiyuṇ=
 156 kiḷakku nōkkiyuṇ=cheṇṇu idaṇukku=kkiḷakkun=teṭkum [*] iṇ-
 157 ṇum i-mMūṅgirkuḍi nilattukkēy mēṭkum [*] ivv-ellaiyē
 158 teṭku nōkki Viḷappukkēy=urṛu Viḷappaiy²=ūḍaṭuttu=tteṇ
 159 karaikkēy=ēṛi=tteṇ-karaiyē kiḷakku nōkki=chcheṇṇu i-nnāṭṭu=kKōvū-
 160 r=kKaṇavadimayakkal-āṇa nilattiṇ mēl-varambēy=urṛ=adaṭku=tteṭkum [*] i-kKa-
 161 ṇavadimayakkal-āṇa nilattiṇ mēl-varambukku mēṭkum [*] i-kKaṇavadimayakka-
 162 liṇ teṇ-varambēy kiḷakku nōkki=chcheṇṇu i-nnāṭṭu=[pPaṭṭa]ṇa-kkūṛattu

Ninth Plate ; First Side.

163 brahmadēya[m*] Nallūrchchērikku=ppāyūm vāykkālaiy=urṛ=adaṭku=tteṭkum [*] i-v-
 164 vāykkālīṇ teṇ-karaiyēy kiḷakku nōkki=chcheṇṇu i-nnāṭṭu=kKōvūr
 165 vellāḷaṇ Urāppaḷi Pākkan=oru-māviṇ teṇ-varambēy=urṛu i-tteṇ-
 166 varambēy kiḷakku nōkki=chcheṇṇu Kōvūr miṇ=ruḍaṇḍiṇa tachchaṇ-ṇilattukkēy=u-
 167 ṛ=adaṭku=tteṭkum [||*] Āga ivv-iśaitta peru-nāṅ-ellaiyilum=agappattā nīr-ṇilaṇu-
 168 m puṇṣeyum ūrum ūr-irukkai[yu*]ṇ=kuḷamum Śrī-kōyilgaḷum paṇai-chchēri-
 169 yuṇ=kammāṇ-śēriyuṇ=chuḍukāḍum peruvad-āgavum [*] ivv-ūr maṇaiyūm ma-
 170 ṇai-ppaḍappaiyuṇ=kaḍai[yu]ṇ=kaḍai-tteruvum maṇṇuṇ=kaṇṇu-mēy-pāḷuṇ=ku-
 171 ḷamuṇ=koṭṭagāramuṇ=kiḍaṇḍuṇ=kēṇiyum puṇṇuṇ=terṇiyuṇ=kāḍum piḍiligaḷiyuṇ=[ka]-
 172 ḷarum uvarum āṇum āṇ-iḍu-paḍugaiyūm oḍaiyūm uḍaippum miṇ-payil-pallamun=tēṇ-pa-
 173 yil podumbu³[m*] mē[||*]-nōkkiya maramum kiḷ-nōkkiya kiṇarum uḷḷiṭṭu nīr pūṣi ne-

Ninth Plate ; Second Side.

174 ḍum-paramb=erindu uḍumb=⁴oḍiy=āmai tavaḷndad=evvagai⁴-ppaṭṭadum uṇṇilam=o-
 175 liṇ-inṇi=kkārāṇmai miyāṭchiyu[m*] migudi=kkūṛaiyūm=uḷḷaḍaṇḍa iṇṇaḍi perṇada-
 176 ṭku=pperṇa vyavasthai [||*] i-ṇṇilattukku nīrkk=indavāṇu⁶ vāykkāl-kutti=p-

¹ The reading *brahmadēyamun=Kīrakuḍi* in *A. S. of S. I.*, Vol. IV (l. 265, p. 212) is a mistake. That the name of the village is *Mūṅgirkuḍi* is evident from line 157.

² The letters *lap* are written in smaller characters after erasing a letter which was probably *la*.

³ The letters *mbu* are faintly marked over an erasure.

⁴ The letters after *bōḍi* and *gai* are written over an erasure.

⁶ This is a variant of *iśainda*^o or *iyainda*^o.

- 177 pāyttavum vāravum viḍavum peruvad-āgavum [*] i-milattukku=
 178 ppāyum vāykkālga] mēṇṇṇai nīr pāyavum vāravum peruva-
 179 d-āgavum [*] i-vvāykkālga] appiyar kuraṅg-aruttu=kkuttavum
 180 vilāṅg=āḍaikkavun=kurṟōttam paṇṇavun-kūḍai-nīr-iraikkavum
 181 perādad-āgavun=cheṇṇīr=ppoduviṇai śeyyādad-āgavum [*] a-mūir=āḍaittu=ppā-
 182 chcha²=pperuvad-āgavun=chuṭṭ-ōṭṭāl nūḷa-nūḷaiy iḷukka pperuvad-āgavun=
 183 turavu-kiṇaru iḷicheha=pperuvad-āgavun=kāvu teṇṇ iḷa pperuvad-āgavun=damana[ka]-
 184 mu[m*] maruvum=iruvēliyuṇ=cheṇbagamuṇ=cheṇṇūṇṇarum māvam paḷavun-kamugum
 paṇai-

Tenth Plate; First Side.

- 185 yuṇ=koḍiyum=ullīṭṭa pall-uruvil payay-maram iḍavun-naḍavum peruvad-āgavum [*]
 peru-
 186 ũ-chekk=iḍa=pperuvad-āgavum [*] ivv-ūr nilattaiy iḍaruttu=ppurav-ūrgalukku=ppōy
 187 nīr pāyum vāykkālga] mēṇṇṇai nīr pāyavum vāravum peruvad-āgavum [*] purav-ūr ni-
 188 lattūḍu pōndu ivv-ūr nilattukku=ppāyum vāykkālga] mēṇṇ-
 189 ḍai nīr pāyavum vāravum peruvad-āgavum [*] ivv-ūr iṭṭa teṇṇum paṇaiyum i-
 190 lavar=ēra=pperādad-āgavun-taṇ kuḍikk-ēra-vannam muraiṣum muppaḍi-ttō-
 191 raṇa[mu*]m nāṭṭa=pperuvad-āgavum [*] ippaḍi peradaṅku=pperṇa parihāran=nāḍāṭchi-
 192 yum ūrāṭchium vaṭṭi-nāliyum piḍū-nāliyuṇ=kāṇṇāla-kkāṇamum vāṇṇara=ppāṇai-
 193 yuṇ=kuṣa-kkāṇamun=nīr-kkūliyum iḷai-kkūḷam taṇi=ppuḍavaiyum taragun=tattār-
 ppāṭṭa-
 194 mum iḍai=ppāṭṭamum=āṭṭukk-iraiyu[m*] mēḷavum mēḷendun nāḍu-kāvalum ūḍupō-

Tenth Plate; Second Side.

- 195 kkum viṇṇiḍiyum³ vālamaṇṇāḍiyum ulgum³ ōḍa-kkūliyum maṇṇupāḍum mā-
 196 viṇaiyun=tiyeriyum iḷam-pūṭchium kūṭti-kāḷum ullīṭṭu=kkō-ttoṭṭ=up-
 197 ṇappāḍad=avvaṇṇiṇṇaḍuṇ kō kkoḷṇaiy pallichehandattukkē⁴
 198 y pperuvad-āgavum [*] ippaḍi perṇa vyavasthaiyum parihāramum
 199 perṇa i-nṇilaṇ=kāraṇmai mīyāṭchiyu[m*] miḡudi-kkuraimaiyum=ulla-
 200 ḍaṅga=pPaṭṭaṇa-kkūṇṇattu Nāgaṇṇaṇṇattu kKaḍāratt-araiyuṇ eḍuppi-
 201 kkiṇa Chūḷamaṇṇaṇṇa-vihāratu ppaḷṇiku ppaḷlichehandam i-
 202 ṇaiy-iliy-āga=kkuḍutta i-ṇṇāṭṭu Āṇaimaṇṇalam pallichehanda iṇṇaṅgal=u-
 203 iḷaḍa yāṇḍu irubatt-ōṇṇāvadu-mudal piḍi sūḷṇdu piḍūḡai naḍandu kallu-
 204 ṇ=kalliyu[m*] nāṭṭi aṇavōlai śeyḍu kuḍuttōm Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-va-

Eleventh Plate; First Side.

- 205 iṇnāṭṭu=pPaṭṭaṇa-kkūṇṇattu nāṭṭōm nāṭṭāṇḍum uḍa-ṇṇu piḍi sūḷṇdu piḍūḡai naḍandu
 kal-
 206 iṇn=kalliyu[m*] nāṭṭi aṇavōlai śeyḍu kuḍuttōm puravuvai Kallikkudaiyāṇ-Āṇaiyāṇ

¹ The e sign of pe is marked at the end of the previous line.

² Insert y before chcha and read pāyechcha.

³ For a note on these words see above, p. 215.

⁴ The k of kē is written at the beginning of the next line.

THE LARGER LEIDEN PLATES OF RAJARAJA I. (VI).

xi, a.

206
208
210
212
214

206
208
210
212
214

xi, b.

16
18
20
22
24

216
218
220
222
224

xii, a

26
28
30
32
34

226
228
230
232
234

N. P. Chakravarti.

SCALE : ONE-HALF.

SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.

- 207 Talikkulavanēṇ=ivaīy=enṇ=elutt=enrum [*] ivv-Ānaimaṅgalam piḍi sūln-
 208 du piḍāgai naḍakkirapōdu āṇaiy=ēri i-[n*]ḷāttārōdum uḍa-niṇṇ=ellai
 209 terittu=kkāṭṭinēṇ ivv-Ānaimaṅgalatt=irukkum vellāḷaṇ Kōṇ Put-
 210 taṇēṇ=ivaīy=enṇ=elutt=enrum [*] ippaḍi piḍi sūlnu piḍāgai naḍandu
 211 aṇavōlai śeydu kuḍuttōm Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷanāṭṭu=pPaṭṭaṇa-kkū-
 212 ṛrattu brahmadē[ya*]ṇ=Kaḍambaṇūr sabhaiyōm ivargaḷ śolla ivv-ūr maddhyasthaṇ
 Muppattiru-
 213 vaṇ Yajñan-āna Karpagādittanēṇ=ivaīy=enṇ=elutt=enrum i-kKaḍambaṇūrār śo-
 214 llā ivv-ūr Vaikhānaṇ Nārāyaṇaṇ Dāmōdaraṇēṇ=ivaīy=enṇ=elutt=en-

Eleventh Plate ; Second Side.

- 215 rum [*] ippaḍi piḍāgai naḍandu piḍi sūlnu aṇavōlai śeydu kuḍuttōm
 216 Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷanāṭṭu=pPaṭṭaṇa-kkūṛrattu brahmadēyam Nāraṇama-
 217 ṅgalattu sabhaiyōm ivv-ūr maddhyastaṇ¹ Irunūṛruvaṇ Uttaman-āna Bra-
 218 hmamaṅgalyaṇēṇ=ivaīy=enṇ=elutt=enrum [*] ippaḍi piḍi sūlnu aṇavō-
 219 lai śeydu kuḍuttōm Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷanāṭṭu=pPaṭṭaṇa-kkū-
 220 ṛrattu Vēlaṅguḍi Vēlaṅguḍaiyāṇ Nārāyaṇaṇ Orriyēṇ
 221 ivaīy=enṇ=elutt=enrum [*] ippaḍi piḍi sūlnu piḍāgai naḍandu a-
 222 ṇavōlai śeydu kuḍuttōm Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷanāṭṭu=pPaṭṭaṇa-kkūṛra-
 223 ttu brahmadēya[m*] Mūṅgiṛkuḍi sabhaiyōm ivv-ūr maddhyastaṇ¹ Kuṇava-Na-
 224 ndiy-āna Alāṅkārappiriyaṇēṇ=ivaīy=enṇ=elutt=enrum [*] ip-

Twelfth Plate ; First Side.

- 225 paḍi piḍi sūlnu piḍāgai naḍandu aṇavōlai śeydu kuḍuttōm Kshatriyaśikhā-
 226 maṇi-vaḷanāṭṭu=pPaṭṭaṇa-kkūṛrattu Narimaṇṛattu ūrōm ūr[ā*]r śolla elu-
 227 diṇēṇ ivv-ūr maddhyastaṇ¹ Aimḇattiruvaṇ Viḍelviḍugaṇēṇ ivaī eṇ-
 228 ṇ=elutt=enrum [*] ippaḍi piḍi sūlnu piḍāgai naḍandu aṇavōlai
 229 śeydu kuḍuttōm Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷanāṭṭu=pPaṭṭaṇa-kkūṛrattu=ch-
 230 Chāttamaṅgalatt=ūrōm ūrar² śolla eludiṇēṇ ivv-ūr Vē-
 231 ṭkkōvaṇṇ=Ediraṇ Śāttan-āna Nānūṛruvapperuṅgōvēḷā-
 232 ṇēṇ=ivaīy=enṇ=elutt=enrum [*] ippaḍi pi[ḍi*] sūlnu piḍāgai naḍandu aṇa-
 233 vōlai śeydu kuḍuttōm Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷanāṭṭu=pPaṭṭaṇa-kkūṛrat-
 234 tu brahmadēyam Śannamaṅgalattu sabhaiyōm sabhaiyār śolla eludi[ṇēṇ*]

Twelfth Plate ; Second Side.

- 235 ivv-ūr=kkaraṇattāṇ maddhyastaṇ¹ Durukkaṇ Kamudaṇēṇ ivaīy=enṇ=elu-
 236 tt=enrum [*] ippaḍi piḍi sūlnu piḍāgai naḍandu aṇavōlai śeydu kuḍuttō-
 237 m Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷanāṭṭu=pPaṭṭaṇa-kkūṛrattu brahmadēyam Kottāraḷkuḍi sa-
 238 bhaiyōm ivv-ūr=kkaraṇattāṇ maddhyastaṇ¹ Ūraṇ Chandiraśekharaṇ-āna
 239 Brahmamaṅgalyaṇēṇ ivaīy=enṇ=elutt=enrum [*] ippaḍi piḍi sūlnu

¹ Read *sthan.

² Read ūrār.

- 240 piḍāgai naḍandu aṟavōlai śeydu kuḍuttōm Kshatri[ya*]śikhāmaṇi-vaḷa-
 241 nāṭṭu=pPaṭṭaṇa-kkūṟṟattu=kKōvūr ūrōm ūrar² śolla eḷi(lu)diṇēṇ
 242 ivv-ūr=kkaraṇattāṇ maddhyastan¹ Aiyyaṇ-Aiyyaṇēṇ-ivaiy=eṇ=eḷutt=e-
 243 ṇṟum [*] ippaḍi piḍi sūḷndu piḍāgai naḍandu aṟavōlai śeydu kuḍuttōm Kshatri-
 244 yaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷanāṭṭu=pPaṭṭaṇa-kkūṟṟattu Uttūr ūrōm ūrar² śolla[v]-e-

Thirteenth Plate ; First Side.

- 245 luḍiṇēṇ ivv-ūr=kkaraṇattāṇ maddhyastan¹ Nakkaṇ Muḷliyēṇ-ivaiy=eṇ-
 246 ṇ=eḷutt=eṇṟum [*] ippaḍi piḍi sūḷndu piḍāgai naḍandu aṟavōlai śeydu kuḍut-
 247 tōm Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷanāṭṭu=pPaṭṭaṇa-kkūṟṟattu brahmadēyam Naṇṇimaṇ[ga*]-
 248 lattu sabhaiyōm sabhaiyār śolla ivv-ūr=kkaraṇattāṇ maddhyastan¹
 249 Kaṇṇaṇ Alaṅkārappiriyaṇēṇ-ivaiy=eṇ=eḷutt=eṇṟum [*] i-
 250 ppaḍi piḍi sūḷndu piḍāgai naḍandu aṟavōlai śeydu kuḍuttōm Kshatriya-
 251 śikhāmaṇi-vaḷanāṭṭu=pPaṭṭaṇa-kkūṟṟattu brahmadēyam Poruvanūr sabhai-³
 252 yōm sabhaiyār śolla eḷudiṇēṇ ivv-ūr=kkaraṇattāṇ Vōḷkōva-
 253 ṇ Mādēvaṇ Ūraṇēṇ-ivaiy=eṇ=eḷutt=eṇṟum [*] ippaḍi piḷi[*] sūḷndu piḍā-
 254 gai naḍandu aṟavōlai śeydu kuḍuttōm Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷanāṭṭu=pPaṭṭaṇa-

Thirteenth Plate ; Second Side.

- 255 kkūṟṟattu Ālaṅguḍi ūrōm ūr[ā*]r śolla eḷudiṇēṇ ivv-ūr=kkaraṇattāṇ Kā-
 256 śyapaṇ Sūryya(ya*)ṇ=Araṅgaṇēṇ ivai eṇ=eḷutt=eṇṟum [*] ippaḍi piḍi sūḷndu pi-
 257 ḍāgai naḍandu aṟavōlai śeydu kuḍuttōm Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷanāṭṭu=pPaṭṭaṇa-kkū-
 258 ṟattu=tTuṟaiyūr ūrōm ūr[ā*]r śolla eḷudiṇēṇ ivv-ūr=kkaraṇattā-
 259 ṇ Bhāradvāji Tiritti Vaikundaṇ eḷutt=eṇṟum [*] ippaḍi piḍi sūḷndu piḍā-
 260 gai naḍandu aṟavōlai śeydu kuḍuttōm Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷanāṭṭu-[pPaṭ]-
 261 ṭaṇa-kkūṟṟattu brahmadēyam Pirambil sabhaiyōm ivv-ūr=kkaraṇatt[ā*]ṇ maddhya-
 262 sthaṇ Kuṇavaṇ Nandiy-āṇa Alaṅkārappiriyaṇēṇ ivaiy=eṇ=eḷutt=eṇṟu-
 263 m [*] ippaḍi piḍi sūḷndu piḍāgai naḍandu aṟavōlai śeydu kuḍuttōm Kaḍambaṅkuḍiy=
 ūrō-
 264 m ūr[ā*]r śolla eḷudiṇēṇ ivv-ūr=kkaraṇattāṇ maddhyasthaṇ Kuṇava[ṇ*] Nandiy-āṇa
 Ala-

Fourteenth Plate ; First Side.

- 265 ākārappiriyaṇēṇ ivaiēṇ=eḷutt=eṇṟum [*] ippaḍi piḍi sūḷndu piḍāgai naḍandu aṟa-
 266 vōlai śeydu kuḍuttōm Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷanāṭṭu=pPaṭṭaṇa-kkūṟṟattu Śēndamaṇ-
 267 galattu ūrōm ūrūr śolla eḷudiṇēṇ ivv-ūr maddhyasthaṇ Ūrūṇ Aiyyaṇē-
 268 ṇ=ivai eṇ=eḷutt=eṇṟum [*] ippaḍi piḷi[*] sūḷndu piḍāgai naḍandu aṟavōlai śe-
 269 ydu kuḍuttōm Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷanāṭṭu=pPaṭṭaṇa-kkūṟṟ[ttu*] chChirucheḥēnda-
 maṅga-
 270 lattu Eṭṭi Valaṅjuliyaṇ Saṅgaṇēṇ ivai eṇ=eḷutt=eṇṟum [*] ippaḍi piḍi sūḷ-
 271 ndu piḍāgai naḍandu aṟavōlai śeydu kuḍuttōm Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷanāṭṭu=

¹ Read °sthan.

² Read ūrūr.

³ The bh of bhai is entered at the commencement of the next line.

⁴ This letter is superfluous.

xiv, b.

xv, a.

| | |
|---------------------|-----|
| செய்யுதெழுந்தபொழுது | 286 |
| செய்யுதெழுந்தபொழுது | 288 |
| செய்யுதெழுந்தபொழுது | 290 |
| செய்யுதெழுந்தபொழுது | 292 |
| செய்யுதெழுந்தபொழுது | 294 |
| செய்யுதெழுந்தபொழுது | 296 |

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- 272 pPaṭṭaṇa-kkūrrattu=kKurālatt=ūrōm ūrār śolla eḷudiṇē ivv-ūr=kkaraṇattāṇ
 273 Vēṭkōvaṇ Dēvaṇ Ūraṇē=ivai eṇṇ=eḷutt=enṇum [*] ippaḍi piḍi sūḷṇdu piḍā-
 274 gai naḍandu aṇavōlai śeydu kuḍuttōm Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷanāṭṭu=pPaṭṭi-¹

Fourteenth Plate ; Second Side.

- 275 ṇa-kkūrrattu=tTirunāvūr ūrōm ūrār śolla eḷudiṇē ivv-ūr maddhyastha-
 276 ṇ Śadurmugaṇ=Ara[n]gattē=ivai eṇṇ=eḷutt=enṇum [*] ippaḍi piḍi sūḷṇdu
 277 piḍāgai naḍandu aṇavōlai śeydu kuḍuttōm Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷanāṭ-
 278 ṭu=pPaṭṭaṇa-kkūrrattu brahmadēyam Uvarckuḍi sabhaiyōm sabhaiyār śo-
 279 lla eḷudiṇē ivv-ūr=kkaraṇattāṇ Vēṭkōvaṇ Mānāga[n*] N-
 280 āraṇaṇē=ivai eṇṇ=eḷutt=enṇum [*] ippaḍi piḍi sūḷṇdu pi-
 281 ḍāgai naḍandu aṇavōlai śeydu kuḍuttōm Kshatriyaśikhāma-
 282 ṇi-vaḷanāṭṭu=pPaṭṭaṇa-kkūrrattu Muṇjikuḍi ūrōm ūrār śo-
 283 lla eḷudiṇē ivv-ūr=kkaraṇattāṇ Vēṭkōvaṇ Mānāgaṇ Kaṇṇa-
 284 ṇē=ivai eṇṇ=eḷutt=enṇum [*] ippaḍi piḍi sūḷṇdu piḍāgai naḍandu a-
 285 ṇavōlai śeydu kuḍuttōm Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷanāṭṭu=pPaṭṭaṇa-kkūrrattu Ti-

Fifteenth Plate ; First Side.

- 286 rukkaṇṇaṅkuḍi sabhaiyōm sabhaiyār śollav=eḷudiṇē ivv-ūr=kkaraṇat-
 287 tāṇ Vēṭkōvaṇ Atirāmaṇ Irubattunāḷvan-āgiya Munṇūruvaṇē-
 288 ṇ=ivai eṇṇ=eḷutt=enṇum [*] ippaḍi piḍi sūḷṇdu piḍāgai naḍandu aṇavōlai
 289 śeydu kuḍuttōm Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷanāṭṭu=pPaṭṭaṇa-k-
 290 kūrrattu Kaḍambavalavāṭkai ūrōm ūrār śolla eḷudiṇē i-
 291 vv-ūr=kkaraṇattāṇ maddhyasthaṇ Ūraṇ=Ūraṇē=ivai eṇṇ=eḷu-
 292 tt=enṇum [*] ippaḍi piḍi sūḷṇdu piḍāgai naḍandu aṇavōlai śeydu
 293 kuḍuttōm Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷanāṭṭu=pPaṭṭaṇa-kkūrrattu=
 294 pPaḷaṅkorraṅkuḍi ūrōm ūrār śolla eḷudiṇē ivv-ūr=kkaraṇattā-
 295 ṇ maddhyasthaṇ Ūraṇ=Ūraṇē=ivai eṇṇ=eḷutt=enṇum [*] ippaḍi piḍi sūḷṇ-
 296 du piḍāgai naḍandu aṇavōlai śeydu kuḍuttōm Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷanāṭṭu-

Fifteenth Plate ; Second Side.

- 297 pPaṭṭaṇa-kkūrrattu Veṇkiḍaṅgil ūrōm ūr[ā*]r śolla eḷudiṇē ivv-ūr=kkara-
 298 ṇattāṇ maddhyasthaṇ Ūrā[n*] Nakkaṇē=ivai eṇṇ=eḷutt=enṇum [*] i-ppaḍi piḍi sūḷṇdu
 299 piḍāgai naḍandu aṇavōlai śeydu kuḍuttōm ivv-Ānaimaṅgalattu brahmadē-
 300 yattu Āritaṇ Śiriyāṇ Kaḍambaṇē=ivai eṇṇ=eḷutt=enṇum i-ppariśu²-bBaṭṭā-
 301 y niṇṇu piḍi naḍappittu aṇavōlai śeyvittēṇ Kshatriyaśikhāma-
 302 ṇi-vaḷanāṭṭu=tTirunaṇaiyūr-nāṭṭu brahmadēyam śrī-Tuṅamaṅgalattu=
 303 tTūrpil Śrīdhara-Bhaṭṭaṇē=ivai eṇṇ=eḷutt=enṇum [*] ippaḍi Bhaṭṭā[y*]
 304 niṇṇu piḍi naḍappittu aṇavōlai śeyvittēṇ Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷa-
 305 nāṭṭu Vēlā-nāṭṭu=tTirunallūr-pParkuḷattu=pParpanābha-Bhaṭṭaṇē=ivai eṇ-
 306 ṇ=eḷutt=enṇum [*] i-ppariśu Bhaṭṭāy niṇṇu [piḍi*] naḍappittu aṇavōlai śeyvittēṇ Ksha-
 307 triyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷanāṭṭu Vēlā-nāṭṭu=tTirunallūr Pēremaṇpurattu Veṇ-

¹ This word is generally written *Paṭṭa*.

² Delete *b*.

(V. 2) As long as the moon-crested deity (*i.e.* Śiva) sports with his consort on the Kailāsa mountain, as long as Hari (Vishṇu) performs meditative sleep (*yōga-nīdrā*) on the serpent couch in the milk-ocean, and as long as the sun, the sole light of all the worlds, dispels the dense darkness of the world, so long, may the Chōla family protect from danger the circle of the whole earth.

(V. 3) From the Sun (*Ahimakara*), the sole eye of the whole world, was (born) Manu the first of kings; (then) was born his son Ikshvāku, whose footstool was licked by rows of diadems of kings. In his family was (born) king Māndhātṛi, who was a storehouse of virtues, who was equal to Dhātṛi (Brahman) and who justly ruled this earth (extending) as far as the Lōkālōka mountain.

(V. 4) His son was the heroic king named Muchukunda. As his son was born king Vajabha who was the sole crest jewel of the Kshatra (*i.e.* the Kshatriya race). In his family was born the illustrious king, who was widely renowned throughout the world as Śibi and whose two feet were worshipped by the whole host of kings.

(V. 5) Who, excepting Vyāsa, the best among poets, is able to describe the qualities of that profoundly virtuous king who preserved his own life (*only*) for the benefit of others?

(V. 6) As a full moon to the ocean of that family, was born (*king*) Chōla, who was the repository of all arts (*kalā*) (just as the fullmoon is the repository of the sixteen *kalās*) and the kings born in whose family bore the name Chōla after his name.

(V. 7) Then came king Rājakēsarīn, who conquered all (*his*) enemies. After him came Parakēsarīn, who was bent on destroying the towns of hostile kings.

(V. 8) The name of Rājakēsarīn and (*that*) of this Parakēsarīn became alternately the order of kings born in their family.

(V. 9) In that family was born the lord of kings, Suraguru, who destroyed all (*his*) enemies, who was the standard of the Solar race, (*and*) who, having conquered in the battle-field even the unconquerable Mrityu, acquired the unattainable epithet Mrityujit.

(V. 10) In his family was born king Vyāghrakētu, who was a lion (*as it were*) to the elephants —(*his*) enemies. In that race was born the strong king Pañchapa (*who was*) the *Kalpa*-tree to (*his*) supplicants.

(V. 11) King Karikāla, (*the god of*) Death to his enemies, was born in that family. This (*king*) constructed embankments to the Kāvērī (*river*).

(V. 12) In his family was (*born*) Kōchcharṇakāṇṇ of well established fame, the bee at the lotus-feet of Śambhu (Śiva), (*and one*) whose feet were worshipped by all kings. In his family (*there*) was king Kōkkilli of clear intellect, the lord of prosperity, whose feet were worshipped by the crests of the whole host of kings.

(V. 13) In that family was born the victorious Vijayālaya of great strength, who conquered the entire surface of the earth (*and*) whose two lotus-like feet were brightened by the lustre of gems emanating from the region of the diadems of prime kings that prostrated before him.

(V. 14) From that king (*also* mountain) came forth Aditya (*also* Sun) of great splendour, who possessed (*mighty*) powers (*also* heat) and destroyed the dense darkness, *i.e.*, enemies.

(V. 15) From him, who was the sole abode of countless heaps of gems (*and*) who possessed enormous strength, rose for the benefit of the world, king Parāntaka with full glory, just as the moon does with all his rays, to give pleasure to the world, from the milk-ocean (which contains within it countless gems and huge aquatic animals).

(V. 16) Having conquered the earth right up to the Chakravāla (*mountain and*) protected the whole (*of it*) with peace, that sun to the darkness, *i.e.* the Kali age, founded various big towns

(and) brightened the ends of the quarters with (*his*) fame which was as (*while as*) the clouds of the autumn (*śarad*).

(V. 17) With the pure gold brought from all the quarters which were subdued by the prowess of his own arm, this banner of the solar race (*i.e.*, Parāntaka) covered the mansion of Indumauli (*Śiva*) at Vyāghrāgrahāra (*i.e.*, Chidambaram).

(V. 18) To that king, whose two feet were worshipped by all the rulers of men, were born three sons prosperous as Sutrāman (*Indra*) and resplendent as the three fires, the (*one*) called Rājāditya in this world, (*another*) named the glorious Gaṇḍarāditya (*and the third*) Ariṇjaya, the valorous, whose name was famous throughout the world.

(V. 19) When king Parāntaka, who was pre-eminent in destroying the armies of (*his*) enemies (*and*) who was a follower of *dharma*, had gone to heaven after having protected the earth girdled by the ocean, there (*was*) his son known as Rājāditya, who was strong, (*and*) whose two feet were rubbed by the crests of hosts of kings : he became the lord of the earth.

(V. 20) That heroic Rājāditya, the ornament of the solar race having agitated in battle, the imperturbable Kṛishṇarāja along with his army, with his sharp arrows felling in all directions, while (*seated*) on the back of an excellent elephant, had his heart split by the thrusts of his (*i.e.* Kṛishṇarāja's) sharp arrows and mounting a celestial car went to the world of heroes (*vīraloka*) praised by the three worlds.

(V. 21) When Rājāditya (or the sun among kings) of great prowess (or splendour) had gone to give pleasure to the lotus-faces of heavenly damsels, his heroic brother of wide-spread fame, (*named*) Gaṇḍarādityavarmman, protected the whole earth dispelling the dense darkness, (*viz.*) all (*his*) enemies.

(V. 22) Having got a son named Madhurāntaka and (*having founded*) a big village after his own name in the country on the north bank of (*the river*) Kavērakanyā (*i.e.* Kāvērī), he (Gaṇḍarāditya) went to heaven for achieving the objects of (*that*) other world.

(V. 23) When that lord had gone to heaven, the heroic Ariṇjaya, a very conflagration in (*consuming*) the forest of enemy kings, ruled the whole earth.

(V. 24) From Ariṇjaya was born Parāntaka, (*who was*) equal (*in prowess*) to the destroyer of the (*three*) cities (*i.e.* Śiva), (*who was*) the crusher of the circle of enemy kings, (*and*) who, (*causing his*) subjects to be pleased by his good qualities, peacefully ruled the earth girdled by the ocean.

(V. 25) At the city named Chēvūra, he (Parāntaka) had the quarters filled with heaps of sharp and pointed arrows sent forth from his beautiful bow and caused to flow manifold rivers of blood springing from the high mountains, *i.e.* the enemies' elephants cut asunder by (*his*) sharp sword.

(V. 26) This lord of kings (rājendra) begot (*two sons*), Āditya, otherwise called Karikāla and Rājarāja, the head-jewel of the solar race.

(V. 27) When that Parāntaka directed his attention to protect the world of gods (*i.e.*, died), Āditya justly carried out the protection of the world of men.

(V. 28) That young boy (Āditya), the light of the family of Manu, played sportively in battle with Vira-Pāṇḍya, just as a lion's cub (*does*) with a rutting mad elephant proud of (*its*) strength.

(V. 29) When that chief of kings went to heaven, the son of Gaṇḍarāditya, (*i.e.*) king Madhurāntaka, he, of powerful arms and famous as Mahendra (*Indra*), protected the earth which had the ocean for its girdle.

(V. 30) When that chief of the rulers of the earth passed away to protect the abode of the gods, the heroic Rājarāja, the light of the Chōla race, whose footstool was licked (*i.e.* rubbed)

by the glittering crests of all kings, bore the heavy burden of the earth on his arm which was surpassing the lustre of the body of Śeṣha, the lord of serpents.

(V. 31) Conquering the kings of the Pāṇḍya, Tuḷu and Kēraḷa (countries and) **Sīmhaśēndra** and **Satyāśraya** and others by the power of his arm and taking possession of their elephants, horses, gems, and kingdoms, he caused to glow all the ten quarters with (his) fame.

(V. 32) Having accomplished the conquest of the regions and made all kings tributary, that lord of kings, Rājārāja, lived happily in his town, honoured by (his) people, just as Indra, worshipped by the world, was in heaven.

(V. 33) As far as the mountain which has the glory of bringing forth the Sun, as far as the Southern ocean, as far as the mountain named Asta and as far as the lord of mountains (i.e., the Himālaya) occupied by Śambhu (Śiva), the kings that were concerned in the protection of their own families sagaciously sought refuge in the pair of lotus-feet of Nityavinōḍa, in order to enjoy many pleasures.

(V. 34) Because that sovereign was liberal to, (and) in many ways the refuge of, the kings that sought his feet, the good men in this earth call him **Rājāśraya** of boundless magnanimity.

(Il. 73 to 86) He, this **Rājakēsarivarman Rājārāja**, who had seen the other shore of the ocean of the collection of all sciences, whose foot-stool was made yellow by the cluster of rays (emanating) from many a gem set on the borders of the beautiful gold diadems worn by the entire circle of kings, gave, in the twenty-first year of his universal sovereignty,

to the Buddha residing in the surpassingly beautiful **Chūḷāmaṇivarman-vihāra**, of (such) high loftiness (as had) belittled the Kanakagiri (i.e. Mēru), which had been built—in the name of his father, by the glorious **Māravijayōttuṅgavarman**, who, by the greatness of his wisdom, had conquered the teacher of the gods, who was the sun to the lotus-forest (viz.) the learned men, who was the **Kalpa**-tree to supplicants, who was born in the **Śailēndra** family, who was the lord of the **Śrī-Vishaya** (country), who was conducting the rule of **Kaṭāha**, who had the **Makura** crest, (and) who was the son of **Chūḷāmaṇivarman** that had mastered all state-craft—at **Nāgipattana**, delightful (on account of) many a temple, rest-house, water-shed, and pleasure garden and brilliant with arrays of various kinds of mansions, (situated) in the division called **Paṭṭaṅkūrṇa** (included) in the big group of districts named **Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaṇaṇāṭṭu**, which was the forehead-mark of the whole earth,

the village named **Āṇaimaṅgalam** (which had its) four boundaries defined by the circumambulation of the female elephant and (which was situated) in the division called **Paṭṭaṅkūrṇa** (included) in the same group of districts (as had been named above).

(Vv. 35-36) When that powerful (**Rājārāja**) had obtained divinity, his wise son, king **Madhurāntaka**, who ascended on his throne, caused an enduring edict (to be made) for this village, which had thus been granted by his father, the king-emperor, and ordered thus:—

(V. 37) As long as Śeṣha, the lord of all serpents, holds the entire earth, so long may this **viḥāra** last in (this) world with its endowment.

(V. 38) This lord of **Kaṭāha** of great valour, the abode of virtues, thus prays to all future kings:—

“Protect (ye) for ever this my charity.”

(V. 39) In the delightful village called **Koṭṭaiyūr**, famed in this world, that intelligent Brāhman of stainless character named **Anantanārāyaṇa**, the follower of the wise, born in the spotless family of **Vasishṭha**, which was the abode of prosperity, composed this *praśasti*.

(Vv. 40-42) Of that king who was justly protecting the entire earth, who was invincible and who had subdued the whole host of hostile kings, the chief officer was the wise person called **Tilla-**

yāli, whose birth place in this earth was known as **Kāñchivāyil** and who was known in the world as **Rājarāja-Mūvēndavēl**: At his (*i.e.* the king's) injunction, he caused this edict to be neatly executed.

(Vv. 43-44) At the direction of that lord of Kaṭāla, Śrīmān Aṭikal's son, who was well known as **Tuvavūravān Apukka**, who was modest, endowed with virtues, devoted to his master's concerns and of generous mind, caused to be made this lasting edict.

(Vv. 45-48) The most intelligent **Rājarāja-Mahāchārya**, otherwise called **Vāsudēva**, who, though born of **Kṛishṇa**, was not of black (*kṛishṇa*) conduct; the two sons of **Kṛishṇa**, called **Śrīraṅga** and **Dāmōdara**, who were the bees (*as it were*) at the lotus-feet of **Kṛishṇa**; and also the son of **Vāsudēva**, named **Kṛishṇa**, who had beautiful lotus-like eyes; and the son of **Ārāvamṛita**, called **Purushōttama**, of excellent speech (?), who was vying with **Chitrugupta** in stamping (*i.e.* engraving) letters—these five artists, who were the forehead-marks of the **Hōvya** family and born in **Kāñchīpura**, wrote this eulogy.

(ll. 108f.) This edict was incised by us, the engraving sculptors of the prosperous (*city of*) **Kāñchīpura** in **Jayaṅḡḍachōḷamaṅḍalam**, *viz.*, **Kṛishṇaṅ Vāsudēvaṅ alias Rājarājappērāchāryaṅ**, **Kṛishṇaṅ Tiruvamaṅgaṅ**, **Kṛishṇaṅ Dāmōdaraṅ**, **Vāsudēvaṅ Kṛishṇaṅ** and **Ārāvamirdu Purushōttamaṅ**.

Tamil portion.

(l. 1) Hail! Prosperity! (*This is the order of*) **Kōnēriṇmaikōṇḍāṇ** (*issued*) to the **nāṭṭār** (*i.e.*, the members of the Divisional Assembly) of **Paṭṭaṇa-kūrṅam**, a sub-division in **Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷaṇāḍu**, the headmen of **brahmadēyas**, the representatives of the **ūr** in **dēvadānas**, **paḷḷichchanda**, **kaṇimurūṭṭu** and **veṭṭippēru** (villages) and the **nagaraṅgaḷulār** (*i.e.*, the body of merchants).

(l. 4) In the twenty-first year and ninety-second day of our (*reign*) when we were in the pavilion to the south of the palace of **Rājāśrayaṇ** (*situated*) outside **Taṅjāvūr**, we having declared that, (*in order to meet*) the necessary requirements of the **paḷḷi** (*attached to*) the **Chūḷāmaṇivarma-vihāra** which is being built by the **Kiḍāra** king **Chūḷāmaṇivarma** at **Nāgaṇaṭṭaṇam** in **Paṭṭaṇa-kūrṅam** (*a sub-division*) of **Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷaṇāḍu**, the income of eight thousand nine hundred and forty-three **kalam**, two **tūri**, (one) **kurūṇi** and one **nāḷi** of paddy accruing from the payment of land assessment on ninety-seven (**vēli**), two **mā**, one and a half **kāṇi**, one **mundirigai**; **kīḷ** (*i.e.* 1/320) of three **mā**, three **kāṇi**, and one **mundirigai** and **kīḷ** (*i.e.* 1/320) of half and two **mā** of land, inclusive of those that had ceased to be **paḷḷichchanda** and exclusive of those that had been removed in survey, which formed the village of **Āṇaimaṅḡalam** in **Paṭṭaṇa-kūrṅam** (*a sub-division*) of **Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷaṇāḍu** shall be entered in the (*revenue*) register as a tax-free **paḷḷichchanda** from the twenty-first year (*of our reign*) and the taxes paid over to the **paḷḷi** in the **Chūḷāmaṇivarma-vihāra** which (*as aforesaid*) is being erected by the **Kiḍāra** king at **Nāgaṇaṭṭaṇam** in **Paṭṭaṇa-kūrṅam** (*a sub-division*) of **Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷaṇāḍu**, (*this*) our order was written by **Amudaṅ Tīrtakaraṅ**, the headman of **Vilattūr** in **Āvūr-kūrṅam** (*a sub-division*) of **Nittavinōda-vaḷaṇāḍu**, who writes our orders, signed by the superintendents of our writs (*viz.*) **Kṛishṇaṅ Rāmaṅ alias Mummaḍichōḷa-Brahmamārāyaṅ** of **Kēraḷāntaka-chaturvēdimāṅḡalam** in **Veṇṇāḍu** (*a sub-division*) of **Uyyakkōṇḍār-vaḷaṇāḍu**, **Irāyiravaṅ Pallavayaṅ alias Mummaḍichōḷa Pōṣaṅ**, (*a native*) of **Araiśūr** in **Pāmbuṇi-kūrṅam** (*a sub-division*) of **Nittavinōda-vaḷaṇāḍu** and **Vēḷaṅ Uttamachōḷaṅ alias Madurāntaka Mūvēndavēḷaṅ** (*a native*) of **Pāruttikkudī** in **Neṇmali-nāḍu** (*a sub-division*) of **Arumōḷidēva-vaḷaṇāḍu**, and was issued: and in accordance with it, it was ordered to be entered in the accounts by our Secretaries **Āruraṅ Aravaṇaiyāṅ alias Parākramachōḷa-Mūvēndavēḷaṅ**, **Tattaṅ Śēndaṅ alias Śēmbiyaṅ-Mūvēndavēḷaṅ** (*and*) **Māppēraṅ Poṅkāri** (*a native*) of **Aruṅkuṅṅam**; the arbitrators **Paramēśvara-Bhaṭṭa-Sarvakraṭuyāḷin** of **Puḷḷamaṅḡalam** and **Dāmōdara-Bhaṭṭaṅ** of **Kaḍalaṅḡudī**, our

Secretaries Piṣaṅgaṇ Pālūr *alias* Miṇavaṇ-Mūvēndavēḷāṇ of Kaṇkuḍi in Tirunaṇaiyūr-nāḍu (*a sub-division*) of Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷanāḍu, and Śaṅkaranārāyaṇaṇ Araṅgaṇ of Vaṅganagar in Puṇaṅgarambai-nāḍu (*a sub-division*) of Arumōḷidēva-vaḷanāḍu, and the arbitrators Tammaḍi-Bhaṭṭaṇ of Veṇṇainallūr and Tiyaṁbaga-Bhaṭṭaṇ of Paśalai.

(l. 33) The *Puravuvāri* (officers) Korraṇ Poṇkāri, the headman of Kiḷinallūr, Śūṇṇiyaṇ Tēvaḍi (*a native*) of Kaḷumalam, Tēvaṇ Sāttaṇ (*a native*) of Paḷuvūr and Aṇaiyaṇ Taḷikkulaṇ (*a native*) of Kaḷikkudī, the *varippattagam* (*i.e.* officers in charge of Tax registers) Kumaraṇ Araṅgaṇ (*a native*) of Sāttaṇūr and Śiṅgaṇ Vepkāḍaṇ, the headman of Paruttīyūr, being present, Āṇaimaṇ-galam in Paṭṭaṇa-kūṇṇam (*a sub-division*) of their district, comprising of ninety-seven (*vēli*), two *mā*, one and a half *kāni*, one *mundirigai*, *kīl* (*i.e.* 1/320) of three *mā*, three *kāni* and one *mundirigai* and *kīl* (*i.e.* 1/320) of half, and two *mā* of land, after deducting those that had been removed in survey, was entered in the revenue register as a tax-free *paḷlichchandaṁ* on the ninety-sixth day of the (*said*) twenty-first year.

(l. 41) We furnished the names of (*the following persons*) for going round the hamlets accompanying the female elephant:—

Our (*officer*) Kaṇkāṇi-naḍuvirukkum Tammaḍi-Bhaṭṭaṇ of Veṇṇainallūr and the Bhaṭṭaṇ (*viz.*) Śrīdhara-Bhaṭṭaṇ of Tūrpil residing at Śrī-Tuṅgamaṇḍalam *alias* Abhimānabhūṣaṇa-chaturvēḷi-maṇḍalam in Tirunaṇaiyūr-nāḍu (*a sub-division*) of Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷanāḍu, Paṇḍā-bha-Bhaṭṭaṇ of Pārkkulaṁ (*residing at*) Tirunallūr in Vēḷānāḍu (*a sub-division*) of the same *nāḍu*, Veṇṇaiya-Bhaṭṭaṇ of Pērēmapuram (*residing*) in the same village and Nandiṇvara-Bhaṭṭaṇ of Dvēdaigōmapuram (*residing*) at Śrī-Vīraṇārāyaṇa-chaturvēḍimaṇḍalam, a free village in Kīra-nāḍu (*a sub-division*) of Rājēndrasimha-vaḷanāḍu and the *Puravuvāri* (*officer*) Aṇaiyaṇ Taḷikkulaṇ (*a resident*) of Kaḷikkudī.

(l. 49) A royal order (*tinuṁṇuṁ*) embodying the above and with the words "it behoves you also to be with these persons, to point out the boundaries, to go round the hamlets accompanied by a female elephant, to set up (*boundary*) stones and milk-bush and to draw up and give the deed of gift," having been sent to us, the *nāḷṭōm* (the assembly of the district), in the writing of the Royal scribe (*mandiravōlai*) Amudaṇ Tirttakaraṇ, the headmen of Viḷattūr, and with the signatures of the Superintendents of Royal Writs (*tirumandiravōlai-nāyakam*) Kṛiṣṇaṇ Rāmaṇ *alias* Mummaḍiśōḷa-Brahmamārāyaṇ, Īṇaiyiraṇ Paḷlavayaṇ *alias* Mummaḍiśōḷa-Pōṣaṇ (*a resident*) of Araśūr and Vēḷāṇ Uttamaśōḷaṇ *alias* Madurāntaka-Mūvēndavēḷāṇ (*a resident*) of Paruttikuḍi, in the twenty-first year (*of the reign*) of the glorious king Rājarājakēsarivarman *alias* Rājarāja-*ai* (*of*) his highly powerful and victorious army, Vēṅgai-nāḍu, Gaṅgaṇpāḍi, Nuḷambapāḍi, Taḷḷigai-*aid* of) the Earth had become his own, was pleased to destroy the ships at Kāndaḷūr-Śālai, took, with (*the*) *pāḍi*, Kuḍamalai-nāḍu, Kollam, Kāḷiṅgam and the province of Īḷam (*i.e.* Ceylon), famous in the eight quarters, and who carried away the splendour of the Śēḷiyas (*i.e.* the Pāṇḍyas) in the year of his acquiring excessive glory fit for being praised till the end of time, we, the *nāḷṭōm* (*i.e.*, the assembly of the district), seeing it (*i.e.* the order) being brought, respectfully advanced (*towards*) received and carried (*it*) on our heads and accompanying the female elephant, walked round the hamlets, set up (*boundary*) stones and milk-bush and drew up and gave the deed of gift.

(l. 65) The eastern boundary of the land (*thus granted*) forms the western boundary of Kōvūr in Paṭṭaṇa-kūṇṇam (*a sub-division*) of Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷanāḍu; (*it is*) to the west of the land of the carpenter of Kōvūr and of the (*stream*) Kāyidi-ōḍai of Kōvūr; further south (*it is*) to the west of the field called Pugaiyūṇṇi (*belonging to*) the same village; further south, proceeding in an easterly direction on the same boundary and further south of the same field, (*it is*) to the west of the field called Pugaiyūṇṇi; further south and further west, (*it is*) to the north of the

small ridge (*which had been*) converted into a nursery (*and made to form part*) of the one-eighth (*vēli of land lying*) to the west of the channel irrigating the (*land called*) Pugaiyūṇṇi ; further, (*it is*) to the west of the (*said*) small ridge which had been converted into a nursery at the western side of this one-eighth (*vēli*) ; further still, (*it is*) to the north of the ridge made on the southern side of the same nursery ; further on, (*it is*) to the west of the western ridge of this one-eighth (*vēli*) ; further, (*it is*) to the west of the one-eighth (*vēli*) of Pugaiyūṇṇi (*lying*) on the southern side of the said one-eighth (*vēli*) ; further south of this, (*it is*) to the west of the one *mā* and a half of land belonging to the potter of Kōvūr ; on the south of this (*land*), (*it is*), to the west of the one *mā* and a half (*of land*) ; on the south of this, (*it is*) to the south of the middle of the stream ; further on, (*it is*) to the west of the boundary of this (*village of*) Kōvūr ; further south, (*it is*) to the west of the one *mā* of land of Araiśūr Mariyāḍi, a *Vellāla* of Kōvūr ; on the south of this, (*it is*) to the south of the middle of the stream ; going in a south-easterly direction along this stream, (*it lies*) to the west of the spot at which the western Paḷlavāyikkāl falls into this very stream ; further on, (*it is*) to the south of the southern bank of the western Paḷlavāyikkāl and to the west of the western ridge of (*the land called*) Mēlpallam of Kōvūr ; (*further*), it is to the north of the northern ridge of the one-eighth (*vēli of land*) of the *Vellāla* Uṇṇappali Pākkaraṇ in Mēlpallam of this village ; (*it is also*) to the west of the middle of the stream at the western side of this same one-eighth (*vēli*) and of the one-eighth (*vēli of land*) of the *Vellāla* Paramēśvaraṇ Naṇaiyūr ; (*it is*) to the west of the middle of this stream ; (*further, it is*) to the west of this same stream which forms the boundary(?) (*kottam*) of the one-eighth (*vēli of land*) of Aiyyāraṇ Śēndaraṇ, a *Vellāla* of Kōvūr ; (*it is also*) to the south of the same one-eighth (*vēli of land*) ; (*further, it is*) to the west of this stream at the boundary(?) (*kottam*) of the land (*called*) Mēlpallam ; and (*also*) to the west of the spot at which this stream falls into the (*channel*) Eṇṇavāṇṇi-vāyikkāl and to the west of this Eṇṇavāṇṇi-vāyikkāl ; further, (*it is*) to the south of this Eṇṇavāṇṇi-vāyikkāl and to the west of this Eṇṇavāṇṇi-vāyikkāl.

(l. 92) The southern boundary is to the north of this Eṇṇavāṇṇi-vāyikkāl ; and going in a westerly direction along this Eṇṇavāṇṇi-vāyikkāl, crossing the same channel and getting up (*its*) southern bank, and going further south along the western boundary of the (*one*) *vēli* of paḷugai land belonging to the *brahmadēya* of this (*village of*) Āṇaimaṇḡalam, (*it lies*) to the west of the stream which (*here*) lies in the direction of south-north ; going then in a southerly direction along this (*same*) boundary, (*and proceeding*) further west, (*it is*) to the north of the same stream ; again (*going*) in a northerly direction along the said stream and reaching this Eṇṇavāṇṇi-vāyikkāl, (*it is*) to the east of it ; crossing the Eṇṇavāṇṇi-vāyikkāl and getting up its north bank and proceeding (*then*) in a westerly direction along the north bank of this channel, (*it lies*) to the north of the channel ; passing in a westerly direction along this boundary, and then in a westerly direction in the course of the stream, and reaching the northern ridge of the four *mā* of land in Śīvalaiykuḍi, a *brahmadēya* of Paṭṭaṇa-kūṇṇam in this *nāḍu*, and (*then*) passing along the same ridge in a westerly direction, (*it lies*) to the north of this boundary ; proceeding in a westerly direction along the same boundary and reaching the stream (*called*) Paḷaviḷappu, (*it lies*) to the north of this boundary.

(l. 106) The western boundary is to the east of the *veḷḷappēru* (*granted to the men in charge of*) the head sluice of the Nāṭṭuppōkku-(*channel*) which runs in a northerly direction ; going further north and reaching the stream which forms the eastern boundary of the lands of (*the village of*) Muṇṇikuḍi in Paṭṭaṇa-kūṇṇam of the same district and going then in a northerly direction along the middle of the same stream as it lay, (*it lies*) to the east of this stream, and includes the stream also ; proceeding thence in a northerly direction along the stream, as it lay, till reaching the lands of the same (*village of*) Muṇṇikuḍi, and reaching also the stream which formed the eastern boundary of this Muṇṇikuḍi, and proceeding further north, (*it is*) to the east of the same boundary ; going through the several turnings of the stream as it lay and then passing in a northerly direc-

tion till reaching the lands of this Muñjikuḍi (*village*), and proceeding further north of the stream which forms the eastern boundary of the same village of Muñjikuḍi and further to the east of the same boundary, and going then in a northerly direction along this stream as it lay, and leaving this (*stream*) and reaching the southern ridge of the four *mā* of land (*belonging to*) Rāmaṇ (Gōvin-
dan, a Vellāla of this Muñjikuḍi and passing (*then*) in a northerly direction along the same boundary and reaching the southern ridge of the lands which formed the *brahmadēya* of this (*same*) Muñji-
kuḍi, (*it lies*) to the south of it and also to the east of it; further on (*it lies*) to the north of the
lands (*belonging to*) the *brahmadēya* of the said Muñjikuḍi; going then in a northerly direction
along the same boundary, (*it lies*) to the east of the land forming the eastern boundary of the holding
of the Vellālas (*vellāṇ-vagai*) of the said Muñjikuḍi; going then in a northerly direction along the
same boundary, and then in a north-westerly direction till reaching the field called Ūdārimayakkal
in Muñjikuḍi, (*it lies*) to the east of the eastern ridge of the said field; going in a westerly direction
along the northern ridge of the same field, (*it lies*) to the north of the northern ridge; going in a
northerly direction along the (*stream of*) Paṇaiyōḍai on the western side of the same field, (*it lies*)
to the east of the same stream; going then in a northerly direction along the same stream till
reaching the channel called Rājarājan-vāyikkāl which was dug out to irrigate the lands of this
(*village of*) Āṇaimaṅgalam and then crossing this channel and getting up its northern bank, (*it*
lies) to the east of the eastern ridge of the field called Kālavāy in the *brahmadēya* of this (*village*
of) Āṇaimaṅgalam; going in a northerly direction and (*then*) in an easterly direction and reaching
the southern ridge of the quarter (*vēli*) of land of Kiḷāṇ Kiḷāṇ in the *brahmadēya* of this
Āṇaimaṅgalam, and passing (*again*) in a south-easterly direction, (*it lies*) to the south and east
of the boundary which proceeds from this (*ridge*) in north-easterly and easterly directions; going
(*then*) in a north-westerly direction along the northern ridge of the same, (*it lies*) to the north of
this (*line*); further, (*it lies*) to the east of the eastern ridge of the three *mā* (*of land*) of Āritāṇ
Śiriyāṇ Kaḍambaṇ in the *brahmadēya* of this (*village of*) Āṇaimaṅgalam.

(l. 134) Proceeding in an easterly direction along the southern ridge of this (*land*), the
northern boundary is to the south of this (*field*); proceeding in an easterly direction along the
boundary of the land called Koṭṭiḍal in the *brahmadēya* (*village of*) Pirambil in Paṭṭaṇa-kūṭṭam,
(*a sub-division*) of the said district (*of Kshatriyasikhāmaṇi-vāḷanāḍu*) till reaching the west-
ern ridge of the land of Vāchchiyaṇ Paramēśvaraṇ Pūvaṇ in the *brahmadēya* of the said Āṇai-
maṅgalam, (*it lies*) to the south of it; (*it also lies*) to the west, south and east of the said land;
(*it is*) also to the east of the eastern ridge of the land called Koṭṭiḍal in the *brahmadēya* (*village*
of) Pirambil in the above said *nāḍu*; proceeding in a northerly direction along the same
ridge and reaching the southern bank of the river called Viḷappu, (*it lies*) to the south of its
southern bank; proceeding in an easterly direction along this bank and reaching the western
ridge of the one *mā* and a half (*of land*) in the *dēvadāna* of (*the god*) Mahādēva of this (*village of*)
Āṇaimaṅgalam, (*it lies*) to the west of this ridge; proceeding in a southerly direction along the
same ridge and reaching the western ridge of (*the field of*) Muḷḷivaravai which is (*also*) a *dēvadāna*
of the same god, (*it lies*) to the west of that ridge; proceeding (*then*) in southern and eastern direc-
tions along the same ridge and reaching the tank of this god, and then going in a southerly direc-
tion along the western bank of the channel feeding the said tank of this god, (*it lies*) to the west
of the western ridge of the field called Kaṇavadi-kāl which is also a *dēvadāna* of (*the above men-*
tioned) god; proceeding (*then*) in an easterly direction along the southern ridge of this Kaṇavadi-
kāl, (*it lies*) to the south of this ridge; (*it is also*) to the west of the western ridge of the one *mā*
of the *dēvadāna* land called Melukkuppuṇam¹ (*belonging to*) this god; proceeding in an easterly

¹ Assignments made for meeting the expenses of supplying oil for the anointing of images of gods and for
cleaning the courtyards of temples are called Melukkuppuṇam.

direction along the southern ridge of this one *mā*, (*it lies*) to the south of this ridge; proceeding (*then*) in an easterly direction along the southern ridge of the three *kūṇi* of the *dēvadāna* land of (*i.e.*, belonging to) this god and reaching the Pattal-channel, (*it lies*) to the south of it; proceeding (*further*) in a northerly direction along the western bank of the said Pattal-channel till reaching the (*river called*) Viḷappu, (*it lies*) to the east of it; crossing the said Viḷappu and getting up its northern bank and arriving at the boundary of Mūṅgirkūḍi which is a *brahmadēya* of Paṭṭaṇa-kūṛram in the same district and then proceeding in northern and eastern directions along that boundary, (*it lies*) to the east and south of it; further on, (*it is*) to the west of the lands of this Mūṅgirkūḍi; proceeding in a southerly direction along the said boundary till reaching (*the river*) Viḷappu, crossing the Viḷappu and getting up its southern bank and then proceeding in an easterly direction along the southern bank and reaching the western ridge of the land called Kaṇavadimayakkal (*situated*) in Kōvūr of this *nāḍu*, (*it lies*) to the south of it; (*it lies also*) to the west of the western ridge of this land (*viz.*), Kaṇavadimayakkal; proceeding in an easterly direction along the southern ridge of this land (*viz.*), Kaṇavadimayakkal and reaching the channel irrigating Nallūrchēri, a *brahmadēya* of Paṭṭaṇa-kūṛram of this district (*it lies*) to the south; proceeding then in an easterly direction along the southern bank of the said channel till reaching the southern ridge of the one *mā* of land (*belonging to*) Uṇṇappāḷi Pākkaraṇ, a Vellāḷa of Kōvūr in the same district and then going in an easterly direction of this southern ridge and reaching the carpenter's land in Kōvūr where the boundary originally commenced, (*it lies*) to the south.

(l. 167) The donee shall have possession of the wet lands, dry lands, the village, village-site, ponds, sacred temples, the quarters of the Puṇaiyas, the quarters of the artisans and the burning grounds included within the four great boundaries thus described.

(l. 169) The following are the conditions to be observed in thus taking possession of this village inclusive of *kārāṇmai* and *mūyāḷchi* (*rights*) with its excess and deficiency in measurement including in it the houses, house-sites, shops, the bazaar street, assembly grounds, waste lands set apart for grazing calves, ponds, *koḷḷayūram* (*i.e.*, kraals or pulaces), valleys and wells, ant-hills, *terri*, forests, *pūḷiligaṇi*, barren lands and brackish lands, rivers, arable lands near rivers, streams, breaches, pits containing fish, gardens with their honey (*produce*), trees growing up and wells sunk down, without excluding any of the existing lands covered with water or rolled by the harrow or where the *inguna* runs or the tortoise crawls.

(l. 176) Channels shall be dug (*so as*) to irrigate the lands of the village; and their waste water shall be collected in canals and led away. Existing water courses over channels irrigating these lands shall be allowed to flow and their waste water shall be collected and led away. It is not permissible for others to cut branches, dam them across, put up small picottahs or bale water in baskets. Good (*i.e.*, drinking) water shall not be used for common purposes; but it may be dammed and made to irrigate (*lands*). Mansions and large edifices shall be built of burnt tiles (*i.e.*, bricks). Large wells shall be sunk. Coconut trees shall be planted in groves. *Damanaka*, *maruvu*, *iruvēli*, *śeṇbagam*, *śeṅgaḷunīr*, mango, jack, areca-palm, palmyra, *koḍi* and other useful trees of various descriptions shall be sown and planted. A big oil-press shall be set up. (*Such of*) the irrigation channels as are cut through the lands of this village and (*made to*) pass to outlying villages shall be permitted to flow over and be collected. (*Similarly also*), the channels cut through the lands of the outlying villages (*and made to*) pass into this village for the irrigation of lands shall be permitted to flow over and be collected. *Īḷaras* shall not be permitted to climb the palmyra and coconut trees planted (*on the borders*) of this village. Big drums and ornamental arches in three rows shall be allowed for families, according to traditions.

(l. 191) On receiving the lands as aforesaid, the privileges conferred are as follows:—*nāḍāḷchi* (fee for the administration of the district), *ūrāḷchi* (fee for the administration of the

village), *vattināli* (i.e., one *nāli* of grain on each basket), *pidānāli*, *kannālakāṇam* (i.e., fee of one *kāṇam* of gold received on every marriage occasion), *vannārappārai* (i.e., fee on washerman's stones), *kuśakkāṇam* (i.e., fee of one *kāṇam* paid by every potter), water-cess, *ilai-kūlam*, *taṇṇipudavai* (i.e., fee of one cloth on each loom), the fee on brokers, fee on goldsmiths, fee on shepherds, *āṭṭukkīrai* (i.e., fee for keeping flocks of sheep), good cow and good bull, *nāḍukūval* (i.e., fee for the watch of the district), *ūḍupōkku*, *virpiḍi*, *vālamaṇḍi*, *ulgu*, *ōḍakkūli* (i.e., fee on ferries), tolls, *maṇrupāḍu* (i.e., fee raised for assembly), *māviṇai*, *tīyeri*, *ilampūṭchi*, *kūttikāl* and such other fees, as the king could levy and enjoy, shall not henceforth be received by the king but shall be taken by the authorities of this *paḷli*.

(l. 198) For this land, inclusive of its *kārāṇmai* and *mīyāṭchi* (rights), with all excess and deficiency in measurements and including (such) lands as had ceased to be *paḷlichchanda*, forming the village of Āṇaimaṅgalam (situated) in this district, which had been granted (subject to) the conditions and privileges (specified) above, as a tax-free *paḷlichchanda* to the *paḷli* in the Chūlāmaṇivarma-vihāra which is being built by the Kaḍāra king at Nāgapattāṇam in Paṭṭaṇa-kūrṇam, we, the *nāṭṭōm* (i.e., the members of the Divisional Assembly) of (the said) Paṭṭaṇa-kūrṇam in Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷanāḍu, accompanying the female elephant, circumambulated the hamlets, planted (boundary) stones and milk-bush, drew up and presented the gift deed (to have effect) from the twenty-first year (of the king's reign). I, Āṇaiyaṇ Talikkulaṇḍa, (a resident) of Kaḷḷikkūḍi (and) a *puravurari* (officer), being present with the representatives of the districts while accompanying the female elephant and circumambulating the hamlets, planting (boundary) stones and milk-bush, drew up and gave the deed of gift: and this is my signature.

(l. 207) When the *nāṭṭār* were accompanying the she-elephant and circumambulating the hamlets of this Āṇaimaṅgalam, I, Kōṇ Puttaṇ, a Vellāḷa, residing at this Āṇaimaṅgalam, mounted the elephant, was present with them and showed the boundaries clearly: and this is my signature.

(l. 210) In this manner, we, the members of the assembly of Kaḍambaṇūr, a *brahmadēya* of Paṭṭaṇa-kūrṇam in Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷanāḍu, accompanied the she-elephant, circumambulated the hamlets and drew up and gave the deed of gift. At their bidding, I, Muppattiruvāṇ Yajñaṇ *alias* Kaṇpagāḍittāṇ, the arbitrator of this village, (have signed this): and this is my signature. At the bidding of the inhabitants of this Kaḍambaṇūr, I, Nārāyaṇaṇ Dāmōdaraṇ, a Vaikhāṇasa of this village, (have signed this): and this is my signature.

(l. 215) In this manner, we, the members of the assembly of Nārāmaṅgalam, a *brahmadēya* of Paṭṭaṇa-kūrṇam in Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷanāḍu, circumambulated the hamlets accompanying the she-elephant, and drew up and gave the deed of gift. I, Irunūṇṇuvāṇ Uttamaṇ *alias* Brahmamaṅgalyaṇ, the arbitrator of this village, (have signed this): and this is my signature.

(l. 218) In this manner, we, (the *ūrār* of Vēlaṅguḍi?), accompanied the she-elephant and drew up and gave the deed of gift. I, Vēlaṅguḍaiyāṇ Nārāyaṇaṇ Orri of Vēlaṅguḍi in Paṭṭaṇa-kūrṇam, (a sub-division) of Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷanāḍu (have signed this): and this is my signature.

(l. 221) In the said manner, we, the members of the assembly of Mūṇḍirkuḍi, a *brahmadēya* of Paṭṭaṇa-kūrṇam in Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷanāḍu, accompanied the she-elephant, circumambulated the hamlets and drew up and gave the deed of gift. I, Kuṇava-Nandi *alias* Alankāra-priyaṇ, the arbitrator of this village, (have signed this): and this is my signature.

(l. 224) In the said manner, we, the *ūrār* of Narimaṇṇam in Paṭṭaṇa-kūrṇam, (a sub-division) of Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷanāḍu, accompanied the she-elephant, circumambulated the hamlet

and drew up and gave the deed of gift. At the bidding of the *ūrār*, I, Aimbattiruvan Viḍēlvi-
dugaṇ, the arbitrator of this village, have signed (*this*) : and this is my signature.

(l. 228) In the said manner, we, the *ūrār* of Śāttamaṅgalam in Paṭṭaṇa-kūrṅam, (a sub-
division) of Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷanāḍu, accompanied the she-elephant, circumambulated the
hamlets and drew up and gave the deed of gift. At the bidding of the *ūrār*, I, Vēṭkōvaṇ Ediraṇ,
Śāttan *alias* Nānūṟuvapperuṅōvēḷāṇ of this village have signed (*this*) : and this is my signa-
ture.

(l. 232) In the said manner, we, the members of the assembly of Śannamaṅgalam, a *brah-
madēya* of Paṭṭaṇa-kūrṅam in Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷanāḍu, accompanied the she-elephant,
circumambulated the hamlets and drew up and gave the deed of gift. At the bidding of the
assembly, I, Durukkaṇ Kamudaṇ, the accountant-arbitrator of this village have signed (*this*):
and this is my signature.

(l. 236) In the said manner, we, the members of the assembly of Kottārakkudi, a *brah-
madēya* of Paṭṭaṇa-kūrṅam in Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷanāḍu, accompanied the she-elephant,
circumambulated the hamlets and drew up and gave the deed of gift. I, Ūraṇ Chandraśēkharāṇ
alias Brahmamaṅgalyaṇ, the accountant-arbitrator of this village, (*have signed this*) : and this
is my signature.

(l. 239) In the said manner, we, the *ūrār* of Kōvūr in Paṭṭaṇa-kūrṅam, (a sub-division) of
Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷanāḍu, accompanied the she-elephant, circumambulated the hamlets and
drew up and gave the deed of gift. At the bidding of the *ūrār*, I, Aiyyaṇ Aiyyaṇ, the account-
ant-arbitrator of this village, have signed (*this*) : and this is my signature.

(l. 243) In the said manner, we, the *ūrār* of Uttūr in Paṭṭaṇa-kūrṅam, (a sub-division) of
Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷanāḍu, accompanied the she-elephant, circumambulated the hamlets and
drew up and gave the deed of gift. At the bidding of the *ūrār*, I, Nakkaṇ Muḷli, the accountant-
arbitrator of this village have signed (*this*) : and this is my signature.

(l. 246) In the said manner, we, the members of the assembly of Nappimaṅgalam, a *brah-
madēya* of Paṭṭaṇa-kūrṅam in Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷanāḍu, accompanied the she-elephant,
circumambulated the hamlets and drew up and gave the deed of gift. At the bidding of the
assembly, I, Kaṇṇaṇ Alaṅkārapriyaṇ, the accountant-arbitrator of this village, (*have signed this*) :
and this is my signature.

(l. 249) In the said manner, we, the members of the assembly of Poruvanūr, a *brahmadēya*
of Paṭṭaṇa-kūrṅam in Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷanāḍu, accompanied the she-elephant, circum-
ambulated the hamlets and drew up and gave the deed of gift. At the bidding of the assembly,
I, Vēṭkōvaṇ Mādevaṇ Ūraṇ, the accountant of this village, have signed (*this*) : and this is my
signature.

(l. 253) In the said manner, we, the *ūrār* of Ālaṅguḍi in Paṭṭaṇa-kūrṅam, (a sub-division)
of Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷanāḍu, accompanied the she-elephant, circumambulated the hamlets
and drew up and gave the deed of gift. At the bidding of the *ūrār*, I, Kāśyapaṇ Sūryyaṇ Araṅgaṇ,
the accountant of this village, have signed (*this*) : and this is my signature.

(l. 256) In the said manner, we, the *ūrār* of Tuṟaiyūr in Paṭṭaṇa-kūrṅam, (a sub-division)
of Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷanāḍu, accompanied the she-elephant, circumambulated the hamlets
and drew up and gave the deed of gift. At the bidding of the *ūrār*, I, Tiritti Vaikundaṇ of the
Bhāradvāja-(*gōtra*), the accountant of this village, have signed (*this*) : and (*this is my*) signature.

(l. 259) In the said manner, we, the members of the assembly of Pirambil, a *brahmadēya*
of Paṭṭaṇa-kūrṅam in Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷanāḍu, accompanied the she-elephant, circum-
ambulated the hamlets and drew up and gave the deed of gift. I, Kuṇavaṇ Nandi *alias* Alaṅkā-
rapriyaṇ, the accountant-arbitrator of this village, (*have signed this*) : and this is my signature.

(l. 263) In the said manner, we, the *ūrār* of Kaḍambaṅguḍi, accompanied the she-elephant, circumambulated the hamlets and drew up and gave the deed of gift. At the bidding of the *ūrār*, I, Kuṇavaṇ Nandi *alias* Alaṅkārapriyaṇ, the accountant-arbitrator of this village, have signed (*this*) : and this is my signature.

(l. 265) In the said manner, we, the *ūrār* of Śēndamaṅgalam in Paṭṭaṇa-kūrṇam, (*a sub-division*) of Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷaṇāḍu, accompanied the she-elephant, circumambulated the hamlets and drew up and gave the deed of gift. At the bidding of the *ūrār*, I, Ūrāṇ Aiyaṇ, the arbitrator of this village, have signed (*this*) : and this is my signature.

(l. 268) In the said manner, we, (*the ūrār of Śiruchchēndamaṅgalam ?*), accompanied the she-elephant, circumambulated the hamlets, and drew up and gave the deed of the gift. I, Eṭṭi Valaṇḍiḷiyaṇ Saṅgaṇ of Śiruchchēndamaṅgalam in Paṭṭaṇa-kūrṇam, (*a sub-division*) of Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷaṇāḍu, (*have signed this*) : and this is my signature.

(l. 270) In the said manner, we, the *ūrār* of Kurrālam in Paṭṭaṇa-kūrṇam, (*a sub-division*) of Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷaṇāḍu, accompanied the she-elephant, circumambulated the hamlets and drew up and gave the deed of gift. At the bidding of the *ūrār*, I, Vēḷkōvaṇ Dēvaṇ Ūraṇ, the accountant of this village, have signed (*this*) : and this is my signature.

(l. 273) In the said manner, we, the *ūrār* of Tirunāvūr in Paṭṭaṇa-kūrṇam, (*a sub-division*) of Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷaṇāḍu, accompanied the she-elephant, circumambulated the hamlets and drew up and gave the deed of gift. At the bidding of the *ūrār*, I, Chaturmukhaṇ Araṅgaṇ, the arbitrator of this village, have signed (*this*) : and this is my signature.

(l. 276) In the said manner, we, the members of the assembly of Uvarkkuḍi, a *brahmadēya* of Paṭṭaṇa-kūrṇam in Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷaṇāḍu, accompanied the she-elephant, circumambulated the hamlets and drew up and gave the deed of gift. At the bidding of the assembly, I, Vēḷkōvaṇ Mānāgaṇ Nārāyaṇaṇ, the accountant of this village, have signed (*this*) : and this is my signature.

(l. 280) In the said manner, we, the *ūrār* of Muṇḍikuḍi in Paṭṭaṇa-kūrṇam, (*a sub-division*) of Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷaṇāḍu, accompanied the she-elephant, circumambulated the hamlets and drew up and gave the deed of gift. At the bidding of the *ūrār*, I, Vēḷkōvaṇ Mānāgaṇ Kaṇṇaṇ, the accountant of this village, have signed (*this*) : and this is my signature.

(l. 284) In the said manner, we, the members of the assembly of Tirukkannaṅguḍi in Paṭṭaṇa-kūrṇam, (*a sub-division*) of Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷaṇāḍu, accompanied the she-elephant, circumambulated the hamlets and drew up and gave the deed of gift. At the bidding of the assembly, I, Vēḷkōvaṇ Atirāmaṇ Irubattunālvaṇ *alias* Muṇḍūruvaṇ, the accountant of this village, have signed (*this*) : and this is my signature.

(l. 288) In the said manner, we, the *ūrār* of Kaḍambavalavāṭkai in Paṭṭaṇa-kūrṇam, (*a sub-division*) of Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷaṇāḍu, accompanied the she-elephant, circumambulated the hamlets and drew up and gave the deed of gift. At the bidding of the *ūrār*, I, Ūrāṇ Ūrāṇ, the accountant-arbitrator of this village, have signed (*this*) : and this is my signature.

(l. 292) In the said manner, we, the *ūrār* of Pāḷaṅkorraṅguḍi in Paṭṭaṇa-kūrṇam, (*a sub-division*) of Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷaṇāḍu, accompanied the she-elephant, circumambulated the hamlets and drew up and gave the deed of gift. At the bidding of the *ūrār*, I, Ūrāṇ Ūrāṇ, the accountant-arbitrator of this village, have signed (*this*) : and this is my signature.

(l. 295) In the said manner, we, the *ūrār* of Veṅkiḍaṅgil in Paṭṭaṇa-kūrṇam, (*a sub-division*) of Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷaṇāḍu, accompanied the she-elephant, circumambulated the hamlets and drew up and gave the deed of gift. At the bidding of the *ūrār*, I, Ūrāṇ Nakkaṇ, the accountant-arbitrator of this village, have signed (*this*) : and this is my signature.

(l. 298) In the said manner, we, (*the members of the assembly of Āṇaimaṅgalam* ?), accompanied the she-elephant, circumambulated the hamlets and drew up and gave the deed of gift. I, Āritaṇ Śiriyāṇ Kaḍambaṇ, (*a resident*) of this *brahmadēya* of Āṇaimaṅgalam, (*have signed this*) : and this is my signature.

(l. 300) In the said manner, I, Tūrpil Śrīdhara-Bhaṭṭaṇ, (*a resident*) of Śrī-Tuṅgamaṅgalam, a *brahmadēya* in Tirunaṅaiyūr-nāḍu, (*a sub-division*) of Kṣatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷanāḍu, (*in the capacity*) of a Bhaṭṭa, caused the she-elephant to circumambulate (*the hamlets*) and got the deed of gift to be drawn up. This is my signature.

(l. 303) In the said manner, I, Paṇṇābha-Bhaṭṭaṇ of Pārkkūḷam, (*residing*) at Tirunallūr in Vēḷā-nāḍu, (*in the capacity*) of a Bhaṭṭa, caused the she-elephant to circumambulate (*the hamlets*) and got the deed of gift to be drawn up and given. This is my signature.

(l. 306) In the said manner, I, Veṇṇaiya-Bhaṭṭaṇ of Pērēmapuram (*residing*) at Tirunallūr in Vēḷā-nāḍu, (*a sub-division*) of Kṣatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷanāḍu, (*in the capacity*) of a Bhaṭṭa, caused the she-elephant to circumambulate (*the hamlets*) and got the deed of gift to be drawn up and given. This is my signature.

(l. 308) In the said manner, I, Nandiśvara-Bhaṭṭaṇ of Dvēdaigōmapuram (*residing*) at Śrī-Vīraṇārāyaṇa-chaturvēdimāṅgalam in Rājēndrasirīha-vaḷanāḍu, (*in the capacity*) of a Bhaṭṭa, caused the she-elephant to circumambulate (*the hamlets*) and got the deed of gift to be drawn up and given. This is my signature.

(l. 311) Our (*i.e.*, the Royal) Secretaries (*viz.*) Miṇavaṇ Mūvēndavēḷāṇ, Korramaṅgalamu-daiyāṇ and Dēvaṇkuḍaiyāṇ; the arbitrators (*viz.*) Dāmōdara-Bhaṭṭaṇ of Kaḍalaṅguḍi and Pūvatta-Bhaṭṭaṇ of Koṭṭaiyūr; our Secretaries (*viz.*) Parākramaśōḷa-Mūvēndavēḷāṇ, Śembiyaṇ Mūvēndavēḷāṇ, Śōḷavēḷāṇ and Araiśūruḍaiyāṇ, and the arbitrator Paramōśvara-Bhaṭṭa-Sarva-kratuyājin of Puḷḷamaṅgalam, having ordered that (*the necessary*) entries may be made in the Revenue Registers in accordance with the deed that was thus signed and issued; the *puravuvāri* (*officers*) (*viz.*) Kōḍaṇḍaṇ Śēpaṇ of Āḷaṅguḍi, Ilavaḍiguḷ Naḷḷāṇ residing at Pūḍamaṅgalam and Karpagaṇ Śōḷai residing at Ālattūr, the *varippottayam* (*i.e.*, officer in charge of Revenue Registers) (*viz.*) Śiṅgaṇ Veṇkāḍaṇ, the headman of Paruttiyūr, the *mugaveḷṭi* (*officers*) (*viz.*) Kīlvāy-Kaṇavadi, Muṇḍaṇ Araṅgaṇ, Śaiyadaṇ Amalaṇ, Tattaṇ Śikittāṇ (*i.e.*, Śrī-Kṛishṇa), the *varippottaga-kkaṇakku* (*i.e.*, the accountant in charge of the Revenue Registers) Mūdēvaṇ Būmi, the *variṇṭiḷu* (*i.e.*, the officer who makes entries in Revenue Registers) Tāḷi Vīraśōḷaṇ, a resident of Uṇuvūr, and the *paṭṭōḷai* (keepers of Royal writs) (*viz.*) Perumāṇ Ambalattūḍi, Śikaṇḍaṇ (*i.e.*, Śrīkaṇṭha) Dēvaṇ, Mākāḷaṇ Ariṇji, and Nakkaṇ Maṇḍagavaṇ, being present, entries were made in the Revenue Registers and the deed was given (*to the donee*) on the **one hundred and sixty-third day** of the **twenty-third regnal year**.

(l. 323) This is the signature of Araiyaṇ Arumoḷi *alias* Rājēndraśōḷa-Pallavaraiyaṇ, the headman of Naḍār in Tiraimūr-nāḍu, (*a sub-division*) of Uyyakkonḍār-vaḷanāḍu.

(l. 325) (*This is*) approved by Kṛishṇaṇ Rāmaṇ *alias* Rājēndraśōḷa-Brahmamārāyaṇ of Kēraḷāntaka-chaturvēdimāṅgalam in Veṇṇāḍu, (*a sub-division*) of Uyyakkonḍār-vaḷanāḍu.

(l. 327) (*This is*) approved by Irāyiravaṇ Pallāvaṇ *alias* Uttamaśōḷa-Pallavaraiyaṇ, a resident of Araiśūr in Pāmbuṇi-kūṇṇam, (*a sub-division*) of Nittavinōda-vaḷanāḍu.

(l. 329) (*This is*) approved by Dāmōdara-Bhaṭṭaṇ of Dvēdaigōmapuram, (*a resident*) of Kaḍalaṅguḍi in Kuṇukkai-nāḍu, (*a sub-division*) of Rājēndrasirīha-vaḷanāḍu.

(l. 330) (*This is*) approved by Araiyaṇ Śikaṇḍaṇ (Śrīkaṇṭha) *alias* Miṇavaṇ Mūvēndavēḷāṇ, the headman of Kuṇumbil in Ambar-nāḍu, (*a sub-division*) of Uyyakkonḍār-vaḷanāḍu.

No. 35.—THE SMALLER LEIDEN PLATES (OF KULOTTUNGA I).

BY K. V. SUBRAHMANYA AIYER, B.A., COIMBATORE.

The inscription edited below is engraved on a set of **three copper-plates** now preserved in the Leiden University Museum in Holland. It was once published without plates in the *Archæological Survey of South India*, Volume IV, pp. 224 ff., by Burgess and Natesa Sastri as early as 1886. Though the text of the inscription had been fairly well made out, the translation given in the volume requires to be largely amended. It is also considered desirable to give facsimile plates of the inscription. Dr. N. P. Chakravarti, the Government Epigraphist for India, very kindly obtained from the Museum authorities in Leiden one set of excellent rubbings of the inscription and a photograph of the seal and placed them at my disposal for study and publication in the *Epigraphia Indica*.¹

The three plates—each of which measures 14·8 inches by 5·3 inches—that form this set, are held together by a strong ring bearing a large **seal** very similar to the one on the Larger Leiden Plates. The following is the reading of the **legend** on this seal by Burgess and Natesa Sastri :—

Śrī-Kulōttuṅga-Chōlasya Rājakēsarivarmaṇaḥ

punyaṁ kshōṇīśvara-sabhā-chūḍā-ratnāyā(ya) śāsanam

The editors note : “ whether through mistake on the part of the engraver or from want of room to get the whole inscription into the one line round the circumference, is uncertain, but the syllables—*lasya Rājakēsarivarmaṇaḥ* are inserted below *ṅga-Chō* and *punyaṁ kshōṇīśvara* between which they must be read, and this, together with the peculiar forms of some of the letters, makes the legend difficult to decipher”. The fact that the legend runs round the circular seal and has the syllables *lasya*, etc., engraved below in a second line is a clear indication that what is written below forms the end of the legend. And since it is certain that *Śrī-Kulōttuṅga-Chō* must precede the portion contained in the second line, the commencement, i.e., the first half of the verse forming the legend is *Punyaṁ kshōṇīśvara-sabhā-chūḍā-ratnāyā śāsanam*. In this legend, the compound *kshōṇīśvara-sabhā-chūḍā-ratnāyā* has been translated as “to the crest jewel of the assembly of earth-rulers” by Messrs. Burgess and Natesa Sastri. There is no doubt that the engraver had made some mistake here as had been supposed by these scholars. It seems to me, however, that the compound must have specific reference to the *saṅgha* of the Buddhist church (*paṭṭi*) erected at Nāgapaṭṭaṇam by king Chūḍāmaṇivarman of Kaṭāha. *Sabhā* in the legend is no doubt a synonym of *saṅgha* : and the term *ratna*, which is often applied to the *Buddha*, *Dharma* and *Saṅgha*, the sole resorts of the Buddhists, is highly suggestive of and favourable to connecting *sabhā* with the Buddhist shrine and creed. There is yet another suggestion contained in the terms used in the same compound : *chūḍāratna* may be taken to stand for *chūḍāmaṇi*, perhaps a contracted form of *Chūḍāmaṇivarman-vihāra*, which was the name of the Buddhist monument called after its royal founder Chūḍāmaṇivarman : but the intervening position of the word *sabhā* between *kshōṇīśvara* and *chūḍāratna* makes the interpretation difficult. Had the word *sabhā* with the appropriate termination been used at the end of the compound, it would have been quite easy to interpret the word into “to the *saṅgha* of (the *vihāra* erected by) king Chūḍāmaṇivarman” which, it seems, was intended to be conveyed by the legend. In fact the inscription on the plates as will be pointed out in the sequel, tells us clearly that the ambassadors from the king of

¹ [The impressions of this inscription also were very kindly prepared by Lt. Col. Th. van Erp of Rijks-Ethnographisch Museum, Leiden, at the request of Prof. J. Ph. Vogel.—Ed.]

Kaṭāha requested king Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷa to have a copper-plate issued in favour of the *saṅgha* of the *paḷḷi* of Chūḍāmaṇivarma-vihāra. We have instances of edicts with opening verses of this nature.¹

The inscription is written in the **Tamiḷ** language and alphabet throughout: but Grantha letters are used here and there where words of Sanskrit origin occur. For instance see *si* and *sa* in *siṅṇāsa* (l. 3), *ja* and *nma* (l. 3), *śrī* (l. 4), *rāja* (l. 5), *Rājēnta* (l. 6), *Rājarāja* (l. 7), *śēshai* (l. 8), *vāma-sāsaṇa* (l. 10), *Rājavidyādharma-śrī-sāmaṇta* and *Abhimānōttuṅga-śrī-sāmaṇta* (ll. 10-11), *Rājavallabha* (l. 12), *prasāda* (l. 13), *Rājarāja* (l. 14), *brahmadē* (l. 18), *brahma* (l. 28), *Vijayarājēnta* (l. 31), *śrī-Śailēndra-Chūḍāmaṇivarmma-vihāra* (ll. 39-40), *Mahādēva* (l. 42), *santuvigriha* and *Rāja*° (l. 49), and *Rājē*° (l. 50).

Unlike the plates of the Sanskrit and Tamiḷ portions of the Larger Leiden set, the plates of this set are not numbered. The only **orthographical peculiarities** worth noting are: (1) the use of the vowels in some rare places where consonants are needed, e.g., *kāṇiṇṭarai* (ll. 9, 38) and (2) the formation of *ū* in cases of *tū*, *nū*, *nū*, *lū*, etc., by the addition of the length (vertical stroke) sign to their short. The inscription is not quite well worded and there are possibilities of engraver's mistakes.

The inscription which is dated in the **20th year** of the reign of the Chōḷa king **Rājakēśari-varman** *alias* **Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷa I**, commences with the historical introduction *pugaḷ-mādu vi-laṅga*, which refers in general terms to the king's conquest of the Chēra (*Villavar*), Pāṇḍya (*Mā-ṇavar*), Vikkalan, *i.e.*, Vikramāditya VI and Siṅgaṇan, *i.e.*, Jayasimha. It records that, while the king was resting on the reclining seat (*paḷḷi-ppūḍam*) called *Kāḷiṅgarājaṇ* in the bathing hall of his palace at *Āyirattaḷi* *alias* *Āhavamallakulakālapuram*, two messengers (*dūtar*) of the king of Kaḍāram, named *Rājavidyādharma-śrī-sāmaṇta* and *Abhimānōttuṅga-śrī-sāmaṇta*, petitioned to him that the village granted free from the payment of taxes including *antarāya*, *vīraśēshai*, *paṇmai-paṇḍai-veṭṭi*, *kundāli* and *śuṅgamērā*, as *paḷḷichchanda* for meeting the requirements of the shrines of *Rājēndraśōḷapperumpalḷi* and *Rājarājapperumpalḷi* which were constructed by the king of Kaḍāram at *Śōḷakulavallipattāṇam* in *Pattāṇa-kūṛram*, a sub-division of *Ceyamāṇikka-vaḷanāḍu*, may be entered in a copper-plate document and issued in favour of the *Saṅgattār* of the *paḷḷi*. The messengers also prayed that the *Kāṇiṇṭars* of the *paḷḷichchanda* lands may be removed and the lands be left entirely in the charge of the *paḷḷi* and that this fact may also be noted in the same copper-plate deed. Accordingly, a royal order was issued to the *adhikārin* named *Rājēndraśiṅga-Mūvēndavēḷāṇ* that he, in conjunction with the *sandhivigrahin* *Rājavallabha-Pallavaraiyaṇ*, should draw up a copper-plate deed to that effect. After giving a list of the *paḷḷichchandas* belonging to *Rājarājapperumpalḷi*, their situation, extent, *kāṇikkaḍaṇ*, and *nichchayitta-nellu*, the inscription states that (1) the taxes or incomes in money and kind have been assigned to meet the requirements of the monastery and that (2) the previous owners who were holding the lands of these *paḷḷichchanda* villages have now been removed and the same have been vested solely with the *Saṅgattār* of the monastery. The details furnished about the *paḷḷichchanda* villages are given in a separate table. Further, the inscription furnishes the under-mentioned boundaries of the monastery and its surroundings (*paḷḷi-nīlai* and *paḷḷi-viḷāgam*) and states that the total extent covered by them was $31\frac{1}{2}$ *vēli*, 2 *mā* and 1 *mundirigai* :—

Eastern boundary—to the west of the sea-shore inclusive of the sand-hill in it ;

Southern boundary—to the north of the well called *Pugaiyūṇṇi-kiṇaṇu* ; to the north of the land belonging to the temple of *Tiruvīraṭṭānamuḍaiya-Mahādēva* situated to the west of the said well ; and to the north of the line passing westwards from the north

¹ Nos. 435, 450, 764, 766-7 of the *S. I. I.* (Texts), Vol. V.

bank of the channel dug by Paṇavaikkulattu-Mārāyaṇ and reaching the high road to Kāraikkāl;

Western boundary—to the east of the said high road to Kāraikkāl;

Northern boundary—to the south of the boundary of the lands in Vaḍa-Kāḍaṇṇāḍi of Śūla-kulavallipattāṇam.

The inscription concludes by saying that the royal order had thus been carried out and that, on the direction of the *sandhivigrahin* Rājavallabha-Pallavaraiyaṇ and the *adhikārin* Rājēndra-iṅga-Mūvēndavēlāṇ, this copper-plate charter was written by Nilaiyuḍaiya-Paṇaiyāṇ Nigariliśūḷaṇ Madhurāntakaṇ, one of the Vikkiramābarāṇatteṇḍa-Valāṅgai-Vēḷaikkāras of Uṭṭkōḍi.

| erial No. | Village. | Division in which situated. | Extent in vēli, mā, kāṇi and mudiṇḍi. | Kāṇikkaḍaṇ in kalam, kuṇṇi and nāḷi. | Nichchayittanellu kalam. |
|-----------|-------------------------------------|--|---------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1 | Āṇaimaṅgalam . . . | Pattāṇa-kūṇṇam in Geyamāṇikka-vaḷaṇāḍu. | 97-2-1½ | 8,943-9-3 | 4,500 |
| 2 | Brahmadēya in Āṇaimaṅgalam. | Do. . . | 12½ | 400 | 560 |
| 3 | Muṇjikuḍi . . . | Do. . . | 27½-3½ | 2,779-4-4 | 1,800 |
| 4 | Āmūr . . . | Tiruvārūr-kūṇṇam . . . | 106½ | 10,600-9-6 | 5,850 |
| 5 | Vaḍakuḍi <i>alias</i> Nāṇalūr . . . | Aḷa-nāḍu. . . | 70½-4½ | 6,514-5-1 | 2,840 |
| 6 | Kiḷ-Chandirappāḍi . . . | Do. . . | 10-2-1½-1 kiḷ ¾. | 1,012-5 | 1,500 |
| 7 | Pālaiyūr brahmadēya . . . | .... | 60½ | 1,000 | |
| 8 | Puttakkuḍi . . . | Kuṇṇambūr-nāḍu in Jayaṇḍa-ḡōḷa-vaḷaṇāḍu. | 87½ | 8,720-4-4 | 6,107 |
| 9 | Udayamārttāṇḍanallūr . . . | Iḍaikkāḷi-nāḍu. . . | 3-3 | 135-3-3 | 78-5 |

Of the villages noted above, whose revenues had been assigned to the *paḷḷi* Āṇaimaṅgalam, Āmūr, Vaḍakuḍi and Pālaiyūr are in the list of villages of the Negapatam Taluk of the Tanjore District (Madras Presidency) and Muṇjikuḍi, which, according to the Larger Leiden plates, formed the South-western boundary of Āṇaimaṅgalam, must also be in the same Taluk.

The historical introduction of Kulōttuṅga's inscriptions commences in different ways. One of them found in his earlier epigraphs begins with the words *tirumaṇṇi vīḷaṅgam* and records that with the sole aid of his arm and sword, he captured herds of elephants at Vayirāgaram (Wairagaḍh in the Chanda District of the Central Provinces), received tribute from Dhārāvarsha of the Chakkarakōṭṭa (country) and brought the earth under his parasol.¹ In these epigraphs, which are dated up to the 4th year of reign, the king is styled Rājākēsarivarman *alias* Rājēndra-Chōḷa-dēva. Another inscription dated in the 6th year of his reign commences with the words *pū-mēl-arivai*.² The majority of his other records, dated between the 6th and 49th years, have either (1) the introduction *pugaḷ-śūḷṇḍa-puṇari*, which gives a detailed account of the king's achievements, or (2) *pugaḷ-mādu-vīḷaṅga*, which refers in general terms to his victory of the Chēra, Pāṇḍya, and Vikramāditya VI and Simhaṇa, *i.e.*, Jayasimha.³ The late Dr. Hultzsch has dealt with the events of the reign of Kulōttuṅga as could be gathered from the *Vikramāṅkadēvacharita* of Bilhaṇa,

¹ *S. I. I. (Texts)*, Vol. VII, No. 392.

² *Ibid.*, No. 137.

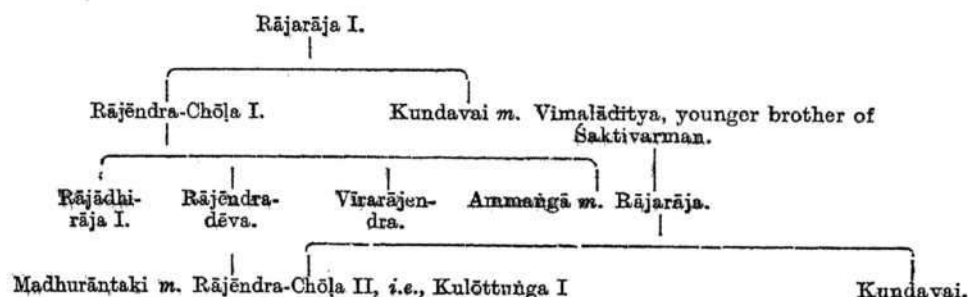
³ No. 813 of *S. I. I. (Texts)*, Vol. IV; Nos. 874 and 785 of Vol. VII.

the *Kalīngattupparaṇi* of Jayaṅgaṇḍāṇ, the copper-plate grants of the later Eastern Chālukya kings and the inscriptions of his reign and has also attempted to reconcile the discrepancies found in them. The following are categorically the events of his reign :—

- (1) While heir-apparent, he captured herds of elephants at Vayirūgaram and defeated Dhārāvarsha of the Chakkarakōṭṭa country.
- (2) In or before the 5th year, he defeated the king of Kuntala, crowned himself as the king of the Chōḷa country and decapitated an unnamed king of the south.¹
- (3) An eleventh year record adds that he drove Vikkalaṇ from Naṅgili by way of Maṇalūr to the Tuṅgabhadra river and conquered Gaṅgamaṇḍalam and Śiṅgaṇam.² Some inscriptions substitute Aḷatti for Maṇalūr and Koṅgaṇam for Śiṅgaṇam.
- (4) An inscription of the 14th year states that Kulōttuṅga put the five Pāṇḍyas to flight and subdued the western portion of their country including the gulf of Maṇṇār, the Podiya mountain, Cape Comorin and Kōṭṭāru.³ He is reported also to have limited the boundary of the Pāṇḍya country, to have placed garrisons in the strategically important places of the newly acquired territory, and to have conquered Kuḍamalai-nāḍu.
- (5) The conquest of the Kalinga country is noticed in the inscriptions of the 26th, 42nd and 45th years of the king's reign.⁴

As the inscriptions of Kulōttuṅga I., unlike those of Rājārāja I., Rājēndrachōḷa I., and others, do not mention the conquests effected by the king in the order in which they occurred—the later inscriptions often omitting the earlier achievements—it is difficult to determine with their aid the actual date of occurrence of the events.

About Rājākēsarivarman Kulōttuṅga's acquisition of the Chōḷa dominions a word may now be said. It will be easy to follow the events if we have before us the pedigree of the Chōḷas from Rājārāja I., and that of the Eastern Chālukyas from Śaktivarman downwards, for it was during the reigns of the kings that followed them, the two families were closely knit together by marriage ties. The following table represents the relationship between the various members of the two families :—



The earliest Chōḷa king that interfered in the politics of the Eastern Chālukya country was Rājārāja I. From his inscriptions it is seen that he conquered Vāṅgi in the 14th year of his reign (=A.D. 999-1000).⁵ That it resulted in placing Śaktivarman *alias* Chālukya-Chandra on the Eastern Chālukya throne is evident from the fact that the latter's accession took place in that

¹ See Kielhorn's *Southern List* No. 761.

² *S. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 174.

³ *S. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 144.

⁴ See Kielhorn's *Southern List* Nos. 777, 782; *S. I. I.*, Vol. III, No. 72; and *Madras Epigraphical collection* for 1891, No. 44 (*S. I. I.* (Texts), Vol. IV, No. 445), and the same for 1904, No. 608.

⁵ *S. I. I.* (Texts), Vol. VII, No. 739.

very year.¹ This is known from the Raṇastipūṇḍi grant of Vimalāditya, the son and successor of Śaktivarman, which places the coronation of that king on Thursday 10th May, A.D. 1011, and states that Śaktivarman ruled for 12 years before him.² Of Vimalāditya's son Rājārāja I. (of the Eastern Chālukya family), the Korumelli plates³ state that his coronation fell on Thursday, 16th August, A.D. 1022 and the Tēki plates⁴ add that he ruled for forty-one years. His younger brother was Vijayāditya VII. And since it is said that after Rājārāja I., Viṣṇuvardhana-Vijayāditya ruled for fifteen years, the latter has been assigned to the period A.D. 1063-1077 by Dr. Fleet.⁵ There are three inscriptions at Drākshārāma⁶ of a certain Viṣṇuvardhana ranging in date from the 3rd to the 13th year and furnishing Śaka equivalents which work out for the king's initial year A.D. 1061-2. These inscriptions may have to be attributed to Vijayāditya VII, as there was no other Viṣṇuvardhana at the time, Kulōttuṅga being distinctly styled *Saptama Viṣṇuvardhana*. It appears that Vijayāditya VII ruled till A.D. 1077. We have three copper-plate charters of the reign of Vijayāditya which state that he succeeded to the throne on the death of his elder brother Rājārāja.⁷ There is no room to suspect that Vijayāditya's succession was disputed. Further, a consideration of the facts, that Rājārāja was crowned in A.D. 1022 and reigned for 41 years, that Vijayāditya counted his regnal years, as shown above, from A.D. 1061-2, coupled with the fact that Rājendra *alias* Kulōttuṅga I., son of Rājārāja, actually assumed regal powers only from A.D. 1070, i.e., several years after the demise of his father and reigned for the long period of nearly 50 years, i.e., till A.D. 1119-20, leads to the irresistible conclusion that Rājendra must have been in his teens 60 years prior to the end of his reign; and establishes also the necessity for the succession of Vijayāditya after Rājārāja⁸ and his quiet succession to the throne of Vēṅgi, as reported in the plates, confirm this conclusion. The dissension between Vijayāditya and Rājendra, if any, must have arisen only subsequent to the death of Rājārāja, perhaps when Rājendra came of age.

From what has been said above, it will be seen that the Eastern Chālukya dominion was subject to the rule of the successive kings Śaktivarman, Vimalāditya, Rājārāja and Vijayāditya without any break from A.D. 999-1000 to A.D. 1077. For aught we know, Vijayāditya was not a powerful monarch and his rule was not peaceful. Ever since the Chōla king Rājārāja I. interfered in the politics of the Eastern Chālukyas and, putting an end to the interregnum, placed Śaktivarman on the throne of Vēṅgi, that country seems to have practically become a principality subject to the authority of the Chōlas; and the Chōla kings appear to have cemented their relationship with the Eastern Chālukyas by ties of marriages. The policy followed by Rājārāja I. and Rājendra-Chōla I. towards the newly acquired country of Vēṅgi, was neglected by the latter's sons Rājādhirāja I. and Rājendradēva, but was resumed by Virarājendra. This is referred to in the Kanyākumārī inscription in the following terms⁹ :—

“ The Vēṅgi and Kalinga countries which had come in the family of the Chōlas for generations having been left uncared for by his (Virarājendra's) two brothers and having

¹ Above, Vol. XXI, p. 31.

² *Ibid.*, and Vol. VI, pp. 349-51.

³ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIV, p. 50.

⁴ Above, Vol. VI, p. 336.

⁵ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XX, p. 283.

⁶ *S. I. I. (Texts)*, Vol. IV, Nos. 1011, 1012 and 1013.

⁷ *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1925, p. 77 and the same for 1914, p. 86.

⁸ The pretty long reign of Rājārāja for 41 years and the actual longer reign of Rājendra for 50 years after an interval of several years making up a total of more than 91 years for the reigns of father and son are worth noting.

⁹ *Trav. Arch. Series*, Vol. III, p. 157, v. 77.

been encroached upon by powerful enemies, the glorious king Vallabha-Vallabha, i.e., Virarājendra, conquered these highly powerful foes, leaving only those that were frightened, and ruled over the country."

From the inscriptions of Virarājendra we further learn that he conferred the country of Vēṅgi on Vijayāditya and protected him. If these facts are borne in mind, it will be easy to see why, when Vikramāditya VI invaded the Eastern Chālukya dominion, Virarājendra marched against him and his brother and defeated them in many a battle in the Vēṅgi country. Even subsequently Vijayāditya's position in the Vēṅgi country was not secure for it is said that the Eastern Gaṅga king Rājarāja I., the refuge of the distressed, made Vijayāditya, when he was about to sink in the ocean of troubles caused by the Chōlas, to enjoy prosperity by the support which he afforded him.¹

Speaking of the support given by Virarājendra to Vijayāditya, Dr. Hultsch correctly suggested that the relations between uncle and nephew, i.e., Kulōttuṅga and Vijayāditya were not so entirely amicable as the panegyric account of the Chellūr grant would make us believe, but that Kulōttuṅga tried to oust his uncle.² This suggestion gains ground by the explicit statement of the plates that the troubles of Vijayāditya were caused by the Chōlas who, during the reign of the Eastern Gaṅga king Rājarāja (A.D. 1070-78), were ruled by none other than Kulōttuṅga I.

From the facts noticed above, it will be plain that Vijayāditya actually reigned over the Vēṅgi country from A.D. 1063 to A.D. 1077, his cause being supported by the Chōla king Virarājendra in the earlier years and by the Eastern Gaṅga king Rājarāja in later days. It is also certain that the disturbances in Vēṅgi during the rule of Vijayāditya were on the one hand caused by the invasion of the Western Chālukya Vikramāditya VI and on the other by the attempt of Kulōttuṅga to oust him.

We shall now see if Kulōttuṅga had any position in the Chōla country which he eventually succeeded in getting. The Tamil poem *Kulōttuṅga* indeed states that the queen of Gaṅgaikonda-Chōla, i.e., Rājendra-Chōla I., taking up the child of her daughter and observing the marks on his body, exclaimed that he was fit to be her son and to protect the Solar race.³ From this a theory of adoption of Kulōttuṅga by the queen of Rājendra-Chōla I. had been started. That this theory has no foundation whatsoever on facts but had been newly invented to give a *locus standi* to Kulōttuṅga after he had actually obtained the Chōla throne, will be evident from the sequel. Even the panegyrists that wrote the accounts of the copper-plates issued during his reign, in referring to the accession of Vijayāditya which took place already in A.D. 1061-2, speak as if Kulōttuṅga had a claim in the Chōla dominions, when they say that Kulōttuṅga being desirous of the Chōla kingdom, suffered his uncle Vijayāditya to become the ruler of Vēṅgi, himself holding a second rank in the kingdom, viz., that of the *yuvarāja* or the heir-apparentship.⁴ That this is a garbled version of facts will be evident to anyone. We fail to see how the acceptance of the overlordship of Vēṅgi would have interfered with his right, if any, of the Chōla dominion. On the other hand, had he been made the ruler of Vēṅgi in the first instance, he would have been in a better position subsequently to push his claim for the Chōla throne.

That there was no need for adoption by the queen of Rājendra-Chōla I. of her daughter's son is clear from the facts that Rājendra-Chōla I. had several sons. The Tiruvālaṅkādu plates say that this king appointed his son Chōla-Pāṇḍya to protect the Pāṇḍya and Kēraḷa countries.⁵ The Kanyākumārī inscription adds that "like unto a sacrifice having three fires, there were born

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 171.

² *Annual Report on Epigraphy for 1892*, p. 5.

³ *Canto X*, vv. 3 to 6.

⁴ *S. I. I.*, Vol. I, pp. 59-60.

⁵ *S. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 423, vv. 93 and 99.

to Rājēndra-Chōla I. three sons, of whom the first was Rājādhirāja I".¹ Rājēndradēva and Virarājēndra are distinctly called Rājādhirāja's younger brothers;² and they succeeded to the Chōla throne one after another.³

A careful examination of the lowest and the highest regnal years of the inscriptions of the successive Chōla kings Rājēndra-Chōla I., Rājādhirāja I., Rājēndradēva, and Virarājēndra as well as the results of the calculation of the astronomical details furnished in many of them establishes:—

- (1) that Rājēndra-Chōla I. counted his regnal years from A.D. 1011,⁴ though his actual rule began in A.D. 1014-15⁴ and lasted till A.D. 1044,⁵ and that he installed his eldest son Rājādhirāja I. heir-apparent in A.D. 1018;
- (2) that Rājādhirāja I. counted his regnal years from A.D. 1018⁶ though his rule actually began in A.D. 1044⁷ and lasted till A.D. 1053-4⁸ and that in his turn he installed his younger brother Rājēndradēva as his heir-apparent in A.D. 1052;
- (3) that Rājēndradēva counted his regnal years from A.D. 1052⁹ though his rule actually began in A.D. 1054 and lasted till A.D. 1065¹⁰ and that he installed his next younger brother Virarājēndra as his heir-apparent in A.D. 1062; and
- (4) that Virarājēndra counted his regnal years from A.D. 1062¹¹ though his rule actually began in A.D. 1064-5 and lasted till A.D. 1069.¹²

Besides the above named kings there were also two others who, as the inscriptions left by them prove, had actually ruled over the Chōla dominions, even though it be for short periods only. These are Rājākēsarivarman Rājamahēndradēva and Parakēsarivarman Adhirājēndra. The inscriptions of the first so far found, are dated in the 2nd and 3rd years¹³ while those of the second, which are somewhat more numerous, are also dated in the 2nd and 3rd years.¹⁴

As Rājākēsarivarman Rājamahēndra claims to have defeated Āhavamalla at Mudarkāṇu and gained victory over Jayasimha who commanded his forces, it looks pretty certain that he must have reigned after Rājēndradēva.¹⁵ Since he and Virarājēndra are both styled Rājākēsarivarman, they may be considered to have ruled conjointly, for otherwise Virarājēndra should have borne the title Parakēsari and not Rājākēsari as he is actually called in all his records. Since one of the

¹ *Trav. Arch. Series*, Vol. III, p. 157, v. 73.

² *Ibid.*, vv. 74-76.

³ Above, Vol. VII, p. 7. It has been shown that the reign was counted from a date between the 26th November A.D. 1011 and the 7th July 1012.

⁴ The earliest year found in his inscriptions is the 3rd.

⁵ *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1915-16, p. 118, para. 14.

⁶ Above, Vol. VII, p. 7. The reign is determined to count from a date between 15th March and 3rd December A.D. 1018.

⁷ The earliest year found for him in inscriptions is the 26th.

⁸ The latest known date is the 36th year. See No. 262 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1921, where the king is called Rājākēsarivarman *alias* Vijayarājēndradēva which was another name for Rājādhirāja I.

⁹ Above, Vol. VII, p. 7. His reign is determined to have commenced approximately on the 28th May A.D. 1052.

¹⁰ Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1927-28, No. 63, which is dated in the 11th year of the king's reign. His earliest inscription is of the 2nd year.

¹¹ The commencement of his reign is determined to have fallen between the 11th September A.D. 1062 and the 10th September A.D. 1063.

¹² The earliest date known for him is the 2nd year and the latest 8th. See *S. I. I.*, Vol. V, No. 976 and Vol. III, No. 57.

¹³ *S. I. I.*, Vol. III, No. 56 and Vol. VII, No. 743.

¹⁴ No. 123 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1926 and *S. I. I.*, Vol. III, No. 57.

¹⁵ See text of No. 743 of *S. I. I.* (Texts), Vol. VII.

inscriptions of Adhirājendra refers to some transactions made in the 8th year of Virarājendra, Dr. Hultzsch has correctly placed him between Virarājendra and Kulōttuṅga I.¹ We may suppose that his actual rule over the Chōla dominion commenced in the later part of his 2nd year when perhaps Virarājendra died,—and this must have taken place in A.D. 1069. As his Tiruvallam inscription is dated in the 200th day of his 3rd regnal year, he must have had charge of the Chōla territory for very nearly a year. Another inscription of this king found at Kūhūr, dated in this very year, is also very interesting as it tells us that in the latter part of that year there was some concern about the king's health for the recovery of which provision was made for the recital of the sacred hymns (*tiruppaiḷam*) in the temple of Māmbalamudaiya-Mahādēva at the village.² Perhaps the disease could not be cured and proved fatal. Two other epigraphs of the king³ inform us that the village Sēngēṇi and Āḍaiyūr were under the rule of chiefs who bore the title Karikālachōla, which was one of the surnames of Adhirājendra's father Virarājendra who must have bestowed it on them. That the rule of the predecessor of Kulōttuṅga I. was recognised even in Ceylon, which was then a province of the Chōlas, is proved by the inscriptions found in the island. From what has been said above, it would be seen that there was absolutely no need for any adoption from A.D. 1044 till the demise of Virarājendra. It may also be added that there are no indications in Chōla inscriptions of the period A.D. 1040-1069 that Kulōttuṅga I. was ever adopted for succession to the Chōla throne.

Now as to the **contents** of the inscription. Lines 1-13 form the preamble, lines 13-38 the document proper, and lines 39-48 furnish the boundaries of the lands comprised in the *paḷḷimāi* and *paḷḷivaiḷam*, while what follows is the concluding portion. In the preamble, two *paḷḷis*, named Rājendraśōḷapperumpalḷi and Rājārājapperumpalḷi, are mentioned as having been built by the king of Kaḍāram in Śōḷakulavallipattanam in Paṭṭana-kūṇṇam, a subdivision of Geyamāṇikka-vaḷanāḍu. It is stated that the ambassadors of the king of Kaḍāram made the request that the *Paḷḷichchanda* villages of these two may be entered in a copper-plate deed, the previous Kāṇiyāḷars removed and the lands vested with the Saṅgattār of the *paḷḷi*. The document proper enumerates only the *Paḷḷichchandas* of Rājārājapperumpalḷi; and there is no mention of Rājendraśōḷapperumpalḷi at all. We are not sure if the word *Rājendraśōḷapperumpalḷikkum* has been omitted after *eḍuppitta* in line 14. If it had been, the villages given must have belonged to both the *paḷḷis*. In lines 16 and 38, this copper-plate document is said to have been issued in favour of the Saṅgattār of the *paḷḷi* erected by the king of Kaḍāram and in line 39 Rājārājapperumpalḷi, which must have been a shrine in the *viḥāra*, figures as the surname of Śailendra-Chūdāmaṇivarma-viḥāra itself. While this is the case here, the grant registered in the Tamil portion of the Larger Leiden Plates is said to have been made 'for the requirements of the *paḷḷi* in the Chūdāmaṇivarma-viḥāra which was then being constructed at Nāgapattanam in Paṭṭana-kūṇṇam of Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷanāḍu by Chūdāmaṇivarmaṇ, the king of Kaḍāram'—the Sanskrit portion, however, stating that "the *Viḥāra* was built by Māravijayōttuṅgavarman in the name of his father Chūdāmaṇivarmaṇ". On account of the substitution of the names Śōḷakulavallipattanam and Geyamāṇikka-vaḷanāḍu in the Smaller set for Nāgapattanam and Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷanāḍu of the Larger Leiden Plates, and also on account of the other differences noted above as regards the *paḷḷi* referred to in either set, a doubt may reasonably arise as to the identity of the donee in the two sets. But the fact that the village of Āṇaimaṅgalam with its total extent of 97 *vēḷi*, 2 *mā* and odd and *kāṇikkaḍaṇ* 8943 *kalam*, which is exactly the grant made in the

¹ S. I. I., Vol. III, No. 57.

² No. 280 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1917.

³ S. I. I. (Texts), Vol. VII, Nos. 854 and 884. In the later history of the Chōlas the chiefs of the villages Sēngēṇi and Āḍaiyūr play an important part.

Larger Leiden Plates, figures as the first item of the *Pallichchandas* belonging to Rājārājaperumpalli in the Smaller set, proves definitely the identity of the donees of the two sets. Therefore it must be regarded that Śōlakulavallipattanam and Geyamānikka-vaṇaṇḍu are but the altered names of Nāgapattanam and Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaṇaṇḍu respectively.

Of the terms that occur in the inscription, *kāṇikkaḍaṇ*, *kāṇiyāḷaṇ*, *nichchayitta-nellu* and *Sanḡattār* deserve to be noticed. *Kāṇikkaḍaṇ* is made of *kāṇi*-lands and *ḍaṇ*-duty, and may be taken to mean "the assessment payable on lands to the king". From the occurrence of this word in the Larger Leiden Plates in this very sense with respect to the total quantity of income from the entire extent of lands in the village of Āṇaimaṅgalam and the repetition of the term and the quantity in our plates, the meaning suggested above seems to be decisive. *Kāṇiyāḷaṇ* means literally "the persons that manage lands" and may be taken to refer to the men employed by the State to lease its lands for purposes of cultivation, to afford facilities to farmers by way of irrigation, etc., and to see to the realisation of rents or assessments. The term *nichchayitta-nellu* is rarely met with in inscriptions. In this record, which relates to an application made to the king to terminate the functioning of the *kāṇiyāḷaṇ* and to transfer the lands from their possession and management to the authorities of the Buddhist monasteries for being dealt with directly by them, there is evidently some further gain to be derived by the monasteries in the proposed change, to wit the rights and privileges which the *kāṇiyāḷaṇ* might have had. Perhaps the term *nichchayitta-nellu* stands for the quantity of paddy settled to be paid by the cultivating tenants to the *kāṇiyāḷaṇ* to meet the cost of affording facilities, etc., and for their remuneration for performing the function as middlemen between the State and the tenants.

It is not unlikely that the term *Sanḡattār* of the *paḷḷi* has the same significance as the *Paṇmāhēśvaras* (or *Māhēśvaras*) of Śiva temples and *Śrī-Vaiṣṇavas* of Viṣṇu temples. In many inscriptions we meet with the clauses "*idu Paṇmāhēśvarar rakshai*", "*idu Śrī-Vaiṣṇavar rakshai*". In the case of grants of Buddhist or Jaina shrines the above clauses would be altered into "*idu pallichch-
Chāṅgattār rakshai*." The translation of these clauses into "This shall be under the protection of all the *Māhēśvaras* or *Śrī-Vaiṣṇavas* or the *Sanḡattār* or others of the monastery" may not make clear whether by the terms *Paṇmāhēśvaras*, *Śrī-Vaiṣṇavas* and *Sanḡattār* individuals belonging to the respective sects are meant or whether they have any particular reference to regularly constituted bodies of men drawn from the said sects in accordance with set rules as in the case of the *Sabbā* or other constituted bodies and having concern with the management of the properties of the temple or other institutions with which they are associated. Judging from the single fact that the objects of the grants had to be fulfilled daily or at specified occasions, not for a fixed number of years only, but perpetually "as long as the Moon and the Sun last" as the inscriptions put it, in the manner stipulated by the donors, it can be said that the recipients who undertook to effect them could not have been a chance collection of individuals but could only have been responsible members of regularly constituted bodies whose duties were to accept such gifts and to execute the will of the donors. In this connection a few more facts contained in some of the inscriptions are worth noting. It is stated that the donations made have to be maintained as a whole, undiminished for ever and that the expenses involved in fulfilling the objects of the grants have to be met only from the incomes. It is unnecessary to say that on the part of the recipients, the safe investments of the endowments and the timely realisation of interests and the utilising of the latter without default for the specified purposes involve a very high responsibility and considerable amount of work. Here again we are obliged to think that the recipients must only be members of regularly constituted committees wielding influence and authority and not mere chance collections of individuals. Unless this be the case, it is impossible to perceive how costly gifts of lands, villages and the

like intended to meet the cost of perpetual charities would have been left with them by kings and private individuals and how the donors would have been assured of the fulfilment of their objects. A few inscriptions insert a penal clause stating that in cases of default the Paṇmāhēśvaras shall levy or cause to be levied a fine on the defaulters, to be paid to the Dharmāsana or the king of the day. From this also the irresistible conclusion is that the Paṇmāhēśvaras in the case of the Śiva temples, Śrī-Vaiṣṇavas in the case of Viṣṇu temples and the Saṅgattār in the case of the Buddhist and Jaina temples must have been regularly constituted bodies meant for or invested with the authority of keeping proper accounts of grants, enforcing the regular conduct of the objects and punishing or causing to be punished any one making infringements in the undertaking.

TEXT.

First Plate.

- 1 ||| Puḡaḷ-mādu viḷaṅga Jaya-mādu virumba Nila-magaḷ nilava Malar-magaḷ puḷḷaḷa
urimaiyir-chiranda maṇi-muḍi śū-
- 2 ḍi Villavar kulai-tara Miṇavar nilai-keḍa Vikkalar Śiṅgaṇar mēl-kaḍal pāya=ttikk=
aṇaittuṅ¹=taṅ śakkara naḍāt-
- 3 ti ²vīraśiṇṇāsanattu=bBuvāṇamuḷuduḍaiyāḷoḍum vīṇṇirund=aruḷiya kōv-Irājakēśari-
panmar-āṇa chakka-
- 4 ravarttiḡaḷ śrī-Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷadēvarkku yāṇḍu irupad-āvadu Āyirattaliy-āṇa Āhava-
malla-
- 5 kulakālapurattu kōyiliṇ=ullāl=ttirumaṇjaṇa-sālaiyil paḷḷi[p*]pīḍam Kāḷiṅgarājaṇil eḷund-
aruḷi irukka Kiḍārat-
- 6 taraiyaṅ Geyamāṇikka-valaṇāṭṭu=pPaṭṭaṇa-kkūṇṇattu Śōḷakulavalli-paṭṭaṇattu eḍuppitta
³Rājēntasō-
- 7 la-pperum-paḷḷikkum Rājarāja-pperum-paḷḷikkum (p)paḷḷichchandaṅ⁴-āṇa ūḡaḷ paḷam-
baḍiy=antarāyamum vīra-
- 8 śēśhaiyum paṇmai-paṇḍai-veṭṭiyum kundāl[i]yum⁵ śuṅga-mērāmum ulliṭṭaṇav=
ellām tavirṇ-
- 9 damaikkum muṇbu paḷḷichchandaṅgaḷ kāṇiy-uḍaiya kāṇi-āḷarai⁶=ttavira i-
ppaḷḷi-chchāṅgattārkē kāṇi-
- 10 yāga=pperamaikkum tāmra-sāsaṇam paṇṇi-ttara vēṇḍum-eṇṇu Kiḍārttaraiyar
dūtaṇ⁷ Rājavi-
- 11 dyādhara-śrī-sāmantaṇum⁸ Abhimānōttuṅga-śrī-sāmantaṇum viṇṇappam śeyya
ippaḍi saṇdhivigrahi-

¹ Read aṇaittuṅ=

² Read śiṁhāsanattu.

³ Read Rājēndra.

⁴ Read chandaṅ- as in ll. 9 and 15.

⁵ The i-sign of li merges in the bottom curve of ku of paḷḷikkum in the previous line.

⁶ Read kāṇiyāḷarai-

⁷ Here dū looks like dura as the sign of length is separated from du.

⁸ The letter m at the end of the word is entered in smaller character at the right bottom of nu.

i.

ii.a.

ii, b.

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iii,a.

38
40
42
44

38
40
42
44

Handwritten Tamil script on a palm leaf manuscript. The text is arranged in horizontal lines, with some characters appearing to be in a different script or dialect. There are two circular holes visible on the left side of the leaf.

iii,b.

46
48
50
52

46
48
50
52

Handwritten Tamil script on a palm leaf manuscript. The text is arranged in horizontal lines. There are two circular holes visible on the left side of the leaf.

Seal.



Actual size

- 12 Rājavallabha-pPallavaraiyaṇḍuṇ=kūḍa irundu tāmra-sāsanam paṇṇi-kkuḍukkav-
eṇṇu adikāri-
13 ga| ¹Rājēntrasiṅga-Mūvēndavēlārkkū=ttirumugam prasādañ=cheyd-aruli vara=
ttāmra-sāsanañ=cheydapadi [*] Kaḍāratta-
14 raiyaṇ Geyamānikka-vaḷanāṭṭu Paṭṭaṇa-kkūṛṛattu Śōlakulavalli-paṭṭaṇattu eḍup-
pitta Rājarāja-[p*]perum-pa[*]li-
15 kku² pallichchandam Geyamānikka-vaḷanāṭṭu=pPaṭṭaṇa-kkūṛṛattu Āpaimaṅgalam
nilan=tonṇūṛṛ-ēlēs³ iraṇ-

Second Plate ; First Side.

- 16 ḍu-mā=kkāṇi arai=kkāṇiyum muṇbuḍaiya kāṇi-ālarai⁴=ttavira i-ppalli-chchañ-
gattārkkē kāṇiy-āgavum idu kāṇi-kkaḍaṇ nellu
17 eṇṇ-āyirattu=ttollāyirattu nāṛpattu mu-kkalanē iru-tūṇi-kkuṛuṇi mu-ṇṇāliyiṇāl
nichchayitta nellu nāl-āyirat-
18 t=aiññūṛṛu=kkalamum Āpaimaṅgalattu brahmadēyam nilam paṇṇiraṇḍē muk-
kāliṇāl nellu nānūṛṛu=kkala-
19 m nichchayitta nellu aiññūṛṛu=arupadiṇ kalamum i-ṇṇāṭṭu Muñjikuḍi
nilam irubatt-ēlēs⁵ mukkalē mukkāṇi a-
20 rai-kkāṇiyiṇāl kāṇi-kkaḍaṇ nellu iraṇḍ-āyiratt=eḷu-nūṛṛ⁶=eḷubatt-onbadiṇ ka[la]n[ē]
tūṇi⁶
21 nā-nāli nichchayitta nellu āyiratt=eṇṇūṛṛu⁷=kkalamum [*] Tiruvārūr-kkūṛṛattu
Āmūr nila-
22 m nūṛṛ⁸=āṛē māgāṇiyil kāṇi-kkaḍaṇ nellu=⁹ppadināyiratt=aru-nūṛṛu=kkalanē
iru-tūṇi=k-
23 kuṛuṇi aru-nāli [ni]chchayitta nellu aiyy-āyiratt=eṇṇūṛṛ-aimpadiṇ kalamum [*]
Aḷa-nāṭ-
24 tu Vaḍakuḍiy-āna Nāṇalūr nilam eḷupadē mukkalē nāṇ-māv=araiyiṇāl
kāṇi-kkaḍaṇ ne-
25 llu āṛ-āyiratt=aiññūṛṛ=orupattu nāṛ-kalanē aiñ-kūṛuṇi oru-nāli nichchayitta
nellu iraṇḍ-ā-
26 yiratt=eṇṇūṛṛu ¹⁰nāṛppadiṇ-kalamum [*] i-ṇṇāṭṭu=kKīlchchandirappāḍi nilam pattē
iraṇḍu-mā=kkāṇi
27 arai-kkāṇi mundirigai kīl-mukkalīṇāl kāṇi-kkaḍaṇ nellu āyiratt=orubatt-
iru-kalanē¹¹ aiñ-kūṛuṇiyum [*] i-ṇṇā-

¹ Read *Rājēndra*.

² The engraver seems to have, in the first instance, omitted the word *paḷlikku* and then inserted it in smaller characters (*paḷi* at the end of l. 14 and *kku* at the beginning of l. 15).

³ The *re* of *rēlēs* is entered below the line in small characters.

⁴ Read *kāṇiyālarai*.

⁵ The *r* of *re* has been inserted in small character between *e* and *lu*.

⁶ The length of *tū* is unconnected with *tu*.

⁷ The length of *ṇū* is separated from *ṇu*.

⁸ The length of *nū* is separated from *nu*.

⁹ Cancel the first *p*.

¹⁰ Read *nāṛppadiṇ*.

¹¹ *lanē* seems to be a correction.

- 28 t̥tu=pPālaiyūr brahmadēyam nilam arupadē¹ mukkūliṇāl nellu āyira-
kkalam nichchayitta nellu āyiratt=ai-
29 ũnūrru kalamum [*] Jayaṅgonḍaśōḷa-vaḷanāṭṭu=kKuṇumbūr-nāṭṭu=pPuttakkuḍi nilam
eṇbatt-ēḷē²
30 kāḷiṇāl kāṇi-kkaḍaṇ nellu eṇṇ-āyiratt=eḷu-nūrr-irupadiṇ=kalanē tūṇi nā-nāḷi
nichchayitta nellu ā-

Second Plate ; Second Side.

- 31 *ār-āyiratt=oru-nūrr=eḷu *kalamum Vijayarājēntaśōḷa³-vaḷanāṭṭu Idaikkāḷi-nāṭ-
32 ṭu Udaiyamā[r*]ttāṇḍanallūr nilam mūṇṇē mūṇṇu-māviṇāl nellu nūrru-
33 muppatt-aiṇ=kalanē mu-kkuṇṇi mu-ṇṇāḷi idu puṇṇēy variṣaippaḍi irai=
34 kkaṭṭu=t̥tiruvāymolindaruḷiṇapaḍi nellu eḷupatt-eṇ=kalaṇ(u)ēy aiṇ=kkuṇṇi
35 idil i-ppaḷḷikkū=ppādiyum ivv-ūrgaḷil paḷa pāṭṭaṅgaḷ uḷḷiṭṭa antarāya-
36 mum paṇmai-panḍa-veṭṭiyum uṭpaḍa=kkaḍava kāsūm nellum i-ppaḷḷik-

Third Plate ; First Side.

- 37 ku vēṇḍum nivantaṅgaḷukku iruppad-āga iruṇi-ili iṭṭamaikkum [*] i-ppaḷḷi-
chchandaṅgaḷ muṇ-
38 buḍaiya⁴ kāṇi-āḷarai⁵=ttavira=kkuḍi nikki i-ppaḷḷi-chchāṅgattārkkē kāṇiy-
āga kuḍuttōm=eṇṇum
39 Geyamāṇikka⁶-vaḷanāṭṭu=pPaṭṭaṇa-kkūrrattu=chChōḷakulavallipattāṇattu śrī-Śailēndra-
Chūḍāmaṇiva-
40 mma-vihāram-āṇa Rājarājapperumpalikkū=ppaḷḷi-nilaiyum paḷḷi-viḷāgamum uṭpaṭṭa
ellai kiḷ-
41 pārk-ellai kaḍar-karaiyil maṇar-kuṇṇ=uṭpaḍa mērkum [*] teṇpārkk-ellai Pugai-
42 uṇi⁷-kkaṇṇukku vaḍakkum idaṇ mērkku Tiruvirattāṇamuḍaiya-Mahādēvar
nilattu-
43 kku vaḍakkum idaṇ mērkū=pParavaikkūḷattu-Mūrāyaṇ kalluvitta kuḷattil
vaḍakarai. mērkū nō-
44 kki Kāraikkār-pperuvaḷiy=ura vaḍakkum [*] mēlpārk-ellai Kāraikkār-pperuvaḷikkū=
kkiḷakkum [*]
45 vaḍapārk-ellai Śōḷakulavallipattāṇattu nilam Vaḍa-Kūḍaḷupāḍi ellaikkū=tteṇkum [*]
āga i-ṇ-

Third Plate ; Second Side.

- 46 nāṅg-ellaikk=uṭppaṭṭa¹⁰ nilam muppatt-ōṇṇē mukkālē iraṇḍu-mā mundiri-
gai idu an-

¹ The letter *t* is inserted below *pa*.

² *Eppataḷē* had been entered first and *t* and *e* inserted after in small characters.

³ The initial letter *ā* had also been entered at the end of the previous line. Cancel one of the *ā*'s.

⁴ The letter *ka* is a correction from some other letter.

⁵ Read *Vijayarājendra*.

⁶ The syllables *buḍaiya* have been read as *paḍaiy* in *A. S. of S. I.*

⁷ Read *kāṇiyāḷarai*.

⁸ The letter *kka* is written as a group, perhaps as an after thought, by raising the top stroke of *ka*.

⁹ Read *yūṇi*.

¹⁰ Read *uṭpaṭṭa*.

- 47 tarāyamum paṇmai-panḍa-veṭṭiyum maṭṭum eppērppaṭṭidum utpaḍa i.
ppaḷḷikkē iraiy-i-
- 48 li kuḍuttōm [*] ippaḍi śeydu kuḍukkav-enṟu tiruvāymoḷindaruḷi=ttiru-mugam
prasādañ=cheydaru-
- 49 ḷi vandadu [*] tāmra-śāsaṇam paṇṇi=kkuḍukkav=enṟu santuvigrihagaḷ¹ Rāja.
vallava-pallavaraiyarum a-
- 50 dikārigaḷ Rājēndiraśiṅga-Mūvēndavēḷārūm śolla i-ttāmra-śāsanam eḷudi-
- 51 nēṇ Uṭṭkōḍi Vikkiramābaraṇa-tterinda-(vala) Valaṅgai²vēḷaikkāraḷ Nilai.
uḍaiya-Pa[ṇai]³-
- 52 yāṇ Nigariliśōḷan Madurāṇṭakaṇēṇ ivai eṇ eḷuttu ||-

TRANSLATION.

(Lines 1 to 13) In the 20th year of (*the reign of*) king Rājakēśarivarman *alias* the emperor Śrī-Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷadēva, who was pleased to be seated along with (*his queen*) Bhuvana-muḷuduḍaiyāl on his lion throne, wearing the excellent crown of gems belonging to (*the family*), his disc of authority (*i.e.*, sway) extending in all directions, the goddess of fame (*growing in*) excellence, the goddess of victory becoming desirous, the goddess of the earth (*becoming*) bright and the goddess on the (*lotus*) flower (*i.e.*, Lakshmi) espousing (*him*), the Villavar (*i.e.*, the Chēra) becoming shattered, the *Minavar* (*i.e.*, the Pāṇḍya) becoming disestablished, and Vikkalan (*i.e.*, Vikramāditya VI) and Śiṅgaṇaṇ (*i.e.*, Jayasīṃha) plunging into the Western ocean,

when he was pleased to rest on the reclining couch (*paḷḷippīḍam*) called Kāliṅgarājan in the bathing hall within the palace at Āyirattaḷi *alias* Āhavamallakulakālapuram, the ambassadors of the king of Kaḍāram named Rājavidyādhara-Śrī-Sāmanṭa and Abhimānōttuṅga-Śrī-Sāmanṭa having made the request that,

for having been exempted from the payment of (*the customary taxes*) inclusive of *antarāyam*, *vīraśēshai*, *paṇmai-panḍai-veṭṭi*, *kundāl*, and *suṅgamērā*, (*all*) the villages which were the *paḷḷichchandas* of Rājēndraśōḷapperumpalli and Rājarājapperumpalli constructed by the king of Kaḍāram at Śōḷakulavallipattānam in Paṭṭaṇa-kkūṟam (*a sub-division*) of Geyamāṇikka-vaḷanāḍu, for removing the old *kāṇiyāḷars* who were holding the *kāṇis* of the *paḷḷichchandas* and for investing the *Saṅgattār* of the *paḷḷi* with these lands,

a copper-plate charter may be made and given,

a royal order having been issued (*with the approval of the king*) to the *adhiakārīn* Rājēndra-siṅga-Mūvēndavēḷār that (*he*) in conjunction with the *sandhivigrahin* Rājavallabha-Pallavaraiyan should draw up a copper-plate charter to this effect,

the following is the copper-plate charter drawn up in pursuance of this order :—

(Ll. 13-35) Ninety-seven (*vēḷi*), two *mā* and one *kāṇi* and a half of land comprising Āṇai-maṅgalam in Paṭṭaṇa-kūṟam, a subdivision of Geyamāṇikka-vaḷanāḍu, which formed the *paḷḷichchanda* of Rājarājapperumpalli, erected at Śōḷakulavallipattānam in Paṭṭaṇa-kūṟam, a subdivision of Geyamāṇikka-vaḷanāḍu, have been removed from the possession of its old tenants and made the *kāṇi* of the *Saṅgattār* of the said *paḷḷi*. The *kāṇikkaḍan* on this land is eight thousand nine hundred and forty-three *kalam*, two *tūṇi*, one *kurun* and three *nāḷi* of paddy : and the *nichchayitta-nellu* on it is four thousand and five hundred *kalam* of paddy ;

¹ Read *sandhivigrahiḷ*. The i-sign has been inserted on *gr* instead of on *h*. The A. S. of S. I. adopts the correct reading in the text itself.

² The reading given in the A. S. of S. I. is *pala pala vagai* which gives no sense.

³ The letters *l Nilai-uḍaiya-Paṇai* at the end of this line are in smaller characters, the last letter being faintly engraved in the margin. The A. S. of S. I. has *nalai*.

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On the direction of the *sandhivigrahin* Rājavallabha Pallavaraiyaṇ and the *adhikārin* Rājendra-siṅga-Mūvēndavēḷaṇ, this copper-(plate) edict was written by the *Nilaiyūḍaiya-Paṇaiyāṇ*¹ Nigariliśōḷaṇ Madhurāntakaṇ, one of the Vikramābharapa-teṇinda-Valaṅgai-Vēḷaikkāras of Uṭṭkkōḍi : this is my signature.

No. 36.—NOTE ON THE ŚAILENDRA KINGS MENTIONED IN THE LEIDEN PLATES.

BY PROFESSOR R. C. MAJUMDAR, M.A., Ph.D., DACCA.

The Larger Leiden Plates of Rājārāja I contain references to two Śailēndra kings, viz., Chū-ḷāmaṇivarman and his son Śrī-Māravijayōttuṅgavarman. The Śailēndra dynasty is known to have ruled over Malay Peninsula and Java towards the close of the eighth century A.D. An inscription found at Ligor² in Malay Peninsula refers to a Śailēndra king named Śrī-Mahārāja, and he had, perhaps, also the personal name Viṣṇu. There is internal evidence to show that this inscription is somewhat later than A.D. 775. An inscription found at Kalasan,³ in Java, dated A.D. 778, refers to the building of a temple of Tārā by Mahārāja Panamkarapa, the ornament of the Śailēndra dynasty. The temple is undoubtedly the famous Chaṇḍi Kalasan, one of the finest temples in Java. Another inscription found at Kelurak⁴, in the neighbourhood of the same locality, mentions a Śailēndra king Śrī-Saṅgrāma-Dhanamjaya and refers to the setting up of an image of Mañjuśrī by the royal preceptor Kumāraghōsha, a resident of Gauḍa (*Gauḍi-dvipa-guru*).

Arab writers, from the ninth century onwards, refer to the empire of Zābag or Zābaj, ruled over by the Mahārāja. There is no doubt that under this name they refer to the empire of the Śailēndras, which now extended over nearly the whole of Malayasia (Malay Archipelago and Malay Peninsula), including the famous kingdom of Śrī-Vijaya in Sumatra. There are reasons to believe that for some time this empire also exercised some sort of suzerainty over Kāmbōja (Cambodia) and Champā (Annam).

There can be hardly any doubt that the empire of the Śailēndras, referred to as Zābag by Arab writers, is the same as the kingdom of San-fo-ts'i, referred to in the Chinese Annals from the tenth century onwards.⁵

The Chinese annals refer to no less than twelve embassies sent from San-fo-ts'i to China during the tenth century A.D. The first two embassies during the eleventh century A.D. are

¹ The expression *Nilaiyūḍaiya-Paṇaiyāṇ* might indicate a "profession, office or calling". Its exact meaning is not clear to me and it is therefore left untranslated.

² Much has been recently written in French and Dutch journals and books about the Śailēndras. The following note is intended merely to give a very brief outline of their history so far as it is necessary to elucidate the Leiden Plates. For fuller discussion of their history and reference to recent authorities the reader may consult the following articles of mine :—(1) *Les Rois Śailēndra de Suvarṇadvīpa*, *B.E.F.E.O.*, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 121-141. (2) *The Śailēndra Empire*, *Journal of the Greater India Society*, Vol. I, pp. 11-27. (3) *The struggle between the Śailēndras and the Chōḷas*, *Ibid.*, pp. 71-91. (4) *Decline and Fall of the Śailēndra Empire*, *Ibid.*, Vol. II, pp. 12-24. Reference may also be made to the following article by Dr. G. Coedès :—(5) *On the origin of the Śailēndras of Indonesia*, *Ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 61-70.

³ *B.E.F.E.O.*, Vol. XVIII, 6, App. 1, pp. 29ff.; *J.A.S.B.*, *Letters*, Vol. I (1935), pp. 20ff.

⁴ *T. B. G.*, Vol. 68 (1928), pp. 57ff.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 1ff.

⁶ The Arab and Chinese accounts are collected by Ferrand, *J. A.*, 11-XX, pp. 1ff. They are also quoted in articles Nos. 1-4 mentioned in f. n. 2 above.

of special interest from the point of view of this inscription, and we therefore give short details of them on the authority of the *History of the Sung Dynasty*.

"In the year 1003 A.D., the king Sseu-li-chu-la-wu-ni-fo-ma-tiao-hua sent two envoys to bring tribute."

"In the year 1008 A.D., the king Sseu-li-ma-lo-p'i sent three envoys to present tribute."

Dr. Coedès was the first to point out¹ that the first royal name is a Chinese rendering of Śrī-Chūlāmanivarman, and the second is equivalent to Śrī-Māravi....., the first part of the name of his successor Śrī-Māravijayōttuṅgavarman, referred to in the Larger Leiden Plates. This identification has been universally accepted, and has served to clear up the history of the Śailēndras in many respects.

The Larger Plates refer to the Śailēndra kings as follows :—

- (1) *Śailēndra-vamśa-sambhūtēna Śrīviśay-ādhipatinā Kaṭāh-ādhipatyam=ātanvatā*.....
(Sanskrit portion ll. 80-81).
- (2-3) *Kaṭāh-ādhipati* (*Ibid.*, ll. 90, 100).
- (4) *Kiḍāratt-araiyaṇ* (Tamil portion l. 6).
- (5-6) *Kaḍāratt-araiyaṇ* (*Ibid.*, ll. 13, 200).

It would thus appear that the Śailēndra kings are referred to as kings of Kaṭāha, Kaḍāra, or Kiḍāra, these three being variants of the same place-name. This place has been identified with Keddah in the Malay Peninsula.

Now, in the first passage the king is also called lord of Śrī-Vishaya, which is no doubt the same as Śrī-Vijaya, a kingdom in Sumatra² which, as we have noted above, was included in the empire of the Śailēndras. The expression immediately following viz., *Kaṭāh-ādhipatyam=ātanvatā* means, in my opinion, 'who extended the suzerainty (i.e., the kingdom) of Kaṭāha'. The learned Editor of the Plates has translated the passage as "who was conducting the rule of Kaṭāha". But the primary meaning of the Sanskrit root 'tan' is to 'spread', 'extend' etc., and I see no reason to reject it in this case.

If we accept the normal meaning of the expression, and remember that in all other cases, five in number, the king is simply referred to as king of Kaṭāha (*var.* Kaḍāra, Kiḍāra), no doubt remains that the Śailēndras, according at least to the writers of this inscription, were originally rulers of Kaṭāha, and then extended their suzerainty over Śrī-Vijaya.

The great importance of this point will be obvious to any one who is familiar with the current controversy about the original home-land of the Śailēndras. Dr. Coedès first suggested that the Śailēndras were originally rulers of Śrī-Vijaya, and this view was subsequently regarded as an established fact. Some time ago I demonstrated the weakness of the reasoning on which this theory was based, and Dr. Coedès has now freely accepted my view. He states that 'it is impossible, according to sound methods, to affirm that before the 11th century the kings of Śrī-Vijaya belonged to the Śailēndra dynasty or that they reigned at Śrī-Vijaya'.³

¹ *B. E. F. E. O.*, Vol. XVIII, 6, p. 7.

² This is the general view. Recently Dr. H. G. Quaritch Wales has suggested that Śrī-Vijaya might be the name of a kingdom in Malay Peninsula itself. He has drawn attention to the fact that "one of the most important ancient sites in the northern part of the Malay Peninsula is still called C'aiya (i.e., Jaya, a shortened form of Vijaya; and not far to the south is situated Śrī-Vijaya Hill)". *Indian Art and Letters*, Vol. IX, p. 4.

³ See articles mentioned in p. 281, n. 2. That the Śailēndras ruled over Śrī-Vijaya as early as the tenth century A.D. is proved by Arab records, if we regard Zābag as denoting the Śailēndra empire. To this extent, Dr. Coedès' statement requires modification.

As noted above, the evidence of the Leiden Plates fully supports the view that the Śailendra kings were rulers of Kaṭāha or Kaḍāra (*var.* Kiḍāra) and subsequently extended their suzerainty over Śrī-Vijaya.

The Chinese references to the two embassies from San-fo-ts'i quoted above, taken along with the data supplied by the Plates, leave no doubt that king Chūlāmaṇivarman died sometime between A.D. 1005 and 1008. The fact that although the formal grant in the Tamil portion was drawn up in the 23rd year of Rājārāja I, yet mention is only made of Chūlāmaṇivarman and not his son, might be taken to indicate that the former died in A.D. 1007-8. But this is somewhat problematical. In any case Chūlāmaṇivarman died shortly after A.D. 1005 and this explains the discrepancy noted by the Editor on pp. 228-29 above. It is obvious that soon after the Grant was made in A.D. 1005 by Rājārāja I, and while the construction of the Vihāra was still in progress, king Chūlāmaṇivarman died, and the work begun by him was completed by his son and successor.

The learned Editor has discussed at length the problem 'how the ruler of Kaṭāha came to erect a Buddhist Vihāra at Negapatam in the heart of the distant Chōḷa dominion, and how the powerful Chōḷa king came to grant the entire revenues of a village for the upkeep of a *paḷḷi* in it' (p. 230 above).

The early history of the Śailēndras and the Nālandā Charter of Dēvapāla of the year 391 offer an easy solution to this problem.

It is most likely that the Śailendra dynasty originally migrated from India; there is at least no doubt that they kept up an intimate intercourse with India and received their religious inspiration from this country. We learn from Hiuen Tsang and I-tsing that even as early as the seventh century A.D. there was a regular religious intercourse between India and Malayasia. The Kelurak inscription, mentioned above, shows that the *guru* or preceptor of the Śailendra kings in A.D. 778, was a resident of Gauḍa (Bengal). About the middle of the ninth century A.D. the Śailendra king established a Vihāra at Nālandā, and at his request king Dēvapāla of Bengal granted five villages for its upkeep. The Leiden Plates obviously describe a transaction which is exactly similar to what we find in the Nālandā Charter of Dēvapāla, and, as in this charter, the villages must have been granted by Rājārāja at the request of the Śailendra king. In the Smaller Leiden Plates also, we find that at the express request of the king of Kiḍāra, communicated by his envoys, the Chōḷa king Kulōttuṅga exempted these villages from taxes. In the Larger Leiden Plates there is no express mention of this request, but such a request must be presumed, not only on the above analogies, but also from verse 38 of the Sanskrit portion which may be rendered into English as follows: "This lord of Kaṭāha.....thus prays to all future kings:—'protect (*ye*) for ever this my charity'". The reference to the grant as 'my charity' can only be taken to mean that it was at his request, and on his behalf, that the village was granted by the Chōḷa king. The two persons who composed and executed the edict are mentioned in vv. 39-42, and it is not clear whether their master (*tasya rājānō* i.e., 'of that king'), mentioned in v. 40, refers to the Chōḷa king or king of Kaṭāha. But the verses 43-44 definitely say that 'on the direction of that lord of Kaṭāha, Tuvavūravāṇa Aṇukkaṇ caused to be made (*this*)

¹ Above Vol. XVII, p. 310. The Editor of this inscription has added some notes on "the evasive race of the Śailēndras" (p. 312): But they are neither adequate nor accurate. His statement that the Śailēndras ruled over Sumatra and Java in the seventh century A.D. (p. 313) is not warranted by any evidence known to me. His other remarks need not be discussed here in detail, but the readers are referred to the articles mentioned in p. 281 n: 2 for a general review of the subject. I may note that he pointed out the resemblance between the Nālandā Charter and the Leiden Plates, and took the word '*āṭavattā*' in this inscription in the sense in which I have taken it.

lasting edict'. As the composers and engravers are separately mentioned by name, it is not clear what exact part this person played. But it proves that the lord of Kaṭāha was an interested party in the transaction.

The learned Editor has discussed at length various possible relations, friendly or hostile, between the Chōla king and the ruler of Kaṭāha at the time of the grant (p. 230 above). There can be no doubt that the relation of the Śailēndras and Chōlas was friendly, not only at the time when the grant was first made, but also when the deed was actually executed, early in the reign of Rājēndra Chōla. But soon hostility broke out, and there was a prolonged warfare between the two. The first reference to this hostility is contained in the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates dated in the sixth year of Rājēndra Chōla. From these we learn that the Chōla army crossed the seas and conquered Kaṭāha.¹ The Malur inscription of Rājēndra Chōla, dated in the thirteenth year, gives a detailed account of his conquest of Kaṭāra and various dominions included in the Śailēndra empire. These details are repeated in other charters of Rājēndra Chōla dated in the 19th, 22nd, 23rd, and 27th years of his reign, and some other inscriptions represent him as burning Kaṭāha and ruling over Kaṭāra. There is thus clear evidence that Rājēndra Chōla conquered the Śailēndra empire in or before his 13th regnal year, and that hostilities had probably begun as early as the sixth year. The views of the learned Editor of the Plates that the conquest of Kaṭāha is described in detail in the records of the 16th year onwards (p. 230) does not appear to be accurate.

The war between the two kingdoms continued during the reigns of Vira-Rājēndra and Kulōttuṅga. The former is said to have conquered the kingdom of Kaṭāra, but he gave it back to its king who worshipped his feet.²

But the Smaller Leiden Plates show that peace and amity were again established between the two powers by A.D. 1089-90. As already stated above, these Plates inform us that at the request of the king of Kiṭāra, communicated by his envoys Rājavidyādhara Sāmanta and Abhimānottuṅga Sāmanta, Kulōttuṅga exempted from taxes the village granted by the Larger Leiden Plates. Thus diplomatic relations were again established, and friendly feelings revived, after a struggle of more than half a century during the interval between the two Leiden Charters.

In conclusion, we may refer to a point on which these Plates throw interesting light. Line 81 of the Sanskrit portion refers to the king of Kaṭāha as 'Makara-dhvaja'. Makara, which is a conventional representation of an animal with the body of a fish and the head of an elephant, forms one of the most well-known decorative ornaments in Javanese architecture. The adoption of Makara as the emblem of royal banner by the Śailēndras may explain its frequent occurrence in Javanese architecture.

¹ The reliability of the inscription, in this respect, has been doubted. I have fully discussed this point in the article No. 3 mentioned in p. 281 n. 2.

² *S. I. I.*, Vol. III, Part II, p. 202. This inscription, among others, disproves the statement of the Editor of the Nālandā Charter that "in the documents, known at present, these Śailēndras or the rulers of Śrī-Vijaya are nowhere mentioned as the feudatories of the Chōlas". (Above, Vol. XVII, p. 313).

Johnston¹ that Gājāyana as a patronymic is unknown. But Mr. Ghosh has correctly observed that a name similar to Gājāyana is Gādāyana (with its variant Gōdāyana) occurring in the *Matsya-Purāṇa* as the name of an individual *gōtra*. And it is not at all improbable to say that Gādāyana is a slip of the scribe for Gājāyana. Whether Sarvatāta, again, is the proper name or an epithet of the king is somewhat doubtful. It bears, however, the plausibility of being an epithet.

But kings even in ancient times were sometimes better known by their epithets than by their individual names. Thus the Maurya emperor, Aśōka, has styled himself Priyadarśin, which is an epithet, in all his inscriptions, except one; in this last alone he is known by his proper name, Aśōka. And even though Sarvatāta is taken as an epithet as seems very likely, it need cause us no surprise. The question now arises, who could this Gājāyana Sarvatāta be? His records show that he lived in the first century B.C. His patronymic Gājāyana also shows that he was a Brāhmaṇ. And further we have to note, as Mr. Ghosh has told us, that Gādāyana which obviously is a mistake for Gājāyana is mentioned in the *Matsya-Purāṇa* as an individual *gōtra* falling under the Kāṇva division of the Aṅgiras Gaṇa. It thus appears that Sarvatāta was a Kāṇva. And we know from the Purāṇas that after the Śuṅgas the Kāṇvas became the rulers of North India. The Kāṇvas thus exercised supremacy in the first century B.C. Nothing therefore precludes us from supposing that **Sarvatāta was a Kāṇva ruler**. It is true that Sarvatāta is not found in the list of names, given by the Purāṇas, of the Kāṇva rulers. But as we have seen above, Sarvatāta is not a proper name, but rather an epithet. And it is not at all impossible that it was an epithet borne by one of the princes of this Brāhmaṇ dynasty.

No. 32.—A CHOLA INSCRIPTION FROM UTTIRAMERUR.

BY PROFESSOR K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI, MADRAS.

The inscription edited below² has been noticed briefly in the *Annual Report on South-Indian Epigraphy* for 1923, Part II, paragraph 28. It is engraved on a stone slab built into the south wall of the Hanumān shrine in front of the Sundaravaradaperumāl temple,³ Uttiramērūr. The inscription which fully covers the face of the slab occupies an area 13"×37", and the average height of the letters is 1", the ligatures sometimes measuring up to 2" and more. Only eight lines of the inscription at the beginning are preserved, but it seems unlikely that the missing part extended over more than two or three lines. In any case, what is left of the inscription enables us to form an adequate idea of its purport and significance. I edit it from two impressions, one in my possession, the other supplied by the Superintendent for Epigraphy, Madras.

The inscription is dated in the 158th day of the ninth year of king Rājarājakēsari-varman,⁴ i.e. Rājarāja I, and thus belongs to A.D. 993-4, the reign of that king having commenced on some day in the month following the 25th June, 985 A.D.⁵ Paleographically, the inscription bears a very close resemblance to the other stone inscriptions of Rājarāja's reign, the alphabet being Tamil with the usual admixture of Grantha for Sanskrit words.

The language of the inscription is Tamil. The grammatical construction of the main sentence of the *vyavasthā* is faulty; it seems to follow local colloquial usage, but the meaning is clear. Note

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. LXI, p. 204.

² No. 197 of 1923.

³ Marked *Perumāl Koil* in the plan of Uttiramērūr in my *Studies in Chola History and Administration*.

⁴ Cf. Nos. 176 of 1906 and 298 of 1908 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection.

⁵ Above, Vol. IX, p. 217.

particularly the changes from -*ēṇum* to -*enṇal* in l. 4 and to *enṇum* in l. 6. The form *javasthai* for *vyavasthai*, and the use of the verb *pōkkaṇṇal* in the sense of 'answer for' are noteworthy.

The object of the inscription is to record a decision (*vyavasthā*) of the *Mahāsabhā* of Uttirameru-chaturvēdimāṅgalam, the best known of the village *sabhās* of the Chōla period on account of the celebrated inscriptions of the reign of Parāntaka I. regulating its constitutional arrangements. The decision of the *sabhā* relates to the responsibility for the payment of fines (*daṇḍam*) imposed on the members of different groups by different agencies. The groups liable to fines are enumerated thus: Brāhmaṇas, Śivabrāhmaṇas, Accountants, Merchants, Vellālar and any other castes (*jātigaḷ*) (ll. 4-6). The agencies that could levy fines were: the King's court (*rājadeṇṇam*), the court of justice (*danmāsanam*), the revenue department (*vari*), and others (*marruttāṇum*). The decision is that for all fines levied only the particular caste or group to which the individual or individuals fined belonged should be held accountable for their proper payment.

The occasion for this decision is not explicitly stated. But it seems proper to assume that the *Mahāsabhā* was responsible for securing the timely payments of fines by the villagers, that somehow the sanctions required to secure this began to fail them, and that consequently, they reached a method that made a powerful appeal to group-loyalty and enlisted the co-operation of the groups with the *Mahāsabhā* in the discharge of its responsibility. It will be noticed that the enumeration of the authorities levying the fine (*daṇḍam*) and of the classes of persons liable to it, is illustrative and not exhaustive; so that even fines, if any, levied by the *Mahāsabhā* itself would fall under the operation of this new *vyavasthā*.

The mention of accountants, merchants and Vellālar among the groups raises an interesting issue. Were these classes members of the *Mahāsabhā* and did they take part in its deliberations? I think the answer to this question must be in the affirmative for two reasons. First, the meeting of the general assembly of the village is described as comprising everybody, young and old (*ābāla-ri-ḍḍharamaiya eppērppaṇḍum*)¹, and there is no indication that it was an exclusively Brāhmaṇ assembly. Secondly, the various Chōla inscriptions which lay down special qualifications of property and education relate to the executive of the assembly indicated by such words as *Vāriyam*, *Sabhāmāraṇjolludal*, *Kūṭṭam*,² etc. The *vyavasthā* recorded in our inscription must thus have had the approval of all the classes affected by it.

The Mānūr inscription of Māraṇḍaiyaṇ³ (A. D. 800), it must be noted, lays down a high qualification in property and education not only for the *vāriyam* but for a person taking part in the general assembly, *maṇḍāṭal*, as well. And the Tiruchchendūr inscription of Varaguṇa II⁴ shows that the system of village government that prevailed in the Pāṇḍya country in the ninth century was much the same as we find it in the Chōla kingdom of the tenth century and later. We may assume either that the Mānūr rule was an exception, or what seems more probable, that in course of time the exclusiveness of the *sabhās* broke down in part.

TEXT.

- 1 Svasti śrī [||*] Kōv-Irājarājakēsaripaṇmarkku yāṇḍu 9 nāḷ⁵ 158 Utti-
- 2 ramēru-chohatuvvēdi⁶maṅgalattu Mahāsabhaiyōm Tulāvāra-śrikōyil
- 3 mukamaṇḍapettē pagalk-kūḍiyirunḍu Mahāsabhaiyōm śeyda javasthaiy⁷-āvadu r[ā]-
- 4 jadvāratt-ēṇum danmāsanatt-enṇal Variyill-e-ṇṇal marruttāṇum nammūril brā-

¹ E.g., 62 of 1898.

² Above, p. 5.

³ Expressed by a symbol.

⁴ A *tadōhava* of *vyavasthā*.

⁵ *Studies in Chōla History and Administration*, pp. 82-84.

⁶ Above, Vol. XXI, p. 101.

⁷ Read *chaturvēdi*.



2 4 6 8

3 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31 32 33 34 35 36 37 38 39 40 41 42 43 44 45 46 47 48 49 50 51 52 53 54 55 56 57 58 59 60 61 62 63 64 65 66 67 68 69 70 71 72 73 74 75 76 77 78 79 80 81 82 83 84 85 86 87 88 89 90 91 92 93 94 95 96 97 98 99 100

SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.

SCALE : ONE-FIFTH.

N. P. Chakravarti,
Reg. No. 3902 E'35-425.

30th year and after,¹ one is strongly inclined to believe that this should have taken place in or a little before A.D. 1096. Some of the inscriptions of the king dated in the 42nd and 45th years of his reign² refer to an invasion of Kalinga in which the king himself is said "to have left his throne, crossed the Vēṅgī-maṇḍalam in the north, set fire to Kalinga, destroyed in battle a number of chiefs and took possession of the seven Kalingam³." From the fact that the king himself is said here to have taken the lead in this war, and greater details are furnished regarding it than in the earlier records, it appears to be different from and later than the one already mentioned and may have to be assigned to A.D. 1111 or thereabout. But as the historical introductions of Kulōttuṅga I. do not regularly record all his achievements, adding year by year the later conquests, as do those of the early Chōḷa kings, it will not be safe to assign these events to the years in which we find them noticed at present.

If the capture of Kalinga mentioned in the 26th year record (A.D. 1096) proves to be the one effected by the king himself, whether it is identical with or different from the Kalinga war described in detail in the 42nd and the 45th year inscriptions (A.D. 1111-14), the war celebrated in the *Kaliṅgattupparanī* and referred to in the Drākshārāma inscription has to be assigned to a much earlier date as will be seen from the sequel. In enumerating the achievements of Kulōttuṅga I., *Kaliṅgattupparanī* speaks chiefly of his conquests of the Pāṇḍya and the Chēra, the capture of Śāḷai and the destruction of Viḷiṇam with a passing reference to Navilai and Maṇalūr which were perhaps connected with his war against Kuntala. The book is quite positive about the king's stay at Kāñchī while the chief Vaṇḍuiyarkōṇ, at his instance, invaded Kalinga, waged a deadly war, planted a pillar of victory there, returned with heaps of treasure and elephants and bestowed *Kaliṅgapparanī* on him. The inscription under publication confirms this account in the main and adds a very important statement that he defeated Dēvēndravarman and others as we have already noted. Dēvēndravarman here referred to cannot be any other than the Eastern Gaṅga king Rājarāja I., who, according to the Vṛihatkōḍila grant, bore that surname⁴ and had his coronation performed in A.D. 1070, the very year in which Kulōttuṅga was also crowned. His son and successor Chōḍagaṅga, for all that we know about him, does not seem to have borne the surname Dēvēndravarman but was Anantavarman which name, we may note, was assumed by all his successors. Dēvēndravarman Rājarāja I. reigned for 8 years⁵, i.e., up to A.D. 1078. He was a supporter of the cause of Vijayāditya VII., for the Korni plates record that when Vijayāditya grew old and like the setting sun left Vēṅgī which was like the west and was about to sink in the ocean of troubles caused by the Chōḷas, Rājarāja of Kalinganagara, the refuge of the distressed, caused him to enjoy prosperity in that region.⁶ Here is evidence to show that Rājarāja was an enemy of his Chōḷa contemporary who was none other than Kulōttuṅga I. Thus the invasion of Kalinga, undertaken solely by the chief and minister Vaṇḍuvarāja-Pallavarāja, at the instance of king Kulōttuṅga I. as detailed in the *Kaliṅgattupparanī* and the inscription under publication, must have taken place before A.D. 1078 and probably about A.D. 1076-7.

Now if there is any truth in the statement of the *Kaliṅgattupparanī* that the Kalinga king withheld the payment of tribute twice, it must have reference to a treaty or agreement probably

¹ Kielhorn's *Southern List*, Nos. 777, 782 and *S. I. I.*, Vol. III, No. 72.

² No. 608 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1904 is dated in the 42nd year and No. 44 of the same collection for 1891 is dated in the 45th year of the reign of Kulōttuṅga I. and have the same introduction.

³ *S. I. I. (Texts)*, Vol. IV, No. 445 lines 22 to 27; the chiefs overcome in the war are here mentioned by name.

⁴ C. P. No. 4 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1918-19.

⁵ His coronation took place in Saka 992, Jyēṣṭha, śu. 8 (= A.D. 1070, May 20) (*A. R. on S. I. Epigraphy* 1918-19, p. 86) and that of his son Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga in Saka 999 (= A.D. 1078) (*Ind. Ant.*, vol. XVIII, p. 161ff).

⁶ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 171.

made between the Gaṅga king Vajrahasta III., the father of Rājārāja I., and Vīrarājendra whom practically Kulōttuṅga I. succeeded. The Kanyākumari inscription of Vīrarājendra clearly states that that king regained Vēṅgī and Kālīṅga which were neglected by his two predecessors.¹ In his Tamil historical introductions, Vīrarājendra actually claims to have driven the Chālukyas at Vijayavāḍai, i.e., Bezvada, and crossing the seven Kālīṅgas, and reaching the Mahēndragiri, to have bestowed that country on Vijayāditya who, it is said, sought his refuge.² This seems to have taken place in A.D. 1065. Further troubles arising in this quarter, Vīrarājendra, after his successful war in Ceylon in A.D. 1066 against Vijayabāhu, is said to have sent a large army into Kālīṅga and to have defeated the Chālukyas and their allies at Chakkarakkōṭṭam.³ It might be on this last occasion, i.e., immediately before Kulōttuṅga's assumption of power, that the Kālīṅgas were probably made to pay tribute to the Chōlas.

To the student of Tamil literary history the inscription has no less an interest as it serves to determine the date of composition of the *Kālīṅgattupparanī* which may be taken to be contemporaneous with the Kālīṅga war of Vanḍuvarāja. With the help of a number of manuscripts, Mahāvidvān K. Subbaraya Mudaliyar brought out an early edition of this work which is now out of print. In it as well as in the edition of the late V. G. Suryanarayana Sastri published several years afterwards in 1898, verse 63 of Canto XI has at the end of the first line the words 'adīpan vīram' which has been changed into 'Anantapanman' in the recent edition of Mr. N. Gopala Iyer; and there is no alternative reading given for it. The difference is indeed very vital and one would certainly wish to know in this particular case of the introduction of a proper name, on which manuscript the reading 'Anantapanman' which is not found in the two earlier editions, is based and the age of that manuscript also. If indeed the name Anantapanman is found in a trustworthy early manuscript not available to Messrs. Mudaliyar and Sastri, it would be worth a consideration. The Drākshārāma inscription shows, as we have seen already, that the date of the Kālīṅga war must be earlier than A.D. 1078. And being conducted by the same minister of the king as is mentioned in the *Kālīṅgattupparanī*, the introduction of the name Anantapanman in the poem, supposing that it actually occurs in an early and trustworthy manuscript, calls for an explanation. Besides, the following questions also naturally arise. Did Vanḍuvarāja conduct two wars against Kālīṅga, both in the absence of the king, or only one? If two, was one waged against Dēvēndravarman Rājārāja I. and the other against his son Anantavarman? And does the *Kālīṅgattupparanī* celebrate the latter, omitting the general's other achievement? And if only one, how does Anantavarman figure in the poem and Dēvēndravarman in the inscription? It seems to me that the easiest way of getting over the difficulty is to suppose that while the war was actually waged in the reign of Dēvēndravarman, his son Anantavarman took an active part in it as we do find in many instances. Among the numerous records of Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga, there are several which furnish both the Śaka and regnal years which work out for his accession A. D. 1074-5.⁴ This date, it will be observed, is three years earlier than the date given in the plates for the king's coronation. The difference has to be accounted for by supposing that Anantavarman was nominated for rulership in A. D. 1074-5 but was actually crowned in A. D. 1078. Since stone inscriptions generally count the regnal years of kings from the date of nomination, it is clear that during the first three years, i.e., in the period A. D. 1074-5 to 1078, he must have been co-regent with his father Dēvēndravarman.

¹ *Trav. Arch. Series*, Vol. III, p. 148, v. 77.

² See above Vol. XXI, p. 243.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 244.

⁴ Nos. 246, 380, 386, 387, 388, 392 and 393 of the Madras epigraphical collection for 1896.

Rājarāja I. and this is perhaps the reason why, in the large collection of his epigraphs, there is almost none dated in the first three years of his rule. The above fact shows further that, being associated with his father in the government of the country, he could well have figured in the Kalinga war referred to in the Drākshārāma inscription as having been waged against Dēvēndra-varman.

The names of villages that occur in this inscription are **Ālavēli**, **Ōlarāppakkam**, and **Drākshārāma**. The last mentioned place is well known and I am unable to identify the first two.

TEXT.

- 1
2 prāk-pratyag-dakṣiṇ-ā[śū-vi]ja.....
3 [dhara][h*] śrī-Kulōttuṅga¹-Chōḍa[||*] Svasti[||*] Samastabhuvanāśraya-
śrī-Prithivī-vallabha-Mahārājādhirāja-Paramē[śvara]-[Paramabhaṭṭāraka-Ravi-kula-
tilaka-Chōḍa]²-kula-śekhara-Pāṇḍya-kul-āntaka-[Samasta-rājāśraya-Rāja]³
4 rājēndra⁴-Vīramahēndra-Vikramachōḍa-Vijayābharāṇa-śrī-Rājakēsarivarmmaṇas-Tribhu-
vanachakravartti-śrī-Kulōttu[ṅga-Chōḍa]dēvasya] trayas-trimśatimē samvatsarē.....
Chōḍama-
5 ṇḍalam=akhila-mahī-maṇḍanam lasaj-jana-sēvyam tasmin=⁴Tirinaṇṇayūr-nāḍ-iti
vishaya[h*] sarva-sasya-śō[bhi]taḥ tatr-āsīt=sukha-dhāmani Maṇḍalamjēri viśrutā
lōkē punnāga-.....kāsti purī.
6 j-ēti rambh-āḍhyā [||*] Tan-mukhyas=⁵Sīralamgōv⁵=ity-āsīt sach-chhūdra-puṅgavaḥ [||*]
satya-tyāga-dayā-yuktō Vaishṇavō dha[r*]mma-vatsalaḥ⁶[||*] Tasy-ātmajas=
T[ir]u[va]raṅga-var-ābhidhānas=sad-vaishṇavō jagati dīna-nidhāna ēkaḥ [||*] satya-
7 — — — — — śrīta-vīra-lakṣmī Rājēndra-Chōḍa-charaṇ-āśraya-[la]p[da]h⁷-
Lakṣmī⁸ [||*] Rājēndra-Chōḍa-dharaṇīpati-kīrtti-vallī-sat-pallavō — — —
— llavarāja-nāmā [||*] śrī-dvāra-chāmara-ghan-ātapa-vāraṇ-aika-saṁkha-dhvaja-
pramukha-rājita-rājya-bāhuḥ⁹[||*]
8 Kṛitvā dig-vijayan=nihatya cha ripūn=Rājēndra-Chōḍ-ājñāyā vīra-śrī-lalanā-svayam-
vṛita-patir-yyaś Chōḍa-chandraḥ prabhuh [||*] yat-prasthāpita-damti-(da)dāna-salila-
klinnam prabhōḥ prāṇaṇam tach-chhauryyam dvishatām kapāla-ni-
9 vahā gāyamti vāyu-cha(chchha)lāt¹⁰[||*] Ka[r*]shann=aśva-khurair=dvishām su-rudhirair
=āpūrayann=ūhava-kshētram tīvra-kṛipāna-kṛitta-radani=prōnmukta-muktām[kurān]
uptvā kī[r*]tti-latām vivardhayati yō Rājēndra-Chōḍa-prabhōs=sō-yaṁ [Vandū]-
10 varāja ity-abhihita[h*] sach-chhūdra-chōḍāmaṇi¹¹ [||*] Bhasmikṛitya Kalīṅga-dēsam=
akhilam nirjītya Gaṅga[m*] raṇē bhaṇ[k*]tvā Kōsala-khaṇḍavāla-nivahair-(Dē)
vēndravarm-ādikān [||*] vīraḥ Pallavarāja ity-abhihitō Rājēndra-Chōḍa-prabhōḥ
kīrtty-uttambham=iv=Ōḍra-saṁdhishu jayastambham śubha[m]

¹ Read *Kulōttunga*.

² The letters in brackets are filled in with the help of other inscriptions of the king, e.g., No. 1248 of *S. I. I.*, Vol. IV, page 433.

³ Here and in what follows the writer uses *anusvāra* for the conjunct.

⁴ Read *Tirinaṇṇayūr*.

⁵ Read *Sīrijaṅgō*.

⁶ Read *labdha*.

⁷ Metre: *Vasantatilakā*.

⁸ Metre: *Sāradūlavikṛīḍita*.

⁹ Metre: *Sāradūlavikṛīḍita*.

¹⁰ Metre: *Anushubh*.

¹¹ Metre: *Vasantatilakā*.

with the ichor flowing from his marching elephants and the heaps of skulls of his enemies sang his heroism. He, who, ploughing the battlefield with the hoofs of his steeds, flooding it with the blood of his foes, sowing (*therein*) the seeds of pearls issuing from the heads of elephants cut to pieces by his sharp sword, caused to grow the creeper of fame of his master Rājendra-Chōḍa, is the crest jewel of the good Śūdras, named [Vaṇḍu]varāja.

Reducing to ashes the whole of the Kaliṅga country, subduing the Gaṅga (*king*) in battle and destroying the chiefs Dēvēndravarmān and others with the multitude of swords of Kōsala (*i.e.*, with the help of the Kōsala army)¹ this hero named Pallavarāja set up a fine pillar of victory on the borders of the Oḍra (*country*) as if raising aloft the fame of his lord Rājendra-Chōḍa. This illustrious chief constructing with black granite a beautiful temple to Viṣṇu in the *agrahāra* of Ālavēli as if it were the plant of his fame, is now enjoying the universe. This wise person made an excellent image of Viṣṇu and set it up there and getting some land in this village gave it with devotion for the daily offerings of the god. And for feeding five *tapasvins*, ten Brāhmaṇas, and five Vānakarmīns in the vicinity of the Brahmēśvara temple, he bought.....at the village of Ōlarāpakam (*such an extent of*) land that could be sown with thirty *khaṇḍikas* of seed paddy and gave it free of all taxes. (*To provide*) for offerings to the temple of the god Pañcavaṇī-Hari on the bank of the Gōḍāvarī whose swelling waters during floods run with unlimited force, and situated in the beautiful country of Vēṅgi-maṇḍala, he gavein.....ti-vishaya to last as long as the sun and the moon. And Pallavarāja having made.....pavilionat the city of Drākshārāma in Guddavādi-vishaya filled with rich and generous persons.....Therefore (*this*) charity must not be destroyed but must be protected by the wise.

(The usual imprecation.)

Rājendra-Chōḷāchārya is the engraver.

No. 24.—UTTARAMALLUR INSCRIPTION OF PARANTAKA I.

By K. V. SUBRAHMANYA AIYER, B.A., COIMBATORE.

In editing the *South-Indian Inscriptions (Texts)*, Volume VI, I drew attention to the fact that some of the inscriptions of Uttaramallūr contained therein supply interesting references to the kind of autonomy prevailing in the Tamil country, supplementing, as they do, the information embodied in the two Uttaramallūr inscriptions which describe the qualifications of members of village assemblies, the mode of election and the names of committees into which they were formed. One of the inscriptions that relates to the choosing of persons for testing the correctness (*i.e.*, the fineness) of gold in current use in the village, is No. 295 of the said volume.² This inscription is registered as No. 12 of the Madras epigraphical collection for 1898; and remarking on it, the late Dr. Hultzsch has noted 'Seems to contain rules regarding the exchange of gold'. A romanised text and translation of the inscription is given below.

¹ I am indebted to Dr. N. P. Chakravarti for this translation of the phrase *Kōsala-khaṇḍa-vāla-nivahaiḥ*. He kindly suggested that *khaṇḍavāla* might have been used in the vernacular sense of *khaṇḍa* formed on the analogy of Skt. *karavāla*. If *vāla* stands for *bāla*, as *v* is often substituted for *b*, and *khaṇḍa* means a division of country, the phrase may be rendered "with the multitude of young men of the Kōsala division". In either case, Kōsala appears to have been allied with the Chōḷa. No such alliance is known. The Chōḷa king Virarājendra is said to have cut to pieces a certain Siṅgaṇ of Kōsala (above, Vol. XXI, p. 241). Perhaps Kōsala continued since then to be on friendly terms with the Chōḷa.

² See page 149.

The record is in the **Tamiḻ** language and alphabet and is well preserved like most of the other inscriptions found in the Vaikuṇṭha-Perumāḻ temple at Uttaramallūr. Grantha letters are used in writing Sanskrit words. For instances, see *svasti śrī* and *sabhai* in line 1, *samañjasa*, *vyavasthai*, *vriiddha* and *bāla* in line 2, *samvatsa* in line 5 and *vyavasthai*, *sabhai*, *madhyasta* and *dāsa* in line 7.

There are a few words of lexical interest which may be noted here. These are *Māḍavīdi*, *Śaṅkarappāḍi*, *samañjasa*, *parimāṣu* and *śūḷiṟru*. Of these, *māḍavīdi* means 'a street having storeyed buildings'. Sometimes it is found to be the name of a particular street. Generally, such streets surround the village temple and as their names indicate appear to have been the residence of wealthy and distinguished people. In the Tamiḻ work *Maṇimēgalai*, the term *māḍavīdi* actually occurs¹ and it is there described as 'the beautiful street of the actresses (*nāḍaga-maḍandaiyar*) containing storeyed buildings with gold-carvings (*nāḍaga-chchey-viṇai-māḍam*).² From inscriptions, we learn that the construction of storeyed buildings and mansions was a privilege given only to a few and that such buildings were made of burnt bricks. Since the subjoined inscription states that the election by the people of *Māḍavīdi* was for or from their *chēri*, it seems to denote a particular quarter of the village where perhaps the privileged persons and wealthy people lived. As *pāḍi*, like *chēri*, is applied to denote a quarter of a big village or town, *Śaṅkarappāḍi* has to be taken to mean another part of the same village resorted to by, or containing the residences of, a different class of people. In an inscription of Chidambaram, *Śaṅkarappāḍiyār* figure as a separate class of inhabitants (*kuḍigaḷ*) and are mentioned along with *Vyāpārīn* (merchants), *Vellālar* (cultivators), *Śāliyar* (dealers in cloth) and *Paṭṭinavar*.³ The same inscription gives a second group distinctly called *Kūḷkalanai* including in it *Tachchar* (carpenters), *Kollar* (blacksmiths), *Taṭṭār* (goldsmiths) and *Kōliyar*. We see here that while the latter group embraced the artisan classes, the former combined together businessmen and other classes such as *Vellālar* and *Śaṅkarappāḍiyār*. Another inscription mentions a group of inhabitants specifically termed *Purakkalanai* which included in it *Śāliyar*, *Vāṇigar*, *Kaikkōḷār* (dealers in cloth), *Sēnai-aṅḡāḍiyār* and *Kōyil-aṅḡāḍiyār*, i.e., shopkeepers of the military and of the palace or temple (quarters).⁴ We see that this group consisted only of merchants. The inclusion of *Śāliyar* in this group of *Purakkalanai*, as well as in the first part of the previously cited inscription, and the fact that, like the other, this consisted chiefly of merchantmen may suggest that both the inscriptions refer to the same group of *Purakkalanai*. Though we do not know what the avocation of *Śaṅkarappāḍiyār* was, the inclusion of the class of *Vellālar* among the *kuḍigaḷ* of the first inscription seems to point to its inclusion also of other classes of inhabitants than *Purakkalanai* which, according to the second inscription, appears to have consisted entirely of merchants.

I would like to draw attention to three more references to *Śaṅkarappāḍiyār* which seem to suggest that some of them at least were merchants who were members of the *Nagara* constitution and that these people had a corporate body. One of these references is in an inscription⁵ of Tirukkalukkuṇṇam dated in the 26th year (=A.D. 1044) of the reign of Rājādhirāja I. It

¹ Canto IV, line 76.

² *Ibid.*, lines 51-2.

³ No. 223 of *South-Indian Inscriptions* (Texts), Vol. IV, l. 25 f. The portion under reference runs as follows:—
Inda-kkuna[mē]nagaipurattu ēriṇa viyāpāriḡaḷum vellālarum śaṅkarappāḍiyārum śāliyarum paṭṭinavarum uḷḷiṭṭa kuḍigaḷum tachchar kollar taṭṭār kōliyar uḷḷiṭṭa kūḷ-kalanaiḡaḷum koṇḍu i-nnivandam śandir-
pāḍittavar śeluttakkaḍavad-āḡavum.

⁴ No. 208 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1910. The text runs as follows:—

Kaikkōḷār śāliyar vāṇigar sēnai-aṅḡāḍi kōyil-aṅḡāḍi marum eppēpaṭṭa puṇa-kkalanaiyūm utpaṭṭa muḇḇu
uḷḷa kuḍiyum pinḇu ērum kuḍiyum ērikkōṇḍu taṭṭakkaḍamai pēḷkaḍamai marum i-pṇaḡḡil kuḷḷum paḷa vaṭi
ḡaḷum paḷa upāḍigaḷum.

⁵ *S. I. I.* (Texts), Vol. V, No. 465.

records that the merchants that composed or constituted the *Nagara* of Tirukkalukkuṇṇam *alias* Ulagaṇḍaśōlapuram sold a piece of land to be granted to the temple of Brahmiśvara on the hill at the place and made it also tax-free. In mentioning these members, the names of two persons are given after the calling *Vyāpūri*, one appears with the calling *Śāliyan* and two after the designation *Śaṅkarappāḍiyān*. That all these were merchants is first stated in the inscription itself. From this it appears that in the composition of the *Nagara* constitution, besides those who were purely merchants by profession, there were others, such as *Śāliyar* and *Śaṅkarappāḍiyār* who were also merchants but were called by the class to which they belonged or the quarters which they occupied. The next reference is found in an early Chōla inscription¹ dated in the 3rd year and 215th day of the reign of a king (of whose name only Kēśarivarman is preserved). It records that the *Śaṅkarappāḍiyār* of Vaḍakkil-aṅgāḍi (North bazar) quarter of Uttaramēru-chaturvēdimāṅgalam, a rent-free village in the district of Kāliyūr-kōṭṭam gave a written document stating that they received 15 (*kaḷaṅṇu*) of gold from Śēndan Gaṇapati *alias* Śūrasikhāmaṇi-Pallavaraiyan of Maṇṇum-Perum-Paḷuvūr in Kuṇṇa-kūṇṇam, a subdivision of Śōḷa-nāḍu and agreed to supply one *uḷakku* of oil daily, as long as the sun and the moon would last, for a sacred lamp which the donor had placed in the temple of Tiruppulivalattu-Mahādēva. The phrases *Vaḍakkil-aṅgāḍi Śaṅkarappāḍiyōm eḷuttu, oḷi eḷuttittu kuḍuttōm* and *chandiṛādityavar* used in this inscription would suggest that there was a regularly constituted body of the people of *Śaṅkarappāḍi*. Against the suggestion of a regularly constituted body, it may be said that a few of the *Śaṅkarappāḍi* might as well have given such a joint undertaking. But in this case, it would be natural to expect the mention of their names and also the insertion of a clause to the effect that the agreement will be binding not only upon themselves but upon their descendants also. The Madras Museum plates of Parakēśarivarman Uttama-Chōla in reciting the contents of a *vyavasthā* (standing order or regulation) made by the *Nagara* corporation of Kachchippēḷu, *i.e.*, Conjeevaram in the 18th year of the reign of Parāntaka I (=A.D. 925) refers to the *Śaṅkarappāḍiyār* of the three *chēris* (suburbs) of the village of Raṇajayappāḍi, Ēkavīrappāḍi and Vāmana *Śaṅkarappāḍi* and states that they received 20 *kaḷaṅṇu* of gold for the upkeep of a lamp in the temple. Here also one cannot but find a suggestion that the *Śaṅkarappāḍiyār* of the three *chēris* should have had a corporate body which received the amount.

All that we (could) gather about the *Śaṅkarappāḍiyār* from the references cited above is that they formed part of the *kuḍi* (inhabitants), that they were chiefly in big cities (Kāñchīpuram, Guṇamēnagaipuram, Ulagaṇḍaśōlapuram and Uttaramērūr), that some of them at least, if not all, were merchants and took part in the transactions of the *Nagara* constitution which we find prevailing in such cities and that they had a corporate body among them.

The use of the word *samaṅṇasa* in the phrase *samaṅṇasaṅ-hāṇa* leaves no doubt as to its meaning "to verify or test the correctness of". The personal noun formed from this word is *samaṅṇjitan* which is met with in some of the inscriptions of the Travancore State. In one of them the *Samaṅṇjitan*'s duty is clearly stated to be verification of some items of expenses according to prescribed scales.² As *Samaṅṇjitan* figures along with *sabhā* and *Tiruvaḍi*,³ it appears that *Samaṅṇjita* and *Tiruvaḍi* are the designations of particular offices in the *sabhā* and it is not unlikely that they represent the secretary (Skt. *Kāryadarśi*) and President. In this connection it is worthy of note that the transactions of the *sabhā* are mostly recorded by one individual who is called the *madhyastan* or *karaṇattāṇ*. It is not unlikely that he also performed the duties of the

¹ S. I. I. (Texts), Vol. VI, No. 363.

² Travancore Archaeological Series, Vol. II, pp. 136 and 174.

³ Ibid, Vol. III, pp. 50-51.

accountant. He is bidden to do it at the command of another who is called in some cases *sabhai-Tiruvāḍi*. As these two officials are stated to be in the assembly, there is not much doubt that they were at the same time members of the assembly and took part in their deliberations. The word *parimāru* is formed by adding the prefix *pari* to the verb *māru* 'to exchange'. It is generally used in the sense of serving. But in our inscription it has acquired the meaning 'in usage or current'. It will be noted how the prefix has altered the original meaning of the verb. *Sū-lirru* is a compound word with a slight mistake in spelling. The proper form ought to be 'sūlirru' as suggested in the note under the text. It is composed of 'sūl' (imprecation) and 'urru' (uttering or pronouncing).

The inscription is dated in the **fifteenth year and fifty-fifth day** of the reign of the **Chōla king Parakēsarivarman**, who took Madura, i.e., **Parāntaka I.** Its date is, therefore, **A.D. 922.** It registers a standing order (*vyavasthā*) made by the members of the assembly (*sabhā*) of **Uttaramēru-chaturvēdimaṅgalam** fixing the number of persons to be chosen for testing the correctness (i.e., fineness) of gold current in the village, the method of choosing them and the procedure to be followed by the persons so chosen in conducting their work. The inscription lays down that the people of *Māḍavīdi* should write on palm-leaf (tickets) the names of persons that are capable of testing gold, from among the rate-payers of their quarter, who are neither very old nor infants, and put them in pots. From the names so entered and put in pots, four persons shall be chosen from their quarter. Two persons from the army and three persons from the *Śaṅkarappāḍi* shall be chosen in the same manner. The nine persons so selected shall test gold by using the touch-stone and without partiality to any body. It is enjoined that they should hand over daily the wax used by them, without misappropriating any cut-gold, to the great men of the Tank Committee (*ēri-vāriya-perumakkaḷ*), and, once in three months, appear before the great men of the Annual Committee (*samvatsara-vāriya-perumakkaḷ*) and make a declaration to the effect that if they had acted contrary to this stone inscription they shall (incur the curse of) living with hunger. The clause damaged at the end of the record seems to register that these nine persons shall receive individually $7\frac{1}{2}$ *mañjāḍi* of gold each month, perhaps as remuneration for their work.

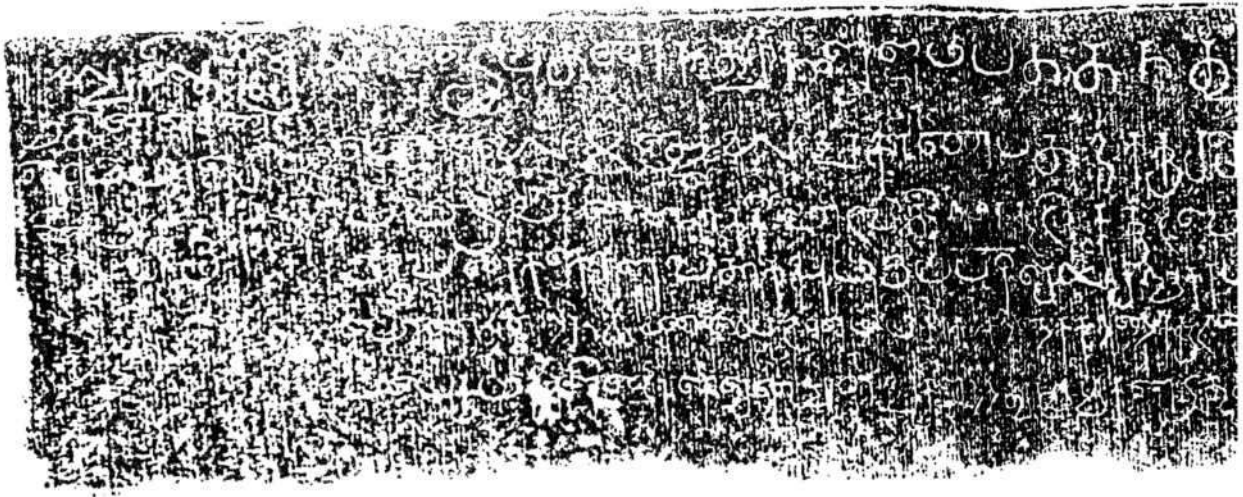
The point that calls for special attention here is that the nine persons, selected for testing gold, did not form a committee at all, and should not, therefore, be confused with the Gold Committee¹ *Pon-vāriyam* of which mention is made in the two Uttaramallūr inscriptions published in the *Report of the Archaeological Survey of India* for 1904. The texts of the two published records take particular care to use the word *vāriyam*—and this occurs more than once—to show that it was a committee that was formed, while in the inscription under publication the word *vāriyam* is studiously avoided in referring to persons selected for the testing of gold to indicate distinctly that the nine persons did not form a committee though the very record employs the words *vāriyam* and *perumakkaḷ* when it speaks of the Tank and Annual Committees. Again while the Gold Committee is not made dependent on or subordinate to any other body in the two published inscriptions of Uttaramallūr, the epigraph now under publication makes the nine individuals submit to the authority of the great men of the Tank Committee and make them appear once in three months before the Annual Committee and take an oath of declaration. We have drawn special

¹ The text relating to Gold Committee runs as follows:—

A: Pañcha-vāra-vāriyattukkum pon-vāriyattukkum muppadu kuḍumbilum muppadu kuḍav-ōlai ittu śēriyāl oruttarai-kkuḍav-ōlai paṇittu pappiruvārilum aṇuvar pañcha-vāra-vāriyam āvad-āḡavum aṇuvar pon-vāriyam-āvad-āḡavum

B: Pañcha-vāra-vāriyattukkum pon-vāriyattukku[m*] muppadu=(k)kuḍumbilum kuḍav-ōlaikku pēr tittu muppadu vāy-ōlai kaṭṭum puga ittu muppadu kuḍav-ōlai paṇittu muppadilum pappiraṇḍu pēr paṇittu-kkoḷvad-āḡavum paṇitta pappiraṇḍilum aṇuvar pon-vāriyam aṇuvar pañcha-vāra-vāriyamum āvanav-āḡavum

First six lines—Left half.



First six lines—Right half.



skravarti.
2000 P. 1000

SCALE : ONE-SIXTH

Seventh line.

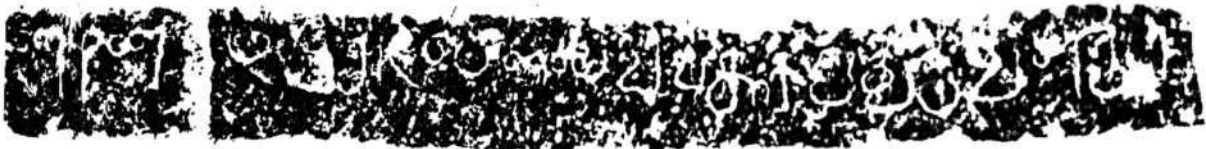
Section I.



Section II.



Section III.



Section IV.



The inscription makes it sufficiently clear that the nine persons chosen for testing gold currency, whose monthly emoluments were fixed, were subordinate to the great men of the Tank Committee and rendered technical aid in the discharge of their duties.

- 1 Svasti śrī [||*] Madirai-koṇḍa kō-pParakēsaripaṇma[r*]kku¹ yāṇḍu paḍi-
ṇandu² nāl aimbattandu³ i-nnālāl Uttaramēru-chaturvvēdimāṅgalattu
sabhaiyōm emm-ūril parimāyūm
- 2 poṇṇ samañjasaṇ=kūṇbadaṇkku⁴=chcheyda vya[va*]sthaiy-āvaḍu [||*] śālavum vrid-
dharum bālarum=a[||*]lādār iṇai-kkuḍigaḷil poṇ-kāṇa-vallar-eṇa-
- 3 ppaḍuvārai nōkki Māḍavidiyār kūḍi=kkuḍav-ōlai eḷudi=ppugaviṭṭu taṅgaḷ śēriyil
nālvarai=kkuḍav-ōlaiyil pōṇḍārai=kkoḷvad-āgavum [||*] i-ppariśē sē[ṇai]yilum
- 4 iruvarai=kkoḷvad-āgavum [||*] i-ppariśēy Śaṅkarappāḍiyilum mūvarai-kkoḷ(v)vad-āga-
vum [||*] ivargaḷ=ellā-jaṇattukkum-okka poṇ kāṇbā[r*]gaḷ-āgavum [||*] paruṇ-
kallil uraiyādē
- 5 poṇṇ-aṇḍaṇaiyē uraiṇṇad-āga [||*] aṇṇaiṅk-aṇṇaiṅku uraitta meḷugu ēri-vāriya-ṇpe-
rumakkaḷ kaikkē veṭṭi mudal-āga vaṇṇiyādē kuḍuppad-āga [||*] mu-mṇūru-
māsam pōṇavārē sam[va]tsara-vāriya-
- 6 pperumakkaḷiḍaikkē seṇru eṇgaḷ-uṇṇaḍa nāṅgaḷ=eḍuttadaṇai nālum śilā-lekaippaḍi
[pi]ḷaikka eḍuttōmāyil paṣittu vāḷvōm-eṇru śolli=ch[chū]]-irru⁵ viḍuvārgaḷ-āgavum
[||*] i-ppariśē em-
- 7 m-ūril poṇṇ-eḍuppa[ā*]rkku⁶ vyavasthai śeydōm Uttaramēru-chchaturvvēdimāṅgalattu
sabhaiyōm [||*] i-ppariśu eḍu ḍuvuk rukku mey-
vēṇru-vagai tiṅgaḷ=ēḷ-arai[māṇ]jāḍi poṇ peṇuvad-āga [||*] idu [kuṇiyuḷ-i]rundu
n madhyastan Śivadāsaṇ Tiruvaḍigaḷēṇ —

The people of Māḍavīdi shall write on palm-leaves (*the names of such of*) the rate-payers, as are not very old or infants, and as could be called capable of testing gold, and put them into pots. From among those whose names had been so entered on palm-leaves and put into the pots, four persons shall be chosen from their *chēri* (*i.e.*, quarter). In this (*i.e.*, the aforesaid) manner, two persons shall be chosen from the army. In the same way, three persons shall be chosen from

¹ The syllables *Madirai-koṇḍa kō-pParakēsariṇmakku* are engraved in three lines below *Svasti tē*.

² Read *padiṇaiṇdu*.

³ Read *°tairdu*.

* Read °darkku.

^b Read -urru.

- Read *edupp*

* Кред едипригласа

Śaṅkarappāḍi. These (*i.e.*, the nine persons) shall test gold with impartiality towards all people. They shall not rub gold on big stones, but use only the touch-stone. (*They*) shall hand over daily, to the great men of the Tank Committee, the wax used in rubbing, without misappropriating (*any of*) the cut (*pieces*). On the expiry of every three months, (*they*) shall appear before the great men of the Annual Committee and declaring the (*following*) imprecation leave them: 'If against the orders contained in (*this*) stone inscription, we had misappropriated any (*gold*) that had been brought to and handled by us on any day, we shall (*be cursed to*) live with hunger (*for ever*)'. Thus, we, the members of the assembly of Uttaramēru-chaturvēdimaṅḡalam, made (*this*) standing order for testing gold in our village. In this manner, shall receive individually, every month, seven and a half *mañjāḍi* of gold. Being present in the assembly, I, the *madhyasta*, Śivadāsan Tiruvaḍiḡal this.

No. 25.—IRDA COPPER-PLATE OF THE KAMBOJA KING NAYAPALADEVA.

By N. G. MAJUMDAR, M.A., INDIAN MUSEUM, CALCUTTA.

This copper-plate, which is edited here for the first time, belongs to Chaudhuri Mrityunjay Narayan Praharaj, Zemindar of Irdā in the Balasore District of Orissa, whose estate is at present under the Court of Wards. About the beginning of 1934, the plate was sent on loan from the Balasore Collectorate to Mr. W. V. Duke, M.A., the then Principal of the Ravenshaw College, Cuttack, who was requested to have its inscription deciphered and interpreted. In December 1934, when I was staying in Cuttack on leave, the plate was handed over to me for this purpose, with the consent of the present Principal Dr. B. K. Singh, by Professor Nirmal Chandra Banerji, M.A., of the College. I am grateful to Dr. Singh for the facilities afforded to me in the College laboratories in cleaning up the plate and taking photographs and estampages of it, and also to Professor Banerji for the ungrudging help I received from him in various ways. My thanks are further due to Rai Bahadur Radhacharan Das, Collector of Balasore, for permission to publish the inscription in the *Epigraphia Indica*. Unfortunately, I have not yet been able to ascertain the actual findspot of the record and the circumstances under which it was discovered. As it is, the document may be called after the place to which it now belongs, although, as internal evidence would show, it must have come originally from a locality in South-west Bengal.

This is a single sheet of copper,¹ measuring 10·7" by 9·7". It is engraved with writing on both sides, and bears at the top a circular seal affixed by soldering. The seal, which has a diameter of 4·2", is divided into two semicircular panels: the upper one contains the *Dharmachakra* device, *viz.*, a wheel between two couchant deer, and across the lower panel is the inscription *śrī-Nayapāladēvasya*, *i.e.*, 'Of (King) *Nayapāladēva*', which is cut in bold relief. Similar *Dharmachakra* seals are found also on the copper-plates of the Pāla and the Chandra kings of Bengal. But the way in which this seal is affixed is somewhat different. In the case of the Pāla and Chandra plates, the lower portion of the seal comes into the writing and thereby causes a break in the middle of the first few lines on both the sides. But in the present plate the seal is fixed above the writing, so that it does not affect the arrangement of the text in any way. This seal again is not pointed at the top like those of the copper-plates of the Pālas and the Chandras.

It contains altogether forty-nine lines of writing. The letters are engraved with care as far as line 31. But thereafter, the incision is done rather perfunctorily, the letters being as a rule formed by shallow strokes and not always completely made out. These circumstances, as also

¹ In l. 49, it is called *kāmra-phālī*.

No. 14.—TIRUVALANGADU INSCRIPTION OF RAJADHIRAJA II.

By V. VENKATASUBBA AYYAR, B.A., MADRAS.

This inscription¹ is engraved on the east wall of the first *prākāra* of the Naṭarāja shrine in the Vāṭanārāyaṇēśvara temple at Tiruvālaṅgāḍu, a small station near Madras on the Madras and Southern Mahratta Railway. It was copied in 1905, but in that year the inscription could not be copied in full as it was partially obstructed by later structural additions to the temple. In the subsequent renovation, most of the inscribed stones were lost so that only a portion of the record² is now preserved in the temple. On account of its damaged condition, its importance was not sufficiently recognised hitherto, but it now receives elucidation from two inscriptions copied at Pallavarāyanpēṭṭai³ and Tirumayānam⁴ in the Tanjore district. It is of great value since it throws new light on the Chōla, Pāṇḍya and Singhalese history in the third quarter of the 12th century A.D.

It is engraved in the **Tamiḷ** language and script of the 12th century A.D. and is particularly free from orthographical errors.

The record is dated⁵ in the **12th year and 157th day** of the reign of the **Chōla king Rājakēsarivarman alias Rājādhirājadēva (II)** and commences with the usual preamble beginning with the words '*kaḍal-sūḷṇḍa*', etc. The object of the inscription is the grant of 10 *vēli* of land in Rājārājaṇ-Palaiyaṇūr situated in Neṇmali-nāḍu, a division of [Arumoli]dēva-vaḷanāḍu, free of taxes including *antarāyam* and *pāṭṭam*, to **Vēḍavaṇamuḍaiyān Ammai-appan alias Appan Pallavarājaṇ of Palaiyaṇūr**, evidently for his services to the State in frustrating the hostile attempts of the Singhalese king Parākramabāhu against the Chōla country.

This inscription is the only record so far known that gives a detailed account of the Singhalese activities in the **war of the Pāṇḍyan succession**, for which our only source has hitherto been the Singhalese chronicle *Mahāvamsa*; but this is biased in its version, especially as it does not give

¹ No. 465 of 1905 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.

² In the absence of the original inscribed stones, the impression preserved in the office of the Superintendent of Epigraphy, Madras, is the only record now available for this valuable inscription.

³ No. 433 of 1924 of the Madras Epigraphical collection; vide also above, Vol. XXI, p. 184, where this inscription is published.

⁴ No. 261 of 1925 of the same collection. This is highly damaged and appears to be a duplicate copy of the present record.

⁵ As regards the initial date of this king there is some confusion. Prof. Kielhorn had fixed it between 28th February and 30th March 1163 A.D. But a record from Nandalūr (No. 571 of 1907), while giving astronomical details couples the 12th regnal year of the king with the cyclic year *Hēmaḷamba* which corresponded to A.D. 1177 (above, Vol. X, p. 127). In this case the regnal year intended must be 14th expired or 15th current and not 12 as cited in the record. This apparent difference in date is, curiously enough, reiterated in an inscription recently copied in the Chittoor District (No. 209 of 1932), where the 12th regnal year of this king is also stated to be his 14th year. This would suggest that Rājādhirāja II was a crown prince for two years before he became king.

There are, however, three inscriptions of this king (Nos. 571 of 1907, 428 of 1912 and 19 of 1913) which point to A.D. 1166 as the initial year. From the Pallavarāyanpēṭṭai inscription we know that Rājādhirāja II was crowned 4 years after his nomination. The initial date of his predecessor, Rājārāja II, is 1146 A.D. and his highest regnal year is 19 (No. 411 of 1909). Rājārāja II must therefore have lived till 1164-65 A.D. The whole position may now be summed up as follows:—

A.D. 1163 Rājādhirāja's nomination,

A.D. 1164-65 Rājārāja's death and Rājādhirāja's succession,

A.D. 1166 Rājādhirāja's coronation.

Since both A.D. 1163 and 1166 work correctly as the initial year, it will be evident that Rājādhirāja II, in some of his records, counted his reign from the year of his nomination and in others from that of his coronation.

any reverses sustained by the Singhalese forces. The present epigraph, however, lays special emphasis on this point, and therefore as a corrective to the *Mahāvamsa* and as a record of contemporary events, it is a valuable document.

It may be divided into two sections: in the first, the services to the country rendered by the Chōla general Vēdavaṇamuḍaiyāṇ Ammaiappaṇ *alias* Anṇaṇ Pallavarājaṇ in counteracting the hostile attempts of the Singhalese king Parākramabāhu are detailed and in the other is registered a grant of land made to him.

The inscription refers to the Singhalese king Parākramabāhu in contempt as *Ilattāṇi*. the record we learn that Parākramabāhu was hostile to the Chōla kingdom from the beginning of his reign and in pursuance of this policy, he made the following three attempts which were successfully foiled by the Chōla king:—

- (a) When the war of the Pāṇḍyan succession broke out, Parākramabāhu espoused the cause of Parākrama-Pāṇḍya, one of the claimants to the throne of Madura and also sent an army into the Pāṇḍya country which forced Kulaśekhara, the rival claimant to the throne, to flee from Madura and seek the help of the Chōla king. The Chōla army sent to his assistance deposed Vira-Pāṇḍya, the son of Parākrama-Pāṇḍya, who was set up on the Pāṇḍya throne by the Singhalese king Parākramabāhu, completely defeated the enemy's forces killing even their generals and finally placed Kulaśekhara on the throne of Madura.¹
- (b) On the failure of this attempt Parākramabāhu reinforced his strongholds by despatching forces into Ūratturai, Pulaichchēri, Mātōṭṭam, Vallikāmaṇ and Maṭṭivāl and constructed ships for a naval attack. But the Chōla king frustrated these measures with the assistance of Śrīvallabha, the nephew of Parākramabāhu, by carrying the war into the enemy's territory and destroying a considerable portion thereof.
- (c) Parākramabāhu then tampered with the loyalty of Kulaśekhara-Pāṇḍya to his Chōla ally and won him over to his side. He could not however satisfy both the Pāṇḍya claimants at the same time. The Chōla king, on the other hand, deposed the ungrateful Kulaśekhara and placed Vira-Pāṇḍya, the quondam ally of Parākramabāhu, on the throne of Madura.

This inscription in narrating the first attempt of Parākramabāhu (ll. 12-18) corroborates the *Mahāvamsa* in the main except the reverses sustained by the Singhalese forces. The details of the other two attempts (ll. 18-36) are, however, new information.

The present record raises an important issue about Śrīvallabha. His position is clearly explained in it. We know that his father Mānābharana was a rival of Parākramabāhu for the overlordship of Ceylon. Śrīvallabha also appears to have aspired for the Singhalese throne. In the protracted struggle for sovereignty Śrīvallabha was captured² by the forces of Parākramabāhu, but he subsequently seems to have escaped from his uncle's custody and sought and obtained shelter under the Chōla king. Parākramabāhu evidently resented this assistance and so commenced his campaign of hostility against the Chōla kingdom. This persistent hostility of the Singhalese king is emphasised in our record in three places (ll. 12; 18 and 29). Śrīvallabha is called the nephew (*marumagaṇ*) of Parākramabāhu and is recognised in the inscription as the claimant to the Ilam country (*Ilā-rāṇyattukkuṇ-kaḍavarāy* l. 21). It is also

¹ The details given in this encounter are also corroborated by the Pallavarāyappēṭṭai record (above, Vol. XXI, pp. 186 ff.) wherein, however, Anṇaṇ Pallavarājaṇ's part in the fight does not find mention.

² *Mahāvamsa* Ch. 72, vv. 323-4.

stated that he had already gone (*munbē pōndirunda* l. 21), thus suggesting his previous arrival in South India, evidently as a refugee seeking shelter under the Chōla and possibly also his assistance for the overthrow of Parākramabāhu. Therefore when his help was sought by the Chōla king, he readily responded, so that if there was a chance he might gain the throne of Ceylon.

The part played by Śrīvallabha, in this connection, has hitherto been considered as that of a traitor.¹ But if it is understood that he was fighting along with his father Mānābharaṇa for the Singhalese throne against Parākramabāhu, it will be evident that such a charge cannot be levelled against him.

In the rivalry between Vira-Pāṇḍya and Kulaśēkhara for the throne of Madura, the Chōla king first took up the cause of Kulaśēkhara,² but when the latter proved a traitor by allying himself with Parākramabāhu, he was deposed and Vira-Pāṇḍya was placed in his stead. Though the present record stops with the restoration of Vira-Pāṇḍya, now with Chōla help, it is clear that he must also have rebelled³ soon after, for when Kulōttuṅga-Chōla III continued the war, he fought against Vira-Pāṇḍya⁴ and in favour of one Vikrama-Pāṇḍya whom he made the ruler of Madura.⁵

It may be pointed out here that the new facts gleaned from this inscription, viz.—that Rājādhiraṇa took up the cause of Śrīvallabha against that of Parākramabāhu, that the Pāṇḍya king Kulaśēkhara turned a traitor to the Chōla king and that Vira-Pāṇḍya was again installed on the Pāṇḍya throne through Chōla help—raise the following fresh issues which in the present state of our knowledge cannot be satisfactorily explained :

Did the Chōla king Rājādhiraṇa II actually send any help to Ceylon to assist Śrīvallabha in his struggle for sovereignty or did he only give shelter to him? Why was Vira-Pāṇḍya made the ruler of the Pāṇḍya kingdom and not Vikrama-Pāṇḍya after Kulaśēkhara turned a traitor? What was the relationship of Vikrama-Pāṇḍya to his predecessors and what were his claims to the Pāṇḍya throne?

The territorial divisions, *Jayaṅḡṇḍaśōla-maṇḍalam* (l. 8), *Arumolīdēva-Vaṇaṇḍu* (l. 36) and *Neṇmali-nāḍu* (l. 36) are already known. *Paḷaiyaṇūr*⁶, the native place of Vēdavaṇam-Uḍaiyaṇ may be identified with the village of the same name in the Tiruttani taluk of the Chittoor district. This village must be distinguished from Rājārājaṇ-Paḷaiyaṇūr⁷ (l. 36) in the Tanjore district, where 10 *vēli* of land was granted to this Vēdavaṇamuḍaiyaṇ. The village *Ēḷagam*

¹ See *A. R. on Epigraphy* for 1906, para. 23.

² Why Kulaśēkhara proved a traitor is not explained in the record. Probably he was enticed by Parākramabāhu.

³ His revolt is referred to in the historical introduction of Kulōttuṅga-Chōla III. See *S. I. I.*, Vol. III, pp. 206ff.

⁴ Vira-Pāṇḍya seems to have occupied the throne for a second time from about 1175-1182 A.D. Like his predecessor Kulaśēkhara he also fell an easy prey to the machinations of Parākramabāhu and thus made himself the bitterest enemy of the Chōla king Kulōttuṅga-Chōla III. He made a desperate attempt along with his son to regain the Pāṇḍya throne till at last he lost his life in the battle at Neṭṭūr. Two records from Tribhuvanam in the Tanjore district (Nos. 191 and 192 of 1907) state that Kulōttuṅga-Chōla III who bore the title 'Pāṇḍyāri' killed Vira-Pāṇḍya. See also *A. R. on Epigraphy* for 1908, para. 64, and *S. I. I.*, Vol. III, pp. 217-18.

⁵ The Chōla rulers played the role of 'king makers'. Kulaśēkhara, Vira-Pāṇḍya, and Vikrama-Pāṇḍya were successively made rulers of the Pāṇḍya country by the Chōla sovereigns.

⁶ The Tiruvāḷaṅḡḍu plates of the Chōla king Rājendra-chōla I record the grant of this village to the Śiva temple at Tiruvāḷaṅḡḍu. In the *Tēvāram* this village is called Paḷaiyaṇūr-Āḷaṅḡḍu (i.e.) Āḷaṅḡḍu or Tiruvāḷaṅḡḍu near Paḷaiyaṇūr. In one inscription Tiruvāḷaṅḡḍu is said to be near Paḷaiyaṇūr (*S. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 134).

⁷ This explains why the same inscription is found both at Tiruvāḷaṅḡḍu (Chittoor district), the native place of Vēdavaṇam-Uḍaiyaṇ, and at Tirumayāṇam (Tanjore district) where the lands presented to him were situated.

(l. 29) may be identified with Tiruvēḍagam in the Madura *taluk*. The subjugation of this village is also mentioned in inscriptions of Kulōttuṅga-Chōla III.¹ The river **Veḷḷāru** rises in the Vēlamalai to the west of the Pudukkottai State and falls into the Bay of Bengal to the north of Maṇamēlkuḍi in the Tanjore district. **Ūrātturai**, **Pulaichchēri**, **Mātōṭṭam**, **Vallikāmam** and **Maṭṭivāl** have already been identified.²

TEXT.

- 1 Svasti³ śrī³ [||*] Kaḍal-śūḷṇda Pār-mādaruṇ Kalai-mādarum aḍal-śūḷṇda Pōr-mā-
- 2 daruṇ=Chīr-mādarum ama[r*]ṇdu vāḷa nār-kaḍal-sūḷ puvi-ēḷum pā[r]-kaḍal-sūḷ puḷaḷ
- para-
- 3 ppa ādi-ugamāmeṇṇa=chchōdi-muḍi puṇaindaruḷi aḷu-samaiyamum aim-būda-
- num ne-
- 4 riṇṇil niṇṇu pāriṇṇa=tTēṇṇavaruṇ=Chēralaruṇ Śiṅgaḷarum mudalāya maṇṇavargaḷ
- tirai
- 5 śumandu vantīṇḍi-chchēvipṇa ūḷi ūḷi oru śeṅkōḷ eḷu-pārum iṇid=aḷipṇa=ch-
- chempon Vira-[si³]-
- 6 [nāṇ]sa³nattu Ulaguḍai-mukkōkḷiḷaṇaḍigaḷōḍum viṇṇirundaruḷiya Kōv-Irāja⁴kēsari
- panmar⁴=āṇṇa
- 7 Tribhu⁵vanachchakkaravarttiḷaḷ śrī³-Irājādhirājadēvarkku⁶ yāṇḍu panniraṇḍāvaḍu
- nāl nūṇṇaimbat-
- 8 tēḷiṇāl Tribhuvanachchakra³vatti Kōṇēriṇmaikoṇḍāṇ Jayāṇkoṇḍasōḷa-maṇḍalattu
- Mēṇ-
- 9 malaip-Palaiyaṇūr-nāṭṭu=pPalaiyaṇūr-uḍaiyār Tiruvāḷaṅgāḍuḍaiyār kōyilil dēva-
- kaṇṇmikk-
- 10 m śrī³-māhēśvarak-kaṇṇūṇi-śeyvārgaḷukkum [l*] Palaiyaṇūr-uḍaiyāṇ Vēḍavaṇamu-
- ḍaiyāṇ Ammaia-
- 11 ppaṇ=āṇṇa Aṇṇaṇ Pallava[rāja³]ṇ ḷḷattāṇ Parākkiramabāku āḷvāṇ-pōḍē
- tuḍaṅgi Śōḷarāja⁷ttukku
- 12 [vi]rōḍam[āy-i]ruppaṇa pala vaḍigaḷāḷuṇ śe[yya-p]pārttu idukku uruppā-
- ga=pPāṇḍi-nāṭṭilē paḍai-
- 13 [yu]raṇiṭṭu.....[Kulaśēkharaṇaiyum Madu]raiṇṇil niṇṇum Veḷḷāruḷḷu
- vaḍakaraiyilē pō-
- 14 dappaṇṇi[ṇa-paḍiyālē].....⁸m śeyyappārtta-iḍattu idukku-pparikāramāga
- Kula-
- 15 śēkharaṇḷḷu [vēṇḍuvaṇavuṇ=cheydu muda]ḷigaḷum paḍaigaḷum pōgaṇiṭṭu
- ḷḷattāṇ paḍaiyaiyu-

¹ S. I. I., Vol. III, p. 210.

² Above, Vol. XXI, p. 187.

³ Engraved in Grantha.

⁴ The letters *rāja* and *marā* are engraved in Grantha.

⁵ The letters *tribhu* are in Grantha.

⁶ The letters *Rājādhirājadē* are in Grantha.

⁷ *rāja* is engraved in Grantha.

⁸ The word *viṇṇaikkēḍugaḷum* may be inserted before *śeyyappārtta*.

- 16 m ippadaik[ku=kkāraṇavar=āṇa] Ila[āṅkāpura-Da]ṇḍanāyakkāṇum Jagat-
tra¹ya-dDaṇḍanā [ya*]²kkāṇum ulliṭṭā-
- 17 raiyuṇ-konṇu [Madurai-vāśalilē ivargaḷ talaigaḷai] taippittu iv-vūrilē Kula-
śēkhararaiyūm puga-viṭṭu-chche-
- 18 Ilā-niṅka..... ku virōdamāy-iruppaṇa śeyya-ppārttu ivan taṇ paḍai-
- 19 nilaiyāṇa Ūrattuṇai Pulaichchēri Mātōṭṭam Vallikāmam Maṭṭivāḷ ulliṭṭa
ūrgalilē paḍaigaḷu-
- 20 m puguda-viṭṭu paḍavukaḷuṇ cheyvikkiṇa paḍi kēṭṭu idukku-pparikāramāga
Ilattāṇ maru-magaṇārāy Ila-rāja³ttukkuṇ-
- 21 kaḍavarāy muṇbē pōṇḍirunda Śivallavarai aḷaippittu ivarkku vēṇḍuvāṇa-
vuṇ=cheydu ivaraiyūm i-
- 22 varuḍaṇē vēṇḍum paḍaigaḷum Ūrattuṇai Vallikāmam Maṭṭivāḷ ulliṭṭa ū-
rgalilē pugaviṭṭu=pPulaichchē-
- 23 ri Mātōṭṭam ulliṭṭa ūrgaḷum aḷittu Ilattāṇiṇavāy iv-vūrgalil niṇṇa āṇaiga-
ḷuṇ kai-kkon-
- 24 ḍu Ila-maṇḍalattil kīl-mēl irupadin kāda mēṇpaḍavun teṇ-vaḍal muppadiṇ
kāda mēṇpaḍavum aḷittu it-
- 25 tuṇaiyil ivan manichcharāy=irundāril kolvārai-yuṇ-konṇu piḍippārai-yūm piḍittu
ivargaḷai-yūm śa-
- 26 rakkāy=kkaikkonḍaḷavum piḍitta āṇaigaḷum aḷaippittu ivan namakku-kkāṭṭi
Ila-maṇḍalattu=kkāriya-
- 27 m ellāppaḍiyāḷum ivan aḷiya=chcheyvittapaḍikkum Pāṇḍiyaṇūr Kulaśēkharar
tamakkū muṇbu śeyda
- 28 naṇmaigaḷum pārādē Ilattāṇuḍaṇē [sa⁴]mbandam-panṇavum ivanum ivaruṇ
kūḍa-niṇṇu Śōla[rāja⁵]ttuk-
- 29 ku virōdamāy=iruppaṇa śeyyavuṇ-kaḍavadāga nichchayittu idukku uṇ-
ppāga=pPāṇḍi-nāṭṭu Iḷagattārilum ma[ra-chch-
- 30 āmantarilum namakku=chchērvuḍaṭṭu niṇṇuḍaṇ śeygiṇa Irājarāja³kkarukuḍi-
yarāyaṇum Irājaga⁴mbira Aṇḷukōṭ-
- 31 t̥ai-Naḍālvāṇum ulliṭṭārai [a⁵]ttuṇaigaḷil niṇṇam Vellāṇṇuḷḷu vaḍa-karaiyilē pōda-
ppaṇṇi
- 32 Ilāṅkāpuri-dDaṇḍanā[ya*]²kkāṇum Jagattra⁵ya-dDaṇḍanāyakkāṇum ulliṭṭār talaigaḷāy
Madurai-vāśaliṇ taichcha talai-
- 33 gaḷum vāṅgi-ppōgaḍuvittu ellā-ttīmaigaḷum śeyyakkaḍavadāga-kkaruḍi-choheygiṇa-
paḍiyūm Ilattāṇ Kulaśēkharar-uḍa-

¹ The letter *tra* is engraved in Grantha.

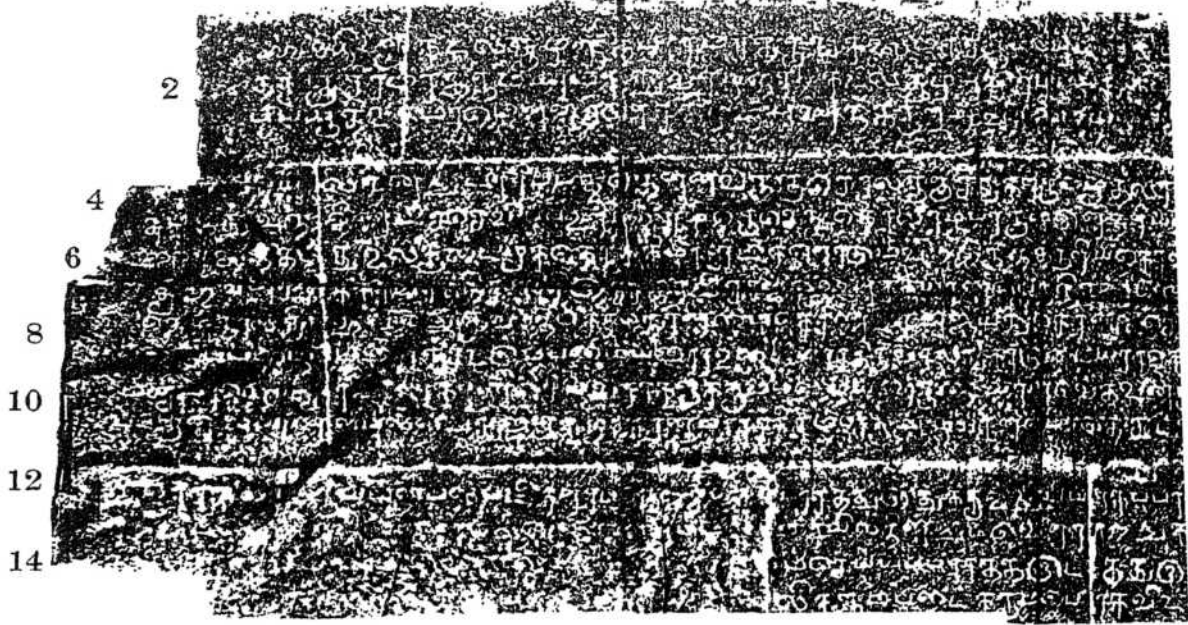
² Engraved in Grantha.

³ The letters *rājarāja* are engraved in Grantha.

⁴ The letters *rājaga* are engraved in Grantha.

⁵ The letters *jagattra* are engraved in Grantha.

TIRUVALANGADU INSCRIPTION OF RAJADHIRAJA I





Reg. No. 3355 E/34-445.

- 34 n kūḍa niṇru udavi-śeygai śūṭṭi ivaruḍaṇ śārvupaṭṭu-ni pārkku vara-
kkāṭṭiṇa ōlaigaḷum vaḷ stukkaḷum vaḷiyilē iva¹paḍiyālum
Śōlarāja²ttukku virōdamāy-irukkaiyālē ivanai
- 35 aṅgu-niṇrum pōkki muṇbē-piḍittu Maduraikku-kkāraṇavarāṇa Parākkirama-
Pāṇḍiyar maganār Vira-[Pāṇḍiya]dēvarai Madurai³ i=vastu³.
vāluṇ kudiraiyālum vēṇḍuvaṇavaiyirṭil nāmakku-chcho-
- 36 Ili-chcheyyavēṇḍuvaṇavuṇ=cheyvittu allāḍaṇa ivanē migudippaḍa nērndum
cheydu śurukki[na*] nā[ai]kkullē Madurai⁴ dēva-vaḷanāṭṭu Neṇ-
mali-nāṭṭu Irājarāja⁵ṇ-Palaiyaṇūr-ilē paḍiṇru-
- 37 vāli nilam paṇṇiraṇḍāvadu mudal antarāyam pāṭṭam uṭpaḍa iraiyiliy-āga
iṭṭu ippaḍi Uḍaiyār TiruvālaṅgāḍuḍaiyaMūvēṇḍavēḷāṇ || -Ivai Nīla-
gaṅgarayaṇ eḷuttu || ௨
- 38 Ivai Dīpattarayaṇ eḷuttu ௨ Ivai Kaṇakarāja⁶ṇ eḷuttu ௨ Ivai Malaiyappi-
rāja⁷[n *] eḷuttu ௨ Ivai Maḷava.....
- 39 tu | ௨ Ivai Villavarāyaṇ eḷuttu ௨

TRANSLATION.

(Lines 1-5)⁸

(Ll. 6-10).—In the **twelfth year and one hundred and fifty-seventh day** (of the reign) of the king **Rājakēsarivarman** *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious **Rājādhirājadēva**, while he was pleased to be seated along with (*his queen*) **Ulaguḍai-mukkoḷkiḷāṇaḍaigaḷ** on the golden throne of heroes, (*the following order was issued*) to the **dēvakanmi** and **Śrī-māhēśvara-kaṅgāṇi-śeyvār** of the temple of **Uḍaiyār Tiruvālaṅgāḍuḍaiyār** at **Palaiyaṇūr** in **Mēṇmalaip-Palaiyaṇūr-nāḍu**, a subdivision of **Jayaṅgoṇḍaśōla-maṇḍalam** (*under the royal seal*) **Tribhuvana-chakravatti Kāṇēriṇmaikoṇḍāṇ** :—

(Ll. 11-17).—**Vēḍavaṇamuḍaiyāṇ Ammaiappaṇ** *alias* **Anṇaṇ Pallavarājaṇ** of **Palaiyaṇūr** (*acted thus*) :

When **Parākramabāhu** of **Ṭlam**, from the time (*he*) assumed sovereignty acted inimically against the **Chōla** country by various means and as a part of this move, since he caused an army to enter the **Pāṇḍya** country and forced **Kulaśēkhara** also to flee from **Madura** to the north bank of the (*river*) **Vēllāru**..... to counteract this (*hostile*) action, what ever (*assistance*) was needed by **Kulaśēkhara** was given (*by us, i.e., the Chōla king*)

¹ This portion is built in : before 'paḍiyālum' the letters 'ellāp' may be inserted.

² The gap may be filled up with the aid of the **Tirumayānam** inscription, with the words 'kōyilil iḍakkaḍava-ḍāga iṇṇukku nām chōlli belāṅgaḷum vēṇḍuvāraiṇum pōgaviḍuvaṇavum [vittu].'

³ The letter *stu* is engraved in Grantha.

⁴ From the **Tirumayānam** inscription, a portion of this gap may be filled up with the words 'naṭṭipōkki Vira-Pāṇḍyaēvarai Maduraiyil pugaṇiṭṭa-paḍikkum iṇṇukku Arumolli'.

⁵ The letters *rājarāja* are engraved in Grantha.

⁶ Engraved in Grantha.

⁷ The letter *ja* is engraved in Grantha.

⁸ For translation see above Vol. XXI, p. 191.

commanders (*with*) forces were despatched, the army of Ceylon (*was destroyed*) and its generals **Laṅkāpura-Daṇḍanāyaka** and **Jagattraya-Daṇḍanāyaka** put to death, their heads mounted on the gates of Madura, and (*thereafter*) **Kulaśekhara** was allowed to enter this city (*i.e.*, Madura).

(Ll. 18-26).—When (*affairs*) stood thus hearing (*the report*) that, with the intent of making (*another*) hostile attempt (*against the Chōla country*), this (*Parākramabāhu*) had assembled forces into his strongholds at Ūratturai, Pulaichchēri, Mātōṭṭam, Vallikāmam, Maṭṭivāl and other places and was also constructing (*a fleet of*) ships (*therein*), (*we, in order*) to ward off this (*danger*), summoned **Śrīvallabha** the nephew of the Ceylonese (*king*) and a claimant to the kingdom of Ceylon and (*who*) had already arrived (*here*), did whatever was required for him (*and*) despatched him with the necessary forces to Ūratturai, Vallikāmam, Maṭṭivāl and other villages (*and*) destroyed Pulaichchēri, Mātōṭṭam and other villages, captured the elephants belonging to the king of Ceylon stationed in these places, laid waste in Īla-maṇḍalam more than twenty *kādam*¹ (*of land*) from east to west and more than thirty *kādam* from south to north, killed in this place such of his subordinates as had to be killed and captured those who had to be captured. This (*Anṇaṇ Pallavarājaṇ*) sent for these (*captives*) along with the booty and captured elephants and displayed (*them*) to us (*and*) thus (*once again*) frustrated in every way the efforts (*of the king*) of Īla-maṇḍalam.

(Ll. 27-33).—The Pāṇḍya **Kulaśekhara** disregarding the good done to him before (*by us, i.e.*, the Chōla king), entered into an alliance with the (*king*) of Ceylon, (*and both*) this (*king of Ceylon*) and this (*Kulaśekhara*) decided to stand together and act against (*the interest of*) the Chōla kingdom. As an evidence of this move, (*they*) drove from (*their*) places to the north bank of (*the river*) Vellāru, our allies at Ēlagam in the Pāṇḍya country like **Rājarājakkarkuḍiyarāyaṇ** and **Rājagambīra Aṇḍukōṭṭai-Nāḍālvāṇ** and other feudatories who were assisting our cause and removed from the gates of Madura, the heads of **Laṅkāpuri-Daṇḍanāyaka**, **Jagattraya-Daṇḍanāyaka** and others which had been pinned thereon, (*and in this way*) carried out the intent of working every kind of evil (*to us, i.e.*, the Chōla king).

(Ll. 34-39).—As the letters and presents sent to the adherents of **Kulaśekhara** by the king of Ceylon betokening assistance (*to the former, when intercepted*) on the way (*proved Kulaśekhara's*) hostility to the Chōla kingdom, we directed him (*Anṇaṇ Pallavarājaṇ*) to oust him (*Kulaśekhara*) from there (Madura) and to (*reinstate*) in Madura **Vira-Pāṇḍya**, the son of **Parākrama-Pāṇḍya** who was from the beginning (*another*) claimant to the throne of Madura. (*Further*), we provided him (*Anṇaṇ Pallavarājaṇ*) with all the requisites and directed him to indent on us (*when necessary*) for funds and cavalry and to manage the other things himself; and as he had so carried out (*our intentions*) within a short time (*and installed*) **Vira-Pāṇḍya** (*in*) Madura, (*we granted him*), from the **twelfth year**, ten *vēli* of land in **Rājarājaṇ-Palaiyaṇūr** (*situated*) in Neṇmali-nāḍu, a division of [Arumoli]dēva-vaṇaṇḍu, made free of taxes including *antarāyam* and *pāṭṭam* (*and commanded the engraving of the gift in the temple of*) **Uḍaiyār Tiruvālaṇḍāduḍaiy[ār]** (*This is the signature of*) **Mūvēndavēḷāṇ** ெ. This is the signature of **Nilagaṇḍarayaṇ** ெ. This is the signature of **Dipattarayaṇ** ெ. This is the signature of **Kaṇakarājaṇ** ெ. This is the signature of **Malaiyappirājaṇ** ெ. This [is the signature of] **Maḷava** This is the signature of **Villavarājaṇ** ெ.

¹ *Kādam* is the Indian league measure about 10 miles in distance.

off and cut to pieces the horses, elephants, chariots and the fighting proud infantry. (*At seeing this*), he (*the Chōla king*), his two eyes becoming dim, fell down on the ground and fled (*from the field*), his body quaking with fear. The fierce kite ate the (*dead*) bodies of the *maṇḍalikas* (*lying stretched like*) the noisy ocean, the water of which the clouds were imbibing.¹ The chiefs of heroes cut off the white tusks and trunks of elephants in the field thinking they would serve as milk-pots to their king *Māṇavaṇ* (*i.e.*, the Pāṇḍya). Finishing the conquest, the king made the following invocation to the goddess :—“ Let her who wears the *arkka* garland and huge trident, who has white teeth, red mouth and fearful black locks, who is ever pleased at seeing the dances and hearing the sounds and songs of . . . under the canopy of crows which touching the top of the sky, reaches the very region of the clouds, receive this war-oblation ”.

(Ll. 16—20.)—The victor, whose anger was not abated by killing kings that had not given up impermissible excesses, who for keeping up the life of his long sword gave it the water of red blood and made it shine (*forth*), who sowed white seeds of *kavaḍi* in the field of battle, who made his vassals hear the *paraṇi*² composed to celebrate all his heroic deeds, who made the earth cool with the water of his sacred bath, who, taking from his harem³ a multitude of wedded⁴ queens whose constancy to him (*ever*) remained un-impaired, and putting them on elephants' back, fastened to them fillets of gems, crowned and embraced them to his breast. Celebrated damsels like the prime queen of *Valavaṇ* bearing bangles holding in their jewelled hands the eight kinds of signs such as pots filled with water which the poets describe as auspicious⁵, he entered the pavilion at *Muḍikoṇḍasōlapuram* surrounded with towers whose tops were fitted with flags, set up golden pillars of victory in all the directions and put on the heroes' ankle-rings linked with the ornament of foot-chain, his feet being worshipped by northern kings holding shining javelins and wearing *vāgai*-garlands. King *Māṇavarman* *alias* the glorious *Sundara-Pāṇḍyadēva*, the emperor of the three worlds, after taking the Chōla country and performing the anointment of heroes at *Muḍikoṇḍasōlapuram*, was pleased to be seated on the lion-throne ornamented with lustrous gems, attended with the waving of lusty fly-whisks on either side, along with *Ulagamuḷuduḍaiyāl* who was praised by damsels wearing *kuḷai*⁶ and who never part from the jewelled shoulders of northern kings having armies of fine fat elephants sounding like the roaring of the ocean.

(Ll. 20—28.)—In the 20th year and 374th day of (*the reign of the king*) when he was pleased to remain on the reclining seat of *Maḷavarāyaṇ* in the hall of the bed-chamber of (*his*) palace at *Tirunelvēli* in *Kiḷ-Vēmba-nāḍu*, the *dēvakaṇṇis* wearing silk garments and observing five-fold precepts, attached to the feet of the god in the temple of *Uḍaiyār-Tirunelvēli-uḍaiyār* having orally expressed that, for meeting the daily scale of expenses of *Śokkaṇār* which *Śaṅkaraṇ* *Aḷagiyaperumāl* *alias* *Maḷavarāyaṇ* of *Kālaḍi* had worshipped and had subsequently been pleased to set up as an *āśrayaliṅga* in this temple and for offerings and unguents required during the special worship to be conducted on the day of his natal star *Śadaiyam*, one and a half *vēli* of first rate land as measured by the rod used in this village for determining taxes, from out of

¹ Comparison is intended between the cloud and the kite as well as the ocean and the dead bodies.

² *Paraṇi* is a poetical composition in praise of a chief who, at the head of battle, has killed 1,000 elephants. Many such pieces are referred to in the historical introductions of Tamil kings and these have not come down to us.

³ Provisionally, I have taken the word *tiṇaiḱkaṭṭaṇam* to mean a harem.

⁴ The word *urimai* is used in the sense of 'wife, queen'.

⁵ These marks are :—*chāmara* (fly-whisk), *pūrṇa-kumbha* (pot filled with water), looking glass, *ṭiṭṭi* (elephant-goat), *muraṣa* (drum), lamp, flag and double fish.

⁶ *Kuḷai* means an ear ornament.

the lands of **Kayattāṅkuṛuchchi**, a hamlet of **Rājarāja-chaturvēdimāṅgalam** in **Muḷli-nāḍu** yielding crops in *kār* and *paśāṇam*, which was at first given as *jīvita* to **Maḷavarāyar**, the grandfather of his father for the premiership of the kingdom, and which subsequently became a *jīvita* to this (**Maḷavarāyar**) for his premiership of the kingdom, should be entered tax-free and (*its*) *antarāyam*, *uḷudāṅkuḍi*, etc., should be given as *dēvadāṇa* from the year opposite to the 20th year, and **Maḷavarāyar** having re-iterated the same to us (*i.e.*, the king), we declared that, for the expenses of the daily requirements of this god and for the requirements of offerings and unguents during the special worship to be conducted on the day of his natal star **Śadaiyam**, one and a half *vēli* of first rate land as measured by the rod used in this village for determining taxes from out of the lands of **Kayattāṅkuṛuchchi**, a hamlet of **Rājarāja-chaturvēdimāṅgalam** in **Muḷli-nāḍu** yielding crops in *kār* and *paśāṇam* which was given as *jīvita* to **Maḷavarāyar** the grandfather of his father for the premiership of the kingdom and which subsequently became a *jīvita* to this (**Maḷavarāyar**) for the premiership of the kingdom, shall be entered tax-free and (*its*) *antarāyam*, *uḷudāṅkuḍi*, etc., given as *dēvadāṇa* from this year and that a copy of the entry in the tax-register as well as our order shall be issued : (*and therefore*) receiving this, let the expenses of daily requirements, etc., be met, and let it be so incised on stone and copper so that the same may be conducted as long as the moon and the sun last. This is the signature of **Śōraṇ Uyya-niṇṇāduvāṇ** *alias* **Kurukulattaraiyaṇ** of **Taḍaṅgaṇnichchirṇūr** in **Tirumalli-nāḍu**. This is the signature of **Vēḍanūruḍaiyaṇ** **Araiyaṇ** **Śivallavaṇ** *alias* **Māḍavarājar** of **Veṭchiyūr** *alias* **Mummaḍisōḷanallūr** in **Kīl-kūrṇu** a subdivision of **Mīlalaḷi-kūrṇam**. This is the signature of **Araiyaṇ** **Viradamuḍichchāṇ** *alias* **Pallavarājaṇ** of **Sakkarapaṇinallūr** in **Śēvvirukkai-nāḍu**.

No. 11.—JAINAD STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE PARAMARA JAGADDĒVA.

By DHIRENDRA CHANDRA GANGULY, M.A., Ph.D., BENARES.

The sub-joined inscription belongs to the reign of the king **Jagaddēva** of the main branch of the **Paramāra** family, who held sway over **Mālava** in the latter part of the 11th century A.D. No other inscription of this monarch has hitherto been noticed. The epigraphic records of the **Paramāras** do not even mention his name. The new inscription is engraved on a slab of stone, now lying detached on the floor of a *maṇḍapa* attached to a temple in the village of **Jainad** about six miles north-east of **Adilābād**, in H. E. H. the **Nizam's Dominions**. There are remains of another temple in the vicinity, and close by is a heap of carved slabs, which are reported to have been brought to this locality from a tank in the neighbourhood. Mr. **Muhammad Yasin**, **Taluqdar** of the District, brought this record to the notice of Mr. **G. Yazdani**, M.A., Director of Archaeology, H. E. H. the **Nizam's Dominions**. Mr. **Yazdani** made a short notice of this inscription in the *Annual Report* of his Department for the year 1925-26. Its transcription with short introductory notes, prepared by Mr. **C. R. Krishnamacharlu**, and a facsimile have been embodied as Appendix B of the *Annual Report* of the above mentioned Archaeological Department for the year 1927-28, but Mr. **Krishnamacharlu's** reading is not free from errors. I edit this inscription with the permission of Mr. **Yazdani**, who very kindly sent me an ink-impression of it.

The inscription contains 28 lines of writing covering a space 1' 6½" long and 1' 4" broad. Some letters in lines 3, 4, 5, 6, 9, 12, 17, 20, 21, 23, 24, 25, are badly broken, and a number of letters at the beginning of the line 28 are completely effaced.

The characters are **Nāgarī** of the 11th century. Attention may be drawn to the forms of *sth* (in *sthira*, l. 2), *shn* (in *Vishnu*, l. 4), *ksh* (in *kshīna*, l. 9), and *bh*. The signs for *sch*, *śva*, and *kh*, and those of *h* and *dg* are so much alike that sometimes it is very difficult to distinguish.

The language is Sanskrit, and the whole inscription with the exception of *om namaḥ sūryāya* at the beginning is written in prose. There are altogether 28 verses in different metres. As regards **orthography** the sign for *v* denotes both *v* and *b*; sometimes dental sibilant is used instead of palatal (e.g., *prasasti* for *praśasti*, l. 10; *rāsibhiḥ* for *rāśibhiḥ*, l. 20; *śuddhō* for *śuddhō*, l. 25). The consonant following the superscript *r* is doubled, as for example, *ravēr=vvārē*, *bhānur=nniratyayam* (l. 1), etc.

The inscription records that **Jagaddēva's** father was **Udayāditya**, and his paternal uncle was the king **Bhōja** (v. 6). Jagaddēva is stated to have invaded the country of the **Andhra** king, and inflicted a severe defeat on him (v. 7). He uprooted the king of **Chakradurga** (v. 8), and slew many soldiers of the king of **Malahara** at **Dōrasamudra** (v. 9).¹ He also won victory over the **Gūrjara** warriors near the **Arbuda** mountain (v. 10). He conquered the king **Karṇa** (v. 12).

Bhōja referred to above was evidently the great king of the same name, who ruled in Mālava from about 1000 to 1055 A.D. The history of Bhōja is well known to us from other sources. The latter part of his reign was unhappy. Shortly before 1055 A.D., the Kalachuri Karṇa and the Chaulukya Bhīma I made an alliance against him, and invaded Mālava from the east and the west. When the battle was progressing, Bhōja suddenly died of a malady, and Mālava was taken possession of by the Kalachuris and the Chaulukyas². In that difficult period, Jayasimha, the son of Bhōja, sought help from the Chālukya Sōmēśvara I, king of Kalyāṇi, and with the aid of the latter's son Vikramāditya (VI) succeeded in regaining his throne by ousting Karṇa and Bhīma from Mālava³. Since that time Jayasimha remained a staunch friend of Vikramāditya, who was under his father, the governor of Banavāsī in the third quarter of the 11th century. Vikramāditya was deputed by his father to protect the interest of his empire in the south. The Eastern Chālukya Rājarāja, the king of Vēṅgī, died in 1062 A.D. His son Rājendra II (later on Kulōttuṅga Chōla I) was too young to govern his kingdom. Vikramāditya intended to avail himself of this opportunity of conquering Vēṅgī, and organised a vast army for that purpose. Jayasimha, who was indebted to Vikramāditya for his past services, seems to have joined him in this expedition in order to help his cause. The allied armies advanced towards Vēṅgī and threatened the Eastern Chālukyas. The young Rājendra could not resist their onslaught, and Vēṅgī fell in the hands of Vikramāditya and Jayasimha. In that predicament Vijayāditya VII, the younger brother of the deceased Rājarāja, took up the cause of his nephew, and appealed to the Chōla Virarājendra (A.D. 1062-1069) for assistance. The Chōla king responded to his prayer and marched towards Vēṅgī at the head of a large army. He confronted his enemies on the bank of the Kistna near Bezwāda (Vijayavādī). In the action that followed the Karṇāṭas and the Paramāras were severely worsted, and the cousin (or younger brother) of Jayasimha with many other generals lost their lives. Vēṅgī was reconquered by the Chōlas, and Virarājendra appointed Vijayāditya to rule it on behalf of Rājendra-Chōla.⁴ The Tiruvengāḍu inscription⁵ of the second year of the reign of Virarājendra tells us that he defeated the army sent into Vēṅgaināḍu by Vikramāditya. The Karuvūr inscription⁶ of the fourth year of his reign records that 'he despatched (the banner of) the ferocious tiger into all directions and cut off the beautiful heads surrounded by garlands (won) on battle-fields, of Vāraṇ, of the [Kēraḷa], (who wore) large ankle-rings, (and) of the younger brother (or cousin) of Ja(na)nāṭha of Dhārā.' The Maṇimaṅgalam

¹ [See note 5, p. 58.—Ed.]

² Mērutuṅga's *Prabandha-chīntāmaṇi*, by Tawney, pp. 73-75.

³ Bilhaṇa's *Vikramāṅka-charita*, *Sarga* III, v. 67.

⁴ *S. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 193.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 37.

In the abstract of the historical introduction given above, one point that is particularly worthy of note is that when the Chōḷa king begged in the manner aforesaid, viz., by presenting his son first, the libation of water was made to himself, while the crown and kingdom were bestowed on his legitimate son.

Now comes the question of the identification of the Chōḷa king and his legitimate son, that are referred to as having been the recipients of the ignominious honour. There is some difficulty with regard to this. As both Māṇavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I and Rājārāja III count their regnal years from A.D. 1216, it would be natural to say that the invasion undertaken by the former was against the latter, and that the latter and his son were the ill-fated persons referred to. That this answer, though natural, is superficial and incorrect, and does not take into consideration all the factors that really count in the matter, will be evident from the sequel. In the first place, it is necessary to know when the Pāṇḍya king effected his conquest of the Chōḷa territory and took the Chōḷa king's crown and country, and when again he restored them. This last point could be answered by observing the order of mention of the events in the introduction or better still by noting the earliest year in which these events are found registered in the king's inscriptions. The narration of the events in the introduction shows clearly that the invasion of the Chōḷa country was undertaken immediately after the Pāṇḍya king's coronation. It appears also that the restoration of the captured country was not delayed long, for we are informed that after taking the country the Pāṇḍya king went to Āyirattālī and had his anointment performed there, went to Puliūr and paid obeisance to the god Naṭarāja, probably as a thanks-offering, and proceeded to Poṇṇamarāvati where he, inviting the Chōḷa king, presented to him—or rather his son—the crown and kingdom. The numerous stone inscriptions of the king range in date from the 2nd¹ to the 24th³ year. In the earliest of these, viz., the one dated in the 2nd year, 'Śōṇāḍu koṇḍa' (who took the Chōḷa country) occurs. As such, the country must have been taken in A.D. 1216-17. Since this event, which happened soon after Māṇavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I assumed regal powers, 'Śōṇāḍu koṇḍa' became the short title and distinguishing mark of the king. And it is particularly worthy of note that even the inscriptions which commence with the introduction *Pūmaruṇiya* and register all his achievements, when they come to mention the name of the king, mention him with this short title. It thus appears that 'Śōṇāḍu koṇḍa' had become almost a part of his name, that being the first great achievement. As the presentation of the Chōḷa country is specifically stated to have been made to Kulōttuṅga III in two stone inscriptions³ and as his latest inscriptions show that he reigned for 40 years⁴, i.e., until A. D. 1217, it is clear that the country was given back soon after it was taken in 1216-17. There is no doubt that the Chōḷa opponent of Māṇavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I was Kulōttuṅga III and not Rājārāja III, for even though the latter's regnal years are counted from A.D. 1216, his actual rule commenced two years later. Here it may be noted that in the case of most South Indian kings—especially the Chōḷas—we know that the regnal years are counted not from the actual date of accession to power but from a prior date which we may take to be the year of their nomination. In some cases, these two dates are very near each other, while in others they are abnormally distant. The specific mention of the fact noted above, viz., that the Chōḷa country was given back to Kulōttuṅga III precludes our carrying the event to a later date than A.D. 1216-17 up to which only Kulōttuṅga III's inscriptions are found and nothing can be argued

¹ No. 549 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1926.

² No. 394 of the same collection for 1917.

³ No. 72 of the same collection for 1924 and No. 9 of 1926.

⁴ No. 282 of the same collection for 1909.

from the omission of the epithet 'Sōṇāḍu vaḷaṅgi' (who presented the Chōḷa country) in records of Māṇavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I dated prior to the 6th year.¹ Generally, the ceding of a country may be said to have been accompanied by the giving it back to the def king on his owning the overlordship of the conqueror and perhaps also on his agreeing to a stipulated tribute. Now can it not be said that Rājarāja III was the legitimate son of Chōḷa king that had the strange honour of being invested with a crown by the enemy Māṇavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I under very humiliating conditions? One of the points in favour of view is that Rājarāja III counted his regnal year from A.D. 1216 when the capture of Chōḷa country and its restoration by the Pāṇḍya seem to have been effected. Another be found in the statement of reasons for the second war against the Chōḷa which certainly took place in the reign of Rājarāja III. The very words of the inscription are "*muṇṇam r kku muḍi vaḷaṅguṇ=chēvaḍi-kkiḷ iṇṇam vaḷipaduvōm eṇṇādu ēval edir sellād=iṇrai maṇutta viḍu tūsi*," etc. "The Chōḷa (meaning Rājarāja III) who did not mind remaining subman under the feet of him who formerly gave him his crown, refused to obey his commands, deny him tribute and sent a large army with a vanguard (against the Pāṇḍya)." This clearly suggests that it was to Rājarāja III that Māṇavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I gave the crown.

Lines 11 to 13 report that the Pāṇḍya king successively liberated from prison the North and South Koṅgu kings, and attended by these, he entered the palatial city of Madura and received their homage.² At Madura he heard them describe the ancient limits of their territories; not being satisfied with the fairness of the division, he made a redistribution, made them swear to it and sent them away warning that if any of them should ever transgress the new limits would be made a feast for the god of Death. From the last statement it is clear that the two Koṅgus fought against each other, one encroaching on the limits of the other, that Māṇavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I had to interfere in their politics. It is, however, not known how both the kings found themselves in prison. As regards the identification of the Koṅgu kings that are referred to, we might point out that the ruler of South Koṅgu was certainly Vijēndra,³ whose accession took place in A.D. 1207. Like his predecessor Vira-Chōḷa, he came to have ruled over the two Koṅgus⁴: and his latest year of reign known so far is the one corresponding to A.D. 1253. But it is likely that he lived two years more.

The king of North Koṅgu whom Māṇavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I rescued from prison may refer to one of the Adigaimāṇ rulers of Tagaḍūr who had possession of North Koṅgu from early times⁵ or to one of Koṅgu-Chōḷa origin that might have had an independent rule over part of that province. So far, we know none of the latter. If the reference be to the former, the king may be either Viḍugāḍaḷagiya-Perumāḷ who figures as a subordinate of the king Kulōttuṅga III in his 22nd year⁶ (A.D. 1200), or his immediate successor. This Viḍugāḍaḷagiya-Perumāḷ (called also Viḍugāḍaṇ, Viḍugāḍaḷagiyāṇ or Vyāmuktaśravaṇōjjval

¹ Nos. 341 and 364 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1916.

² The conquest of the two Koṅgus is also referred to in Nos. 72 of 1924 and 9 of 1926.

³ No. 135 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1909 from Komaralingam is dated in the 10th year of Tribhuvanachakravartin Kōṇṇirinaṁkōṇḍāṇ Virarājēndra and couples the 25th year of his reign with Śaka (i.e. A.D. 1231).

⁴ No. 106 of the same collection, dated in the 20th year, gives him the title 'who ruled the two Koṅgus together'. A number of records attribute to him the surname Rājākēsarivarman (see Nos. 121, 128 and 1909).

⁵ No. 136 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1909 from Kōḷumam. No. 144 of the same collection is dated in the 21st year of Parakēsarivarman Tribh. Vira-Chōḷa 'who ruled the two Koṅgus together'.

⁶ A. R. on Epigraphy for 1906, Part II, para. 34.

⁷ Above, Vol. VI, pp. 332-3, and S. I. I., Vol. I, Nos. 75 and 76.

from the omission of the epithet '*Sōṇāḍu vaḷaṅgi*' (who presented the Chōḷa country) in records of Māṇavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I dated prior to the 6th year.¹ Generally, the ceding of a country may be said to have been accompanied by the giving it back to the defunct king on his owning the overlordship of the conqueror and perhaps also on his agreeing to a stipulated tribute. Now can it not be said that Rājārāja III was the legitimate son of Chōḷa king that had the strange honour of being invested with a crown by the enemy Māṇavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I under very humiliating conditions? One of the points in favour of this view is that Rājārāja III counted his regnal year from A.D. 1216 when the capture of Chōḷa country and its restoration by the Pāṇḍya seem to have been effected. Another point to be found in the statement of reasons for the second war against the Chōḷa which certainly took place in the reign of Rājārāja III. The very words of the inscription are "*munṇam n kku muḍi vaḷaṅguṇ=chēvaḍi-kkīḷ inṇam vaḷipaduṇvōm eṇṇādu ēral edir sellād=irai marutta & viḍu tūṣi*," etc. "The Chōḷa (meaning Rājārāja III) who did not mind remaining subjugated under the feet of him who formerly gave him his crown, refused to obey his commands, deny him tribute and sent a large army with a vanguard (against the Pāṇḍya)." This clearly suggests that it was to Rājārāja III that Māṇavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I gave the crown.

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¹ Nos. 341 and 364 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1916.

² The conquest of the two Koṅgus is also referred to in Nos. 72 of 1924 and 9 of 1926.

³ No. 125 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1909 from Komaralingam is dated in the reign of Tribhuvanaśrīvarman Kōṇṇinmaikōṇḍāḷ Virarājendra and couples the 25th year of his reign with Śaka 1231 (—A.D. 1231).

⁴ No. 103 of the same collection, dated in the 20th year, gives him the title 'who ruled the two Koṅgus together'. A number of records attribute to him the surname Rājākēśarivarman (see Nos. 121, 128 and 131 of 1909).

⁵ No. 136 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1909 from Koḷumam. No. 144 of the same collection is dated in the 21st year of Parakēśarivarman Tribh. Vira-Chōḷa 'who ruled the two Koṅgus together'.

⁶ A. R. on Epigraphy for 1906, Part II, para. 34.

⁷ Above, Vol. VI, pp. 332-3, and S. I. I., Vol. I, Nos. 75 and 76.

described as the son of Rājarāja Adhikan¹ (Adhika, Adhikēndra, Adigaimān or Adhikēśa) and a lineal descendant of the Kēraḷa king Eḷiṇi² (Yavanika). His capital was Tagaḍai or Teṇ-Tagaḍai, i.e., Dharmapuri in the Salem district and his inscriptions are found at Kambayanallūr, Tirumalai, Cheṅgama, Puṅgaṇūr, Laddigam and Agastyakoṇḍa, written in Sanskrit and Tamil verses.³ The range of his inscriptions, his descent from Eḷiṇi and his capital Tagaḍai clearly show that he was the ruler of Koṅgu (North). As a Chōḷa feudatory, he appears to have restored the Chōḷa dominion in the Gaṅga territory, being entrusted with the charge of it. He claims to have overcome the Kāḍava, the Magada and the Gaṅga.⁴

Now a word may be said about the relationship between the Koṅgu and Pāṇḍya kings. While the South Koṅgu king Virarājendra lived during the time of Māraḍvarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I, by whom he was liberated from prison and was honoured out of friendship, his predecessor Vira-Chōḷa was a contemporary of the Pāṇḍya king Jaṭavarman Kulaśekhara I. This is made plain by the fact that a certain chief by name Śōḷaṇ Silambaṇ alias Virachōḷa-Laṅkēśvaradēva, who calls himself one of the *sāmantas* of the South Koṅgu king Perumāḷ Vira-Chōḷa, figures in a third year record of Jaṭavarman Kulaśekhara I corresponding to A.D. 1193, as donor of a gift to the temple of Mūlasthānamuḍaiya-Paramasvāmin at Teṇkarai near Shōlavandān, 15 miles from Madura, the capital of the Pāṇḍyas.⁵ This chief continued to live in the reign of Virarājendra and made gifts in his 20th year to the temple of Tiruvālanduṇai-Uḍaiyār at Tiruvālanduṇai.⁶ The successor of Virarājendra was Vikrama-Chōḷa, who ascended the throne in A.D. 1255.⁷ He was the contemporary of Māraḍvarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya II and Māraḍvarman Vikrama-Pāṇḍya, and stood in the relation of *machchunāṇār* (brother-in-law) to both of them.⁸ At his influence, these Pāṇḍya kings made provisions for the maintenance of *maḥas* in Tinnevely and other places in the Pāṇḍya country where ascetics lived and *tirujñānam* was taught.⁹ In the war of the Pāṇḍya succession, which commenced in about A.D. 1167-68 preceding the reign of Jaṭavarman Kulaśekhara I and which was waged between Parākrama-Pāṇḍya assisted by the Singhalese generals Laṅkāpura-Daṇḍanātha and Jayadratha-Daṇḍanātha on the one side, and another Kulaśekhara on the other side, the latter is said to have been succoured by two Koṅgu kings who are stated in the *Mahāvamsa* to be the two brothers of his mother.¹⁰ Thus, it would be clear from what has been said above, that, bound by ties of near kinship, the Pāṇḍya and Koṅgu kings were helping each other and were maintaining cordial relationship for nearly a century from A.D. 1167-8.

Lines 14 to 16 describe a fresh war with the Chōḷa king, who, it is said, not only did not obey the commands of his Pāṇḍya overlord who gave him the crown, but refusing to pay the usual tribute, sent forth a large army with a vanguard against him. These were immediately put

¹ This chief figures as a subordinate of Kulōttuṅga III in the latter's 10th and 20th years of reign (No. 536 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1902 and No. 115 of 1900).

² Ancient Tamil literature reveals the name of some kings that ruled over Koṅgu with their capital at Tagaḍūr. One of them was Eḷiṇi. It is interesting to note that he is styled a Kēraḷa.

³ Nos. 544, 545, 547, 552 and 565 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1906 and *Madras Epigraphical Report* for 1900, paras 31 and 32.

⁴ No. 552 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1906.

⁵ *S. I. I.*, Vol. V, p. 110, No. 296. The inscription is dated in the 21st year of Jaṭavarman Kulaśekhara I and has the introduction *Pūtala-maḍandai*.

⁶ No. 106 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1909.

⁷ No. 555 of the same for 1905 dated in the 2nd year and Śaka 1179, and No. 578, dated in the 7th year and Śaka 1185.

⁸ *A. R. on S. I. Epigraphy* for 1930, Part II, para. 12, and *S. I. I.*, Vol. V, No. 421.

⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ *Sketches of Ancient Dekhan*, pp. 155 and 157.

to route and many of the cavalry, elephants, chariots and infantry were cut to pieces and the field was made a feasting ground for kites and crows. After the success in this war, the Pāṇḍya king is reported to have received a *paraṇi*, a particular kind of Tamil poem, composed in honour of himself celebrating all his heroic actions. This second war with the Chōla king was no doubt conducted against Rājarāja III, for it seems to have taken place some years after the first war and at a time when Kulōttuṅga III had ceased to rule. The introduction ends saying that the Pāṇḍya king, seated along with his queen Ulagamuluduḍaiyāl, was crowned in the hall at Muḍikonḍasōlapuram, at all the entrances of which he had ordered golden pillars of victory to be put up.¹

A word may now be said about the second war of Māraṇvarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I with the Chōlas. The one permanent theme of the imperial Chōlas from the time of Parāntaka I down to Rājarāja III was the subjugation of the Pāṇḍya country and they had several times defeated the Pāṇḍyas in battle. As such, Rājarāja III must have felt keenly the pitiable position of owning the overlordship of, and paying tribute to the Pāṇḍya king to which he was reduced by the daring act of Māraṇvarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I committed at the end of the reign of Kulōttuṅga III. The inscription under publication, as we have already noticed, gives clear evidence that he wanted to free himself from this plight by refusing to pay the tribute and by sending a contingent of forces against the Pāṇḍya. Tamil inscriptions do not help us much to determine exactly when it was done. But it can be fixed within narrow limits from other sources as we shall see presently. The Hoysala king Narasiṃha II, who stood in the relation of father-in-law to the Chōla Rājarāja III, is said to have marched on the island of Śrīraṅgam² in about A.D. 1222 and soon after, *i.e.*, in A.D. 1224 assumed the title 'the establisher of the Chōla country'.³ This and the other claim of his that he was the thunderbolt in splitting the rock that was the Pāṇḍya, shows that he was requisitioned by the Chōla king to help him against his enemy the Pāṇḍya king Māraṇvarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I. Our inscription states that the Pāṇḍya king waged a deadly war with the Chōla and caused great damage; but the fact that the Hoysala king was able to establish a new capital soon after in the Tamil country on the borders of the Chōla and Pāṇḍya territories, *i.e.*, at Kaṇṇaṇūr *alias* Vikramapura, 5 miles from Śrīraṅgam, shows that the allied forces of Narasiṃha II and Rājarāja III gained their object. Thus the second encounter of Māraṇvarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I with the Chōlas, which was more in the nature of repulsing an attack made by the latter, might be placed in the period A.D. 1222 to 1224. The earliest inscription that refers to Kaṇṇaṇūr is dated in Sarvadhārin (=A.D. 1228) and it states that Vīra-Sōmēśvara was ruling at the place⁴. But as Narasiṃha's reign lasted till A.D. 1233, Kaṇṇaṇūr should have been made a Hoysala capital during his time and Vīra-Sōmēśvara stationed there to guard the Chōla king from being molested. In fact we are given to understand that it was Vīra-Sōmēśvara that built the new capital in the country which he had conquered by the power of his arm,⁵ showing thereby that he took an active part in the war undertaken by his father. Here we may fitly consider one other claim of Narasiṃha and of his enemy Peruṇjiṅga. While the former calls himself 'a very Janārdana in destroying the demon

¹ It must be noted that this portion is found in earlier records immediately after describing the first war with the Chōla, where its proper place is, and being almost in the form of introducing the king is bodily removed at the end of all introductions, earlier or later.

² Above, Vol. VII, p. 162.

³ *Ibid.*, and *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 507.

⁴ *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 507.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 508.

Kaiṭabha in the form of the Kaṭava king¹, the latter is styled *Karṇāṭa-bhūpa-mūna-mardana* and *Pāṇḍya-maṇḍala-sthāpana-sūtradhāra*.² These claims are sufficient to establish the fact that the Pāṇḍya king Maṇavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya was allied with the Pallava Perunjiṅga even before the latter actually assumed regal powers.

The grant portion of the inscription gives us to understand that in the 20th year and 374th day of the king's reign, when he was pleased to remain on the reclining seat of Maṇavarāyaṇ in the hall of the bed-chamber of the palace (or temple) at Tirunelvēli in Kīl-Vēmba-nāḍu, both the *dēvakaṇṁis* of the temple of Tirunelvēli-Uḍaiyār and Śaṅkaraṇ Aḷagiyaperu-māḷ *alias* Maṇavarāyaṇ of Kālaḍi, the Premier, made a request that certain lands of Kayattāṇkuṇṇuchchi, which formed part of the *jīvita* not only of the latter but also of his great grandfather Maṇavarāyaṇ, who like him held the office of the Premier, should be made tax-free and given to the temple to meet the expenses of offerings and worship to the image of Śokkaṇār which the Premier had caused to be set up in the temple: and the king complied with their request. It is worthy of note that the chief office of Premier of the country was held by Maṇavarāyaṇ and his great grandfather. In fact, some of the offices in early times were hereditary and persons appear to have been given the necessary training and education to hold them.

The geographical names that occur in the inscription are Tañjai, *i.e.*, Tanjore, Uṇḍai, *i.e.*, Uṇaiyūr,³ Āyirattaḷi, which was also called Muḍikonḍasōḷapuram and of which Paḷaiyāṇ formed part,⁴ Puliyūr, *i.e.*, Chidambaram, Poṇṇamarāvati⁵ in the Pudukkottai State, Maḍurai, *i.e.*, Madura, Kālaḍi⁶ which is situated in the Travancore State, Tirunelvēli, *i.e.*, Tinnevelly, Kayattāṇkuṇṇuchchi, also in the Tinnevelly district, Veṭchiyūr *alias* Munmaḍi-śōḷanallūr and Śakkarapāṇinallūr among villages; and Mīlalai-kūṇṇam, Tirumallināḍu, Kīl-Vēmba-nāḍu and Śevvirukkai-nāḍu among divisions.

TEXT.

- 1 Svasti śrī [||*] Pū-maruviya Tiru-maḍandaiyum Puvī-maḍandaiyum payatta-iruppa nā-maruviya Kalai-maḍandaiyum Jaya-maḍandaiyum nalaṇ-chirappa kōḷ-ā[r*]nda [śiṇa]-ppu[li]yūṇ=koḍu[ñ]-chilaiyūṇ=kulaṇḍ oḷippa] vāḷ-ā[r*]pola por-[ki]rimēl vari-kkayalgaḷ viḷaiyūḍa iruṇ-kaḍal-va-
- 2 [lai]yatt=iṇid=aṇam peruga=kkaruṇ-Kali kaḍindu śeṇ-kōḷ naḍappa oru-kūḷai-niḷall⁷=iru-nilaṇ=kulira mū-vagai-tTamiḷu=muṇaimai[yi]ḷ viḷaiṇṇa nāḷ-vagai-Vēdamu[m*] navinṇ=uḍaṇ vaḷara aiy-vagai-vēḷviyūṇ chey-viḷaiy=iyarṇa aru-vagai-chchamaiyamum aḷaguḍan tiḷaḷa eḷu-
- 3 vagai-[ppāḍa]lum=iyaluḍaṇ parava eṇ-ḍisaiy-aḷavuṇ=chakkaraṇ=chella: kKoṇṇaṇar Kaliṇṇar Kōsalar Māḷuvar⁸ Śiṇṇaḷar⁹ Teliṇṇar Kinnara[r*]¹⁰

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 507.

² *S. I. I.*, Vol. IV, No. 1342-B.

³ It is a suburb of Trichinopoly and the ancient capital of the Chōḷas.

⁴ This is evident from No. 72 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1924 and from No. 9 of the same collection for 1926. The place is bereft of early inscriptions at present.

⁵ The inscriptions of this place are registered as Nos. 2 to 23 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1926.

⁶ This is reputed as the birth place of Śrī-Śaṅkaraśāhārya and is stated to be on the bank of the Pāṇḍya river in the Kēraḷa country (see Vidyāraṇya's *Śaṅkara-digvijaya*).

⁷ Read *niḷalil* as in No. 372 of *S. I. I.*, Vol. IV.

⁸ *Māḷavar* is the reading in No. 300 of *S. I. I.*, Vol. V.

⁹ *Śiṇṇaḷar* is the form in No. 300 of *S. I. I.*, Vol. V.

¹⁰ *Kinnarar* may be replaced by *Śiṇṇar* as in No. 372 of *S. I. I.*, Vol. IV, and No. 300 of *S. I. I.*, Vol. V.

- Gujjarar Villavar Magadar Vikkalar Šembiyar Pallavar muda-
liya(r) pā[r*]ttivar ellām=uraiv-iḍam=aru[-e]ṇa oruvar-muṇṇ-oruvar muṇai
¹muṇai kaḍava tan-tirai²
- 4 ku[ṇa][r*]nd=iṇaiñcha ilaṅ-oḷi-maṇi-muḍiy-Indiraṇ pūṭṭiya polay³-kadir-āram
mārvipir=poliya paṇi-malar⁴-rtāmarai=tTisaimugaṇ paḍaitta Maṇu-neṇi
taḷaippa maṇi-muḍi sūḍi=pPonṇi-sū[-nāṭṭu⁵=ppuliy-āṇai⁶ pōy agala Kappi-
sū[-nāṭṭir=kayal-āṇai kai(y)vaḷara⁷ veṇ-chiṇav-ivuliyum
- 5 vēlamum⁸ paraparappi⁹=tTaṇjaiyum=Urandai[yu]ñ-chen-taḷal koḷutti kāvī¹⁰-nīlamum
niṇṇu kavīn=iḷarṇa¹¹ āviyum=āṇum=aṇi-nūr-nalaṇ¹² aḷittu kūḍamu mā-maḍiṇṇu=
gōpuramum=āḍ-araṇḍum ¹³ māḷigaiyum maṇḍapamum pala iḍittu toḷudu=
vand-aḍaiyār nirupar-tan=tōgaiyar=aḷuda kaṇṇir āṇu parappi kkaḷu-
- 6 dai-koṇḍ=u[lu]du kavaḍi vichchi¹⁴=chChembiyaṇai cheṇiṇam viriya¹⁵ pporudu
śūram¹⁶ pugav=ōṭṭi paim-poṇ-maṇi-muḍi paṇittu pḷāṇaṇukku kkuḍutt-arui
pāḍ-arui-chiṇappir=parudi-vāṇ=rōyum¹⁷=āḍaga-ppuruṣai¹⁸-**Āyirattaiyil** ¹⁹~~śērā-~~
Vaḷa[vaṇ] abhishēka-maṇḍapattu virā(a)bhishēkam paṇṇi²⁰ pugaḷi virittu
nāḷum
- 7 para-rāśar nāma-ttalai piḍuṅgi mīḷun=ta[ru]kaṇ-mada-sūṇai²¹ mēl-koṇḍu nūr-
āḷi-vaiyya=muḷudu[m] podu[v-i]ḷitta²² kūr-āḷi[yu]ñ=cheyya-tōḷumōy²³ koṇḍu-
pōy ayyappaḍāda²⁴ [a]ru-maṇai-tēr=andaṇar vāḷ deyva-pPuliyūr-tiruv-
ellaiyu[t]=pukku²⁵ =pponṇ-am[ba]lam poliya āḍuvār pūvaiyudaṇ ma-

¹ The letter *mu* is written below the line.

² The letter *r* is entered at the beginning of l. 4.

³ No. 372 of *S. I. I.*, Vol. IV, has *purai* in place of *polay*.

⁴ Read *malar-tū*.

⁵ *Nāṭṭir=pul* is the reading in No. 372 of *S. I. I.*, Vol. IV.

⁶ *Āṇai* is the Tamil form of *ājñā* through its Prakrit equivalent. No. 300 of *S. I. I.*, Vol. V has *yāṇai*, which is evidently a mistake of the engraver.

⁷ *Kayal viḷaiyūda* is the reading in No. 300 of *S. I. I.*, Vol. IV.

⁸ The *ē*-sign of *vē* is entered at the end of line 4.

⁹ Before *parappi* the letters *para* may be taken as having been wrongly entered or read as *pār*.

¹⁰ After *kāvī*, the syllable *yum* has been omitted.

¹¹ No. 372 of *S. I. I.*, Vol. IV, has *iḷappa*, while No. 300 of *S. I. I.*, Vol. V, agrees with our text.

¹² While No. 372 of *S. I. I.*, Vol. IV, agrees with our text, No. 300 of Vol. V has *nīlaṇ* and No. 520 of 1911 has *arax* meaning 'protection'.

¹³ The word *māḍamum* has been omitted before *māḷigaiyum*. Cf. Nos. 300 and 372.

¹⁴ *Vitti* is the reading in the Tiruppārkaḍal inscription. See also text-line 16, below.

¹⁵ No. 372 has *chiṇam-iriya* and No. 300 *piriya*. No. 520 gives *-eriya*.

¹⁶ Read *śūram*.

¹⁷ It is only *rōy-āḍaga* in No. 372 of *S. I. I.*, Vol. IV.

¹⁸ Read *purisai*.

¹⁹ The reading *Śōraḷaḷaṇ* is clearly wrong. Note that *śērā* rhymes with *virā*, but not *śōra*.

²⁰ The word *paṇṇi* is replaced by *śeydu* in Nos. 300 and 372.

²¹ Read *yāṇai* as in No. 372.

²² Other readings of *iḷitta* are *aḷitta* (300) and *oḷitta* (No. 372).

²³ No. 300 has *mēl* for *mēy*.

²⁴ The reading *viḷaiyupṇāda* given in No. 300 is an evident mistake.

²⁵ *Pugundu* is the reading in No. 520 of 1911.

- 8 $\eta\eta\eta\eta$ =tiru-mē[η i] kaṇḍu ma[η a]n=kaḷippa¹=kkōla-malar-mōl=A[η a] η uñ=
kuḷir-tuḷāy-Mālum aṇiyā malar-chchēva[η i] vaṇaṇ[η a]² vāṅgu-sīraiya-aṇṇaṇ=
tuyil=oliya vaṇḍ=eḷuppum pūn-kamala-vāvi-sūl **Ponnamarāpati**[η i]³ ott-
ulagan=tāṅgum=u[η a*] η r⁴-Mēruvai=kkuṇandu⁵ vaitt-aṇaiya śōdi-maṇi-maṇḍapatt=
irunt⁶
- 9 śōlai-mali paḷa-naṇ-**Chōṇāḍu**n=tāṇ=iḷanda⁷ mālai muḍiyun=tara⁸ varugaveṇṇ=
a[η i]ppa ⁹vāṇa-nilai kulaiya **Vāḷa**[η i]**kk**¹⁰=appurattu=ppōṇa Vāḷavaṇ
urimaiyuḍaṇ¹¹ pugundu perra pudalvaṇai η iṇ-pēr-eṇṇu¹² muṇ kāṭṭi=
verṇiy-ariy-aṇai-kkīḷ vīḷundu toḷṇḍ=irappa=ttāṇ=ōḍi muṇṇ=¹³iḷanda vemmaiya=
10 elāṇ¹⁴=kaiyy-agala dāṇ-¹⁵ō[u]daka[m] paṇṇi taṇ-ḍār-muḍi[η u]ḍaṇē viṭṭa¹⁶ agal¹⁷
iḍan=taṇ mār-vēḷaikku¹⁸=ttiliya¹⁹ iṭṭapaḍikk=eṇṇum idu piḍipāḍ-āgav-
eṇa=ppoṇṇu-ti[η i]²⁰-ñālattu=ppū-pālar toḷa²¹ vīḷaṅguñ=cheṇ-kayal-koṇḍ=ūṇṇun=
tirumugamum ²²paṇḍ=iḷanda Chōḷapatiy-ennu[m*] nāmamun=toṇ-ṇagaru=mīḷa
11 vaḷaṅgi viḍai-kuḍuttu viṭṭ-aruḷi [η *] ōṇa²³-kkaḍar-pāril vēṇḍarga[η i]kk-²⁴
urraḍeṇṇaḷ²⁵ [tī]ṇkun²⁶=kaḍavuḷ=ivaṇ-eṇṇ-eṇṇi=ttā[η i] η -urṇ=aḍaiyā[η i]ār²⁷ taṇḍal-
iḍai[η i] η =kiḷaiy-urṇena²⁸ muḷuduñ=kēṭṭ-aruḷ eṇṇ-ētti²⁹ vaṇaṅgum Vāḍa-
Koṇṇaṇṇai ³⁰śīraiyaṇ mīṭṭu ³¹kaḷaṇ-koḷ-aruniru³²-ttōḷ-mālai kaḷitt=cl-
vaḷaṅgi-

¹ Kaḷittu is found in Nos. 300 and 372.

² Read *vaṇaṅgi* as in the other two inscriptions.

³ *Patiyil* is replaced by *patiyadaindu* in No. 520 of 1911.

⁴ *Mā* takes the place of *uyar* in No. 300.

⁵ *Koṇandu* (No. 300) and *kuṇarndu* (No. 372) are other forms that occur.

⁶ Read *irundu* as in the other two inscriptions.

⁷ *Iḷandu* is the reading in No. 520 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1911.

⁸ *Taruṅa varuṅa* is the reading in the above.

⁹ *Māna* is another reading (No. 520 of 1911).

¹⁰ *Vāṇagirikk*= is the reading in No. 372 of *S. I. I.*, Vol. IV, but it is *Vāḷagiri* in No. 300 of *S. I. I.*, Vol. V.

¹¹ Nos. 372 and 300 have *oḍum* in place of *uḍaṇ*. No. 520 of 1911 adds *tān* to *oḍum*.

¹² *Eṇṇa* is the reading in No. 520 of 1911.

¹³ The insertion of *ga* after *ṇ-i* in No. 372 is not supported by the reading of the other two inscriptions, viz., Nos. 300 and 431.

¹⁴ Of *ye* the *e* sign is at the end of line 9 and *y* at the beginning of the next line.

¹⁵ Delete *v*.

¹⁶ *Viṭṭa* may be taken as the hardened form of *vinḍa* adopted for metrical purposes.

¹⁷ No. 372 has *pugal*.

¹⁸ Read *vēḷukka*: No. 520 also reads *vēḷaikku*. Other inscriptions read *mārvaṇaikku* which must be corrected into *māvaṇaikku*.

¹⁹ Read *tīriya*.

²⁰ Read *tirai*.

²¹ Read *tōḷ* as in Nos. 372 and 300.

²² The letters *pa* and *ḍi* are entered below the line.

²³ Read *ōḍa* as in No. 520 of 1911.

²⁴ Read *vēṇḍargaḷukk*.

²⁵ The reading *kkurraṅgaḷ* obtained by deleting *de* in the *S. I. I.*, Vol. V, is clearly wrong. The engraver has omitted *v* between the *e* sign and *d* of *de*. This supplied, the reading would be *urraṇ-ēḍaṅgaḷ*. It is to be noted that *ēḍa* rhymes with *ōḍa*.

²⁶ Read *tīrkkun*.

²⁷ No. 520 of 1911 has *aḍaiyār* for *aḍaiyādār*.

²⁸ Read *urraṇa*.

²⁹ In place of *eṇṇ-ētti* No. 520 has *eṇa-kkai*.

³⁰ Read *Koṇṇaṇ* as in No. 520 of 1911 instead of *koṇṇa(ṇ)ṇai* of the *S. I. I.*, Vol. V. The text may also be read *Koṇṇaṇaṇ*.

³¹ There seem to be mistakes in the passage immediately following *mīṭṭu*.

³² Read *tiru*.

- 12 y-aruliya piṇ[ṇ*]=oru-nāl marṛ-āra-muḷaṅgu muraśa=kkaḍaṭ-rāṇai-[muṇu] pugundu
Teṇ-Koṅga[ṇ*] vand=iṭṭa deṇḍaṇukku miṇ-poṅga-chchāṇḍiya¹ ābarāṇa=
takkad-e[ṇa] vaḷaṅgi ā[rā]da² peru-naṇbiṇ³=avaṇ śiraiyu=miṭṭu Tirumāl⁴
yiru⁵-maruṅgu Śandira-Śūriya[r*] śēvikka šeṇ-kaṭ-karu[mā]l-kaḷi[kki]rriḷ⁶
varu-Muṭkaṭ⁷-kaḍavuḷ-eṇa māḍa-Maduraiyir-
- 13 tāṇ pōṇdu [pu]vaṇi[yi]lē ⁸kūḍa-iru-Koṅgarai[yuṇ=ku]mbiḍu-koṇḍa[varkku] tollai-
ppuvi[kku]m=iṇaṅgāmaṭ=tāṇ⁹=choṇṇa ellaikku=ṇiṇṇa isaiṇḍiṭṭu perpa¹⁰-kkoṇḍ-
ivaṇṇu¹¹ śeyyāḍ=oliyil iyamakku¹² veṇu¹³-vēl-virund-ākkudu[m=u]ṇaiy-eṇa
viṭṭ-aruli muṇṇa[m*] namakku muḍi-vaḷaṅgu[ṇ*]=[chē]vaḍi-kkiḷ iṇṇa-
- 14 m vaḷipaḍuvōm=eṇṇāḍu piṇ[ṇ=o]ru-nāl kāva[la]nadu Puṇa[l*]-nāḍ-e[ṇ*]ṇuṇ=
kaḷiyāl=ēval=edir-śellāḍ¹⁴=irai maṭutta Śeṇṇi viḍu tūṣiyum pēr-aṇiyum
[okka-chchu]ruṇḍ=oduṅgi vāṣiyum vāraṇamum tērūm=aḍaṭ-karu[va]-kkā-
lāṇum¹⁵ veṭṭ-uṇṇa=kkaṇ[ṇ-i*]raṇḍu-mayaṇ[ga-k]kaḷi-[k*]koṇḍu¹⁶ vēḷā-valaiyattu
vīṇḍ=avaṇ pōy mey
- 15 naḍuṅga a[m]b-arundum=ā[r*]tta-kaḍal-maṇḍalikaṭ¹⁷-uḍal vem-parund¹⁸-uṇ[ṇa] a-
kkaḷattil āṇaiyir veṇ-maruppuṇ=kaiyyuṇ=ku(ṇ)raitt=eṇḡaḷ Mīṇavaṭku pāl-
kuḍam-ām=eṇṇu tāṇ vīrar-kōṇ¹⁹ [m]āga-mugaḍu taḍavi maḷai maḍu-
kkum kāga-neḍum-pandaṭ d-āḍalum kūḡaiyum pūḍaluṇ=
kaṇḍum kēṭṭuṇ-kaḷitta ōḍal-karuṇ-kūṇ-
- 16 dal vēḷ-eyiril śēvvāy periya śūlakkavalli²⁰ pali kolga eṇa vāḷtti veṇ-
ru²¹ vagaiyil migaiy=oliya vēndalaṭ=kkoṇṇu²² śiṇaṇ=taiyā=kkoṇ-
raṇa²³=neḍu-vāḷ uyarku šeṇ-kurudi-nīr=itt=oli-śeydu tegu-pulattu veṇ-
kavaḍi²⁴ vitta vīra-muḷud=eḍuttu=ppāḍum paraṇi taṇ pār-vēndar kēṭ-
pikka āḍun=tirumaṇ-

¹ Read *chāṭṭiya*.

² *Yārtta* is the reading in No. 520 of 1911.

³ *Naṭpill* is the reading in the above.

⁴ The metrical line commencing with *Tirumāl* occurs as under in No. 520 of 1911. "*Tirumālu-Nāṇ-
mugaṇṇuṇ=chēvikka=chcheṇ-kaṭ*."

⁵ Read *iru*.

⁶ Read *kaḷirriḷ*.

⁷ Read *Mukkaṭ*.

⁸ This has been read as *kūṭṭuk* by mistake in *S. I. I.*, Vol. V, No. 431.

⁹ Read *ṇāṇ*.

¹⁰ There seems to be an engraver's mistake here which is not apparent. Perhaps *m=ēṇṇa-kkoṇḍ* or *mēṇṇa-kkoṇḍ* is intended.

¹¹ Read *ivvāṇu*.

¹² Read *Iyamaṇukku*.

¹³ Read *vev-vēl*.

¹⁴ Another variant is *koḷḷāḍ* (No. 520 of 1911).

¹⁵ Read *kāl-āḷum*.

¹⁶ Instead of *kaṇṇ-iraṇḍu* *kkaiy-kkoṇḍu*, No. 520 of 1911 has *kaṇḍu bayaṇ-koṇḍu* which is metrically a better reading.

¹⁷ *ṇ-kuḍal* is a variant (No. 520 of 1911).

¹⁸ The metrical line *vem-parund*, etc., *-kuḷattil* is better expressed in No. 520 of 1911 which gives the reading *vem-parundum pēyū virund-uṇṇa akkuḷattu*. It is clear from this that there is an omission of *m-pēyū virund* in our text.

¹⁹ No. 520 of 1911 gives the variant *tam vīraṇ-tōḷ* for *tāṇ vīrar-kōṇ*.

²⁰ *Śūlakkavalli* is replaced by *śūlattai vēl* in No. 520 of 1911.

²¹ For *veṇṇu vagaiyil* No. 520 has *veṇṇum pagaiyaṇ*.

²² Read *koṇṇum*.

²³ The syllable *va* is omitted in No. 520 of 1911.

²⁴ *Kavaḍi* is synonymous with *uṇṇā-varagu* and *veḷ-varagu* (*Puṇḍarapurāṇa*, VI. 26).

- 7 japa-nīrga¹ maṇ-kuḷira āṅg-avan ²tinai-kkaṭṭanattu karpu tanakk-āṇḍy
ōṅg³-urimai-kkuḷāmm=oru-kai-tisai⁴=konḍum=uri-maṇi-ppaṭṭaṇ-kaṭṭi maṇi
śūṭṭi mārbil [a]ṇaittu Vaḷavaṇavaṇu=mudal-dēviy=eru pēg⁵-perre⁶ vaṇḍ
mudalāya pey-vaḷaiyār poṅgu-puṇar-kum[sa]ba⁷ mudalāya polavar⁸
puga[⁹]
- 8 maṅgala[n*]gaḷ eṭṭum maṇi-kk[ai*]-talatt=ē[n]di koḍi-konḍa nerri niraṭṭa
⁹ggōpuraṇ=chūḷ Muḍikonḍaśōḷapura-maṇḍapattu puguttu¹⁰ tisaitogum
śom¹¹-por-cheya-tta[mbam] nāṭṭi vāgai-kkadir-vēl vaḍa-vēndar tam pāda[m]-m-
ēga=ttalāiy-aṇiya¹² vira-kkaḷal-aṇindu viḷaṅgiya maṇiy-aṇi¹³=vīrasinikā-
saṇattu
- 9 vaḷaṇ-keḷu-kavariy=iru-maruṅg=aśaippa kaḍal-eṇṇa muḷaṅguṇ=kali-nall-iyāṇai vaḍa-
pula-vēndar¹⁴ maṇi-ppuyam piriya ilaṅgu-kuḷaiy-aruv[va]yar¹⁵ toḷudu niṅṅ-
ēttum¹⁶ Ulagumuḷuḍuḍaiyāroḍum vīrr-irund-aruliya śrī-kō-Mārapaṇ[ma*]r-
āṇa Tribhuvanachchakravarttiḡaḷ śrī-Śōṇāḍu konḍu Muḍikon-
- 1) ḍaśōḷapurattu vīrar-abhishekam paṇṇi aruliya śrī-Sundara-Pāṇḍiyadēvarka
yāṇḍu 20-vaḍu nāl 374-ṇāl Kī-Vēmba-nāṭṭu-tTirunelvēli-kl.ṭyir-
paḷḷiyaṇai-[k*]kūḍattu=ppaḷḷippīṭa[n*] Maḷavarāyaṇil eḷundaruḷiy-iḷruḷḍu Uḷai-
yār-Tirunelvēli-uḍaiyar=kō[yi]r=pati-pū[da]mūla=p-
- [pa]ṭṭ-ud[ai]=ppa[ṇ]ch-ā[chā]riya-dēvarkaṇmigaḷ śey[ya]-tTiruvāy-moḷḷal aruliya-paṇ-
[K]āḷaḍi=chChaṇkaraṇ A[ḷ]agiya[pe]rumā[ṇ-āṇa] Maḷa[ḷ]avarāyar pūḷḷiṭṭa
i-kkōyilil āsrayaliṅgam-āga eḷundaruḷivitta Śokkanār(r)ḷiku tiruppaḷḷimāḷḷe
uḷḷiṭṭu vēṇḍum niva[n]daṅgaḷukkum i-
- var piṇanda Śadaiyattu-nāl viśeṣa-pūjai śeyya amudapaḍi śātuppaḍiy-
uḷḷiṭṭu vēṇḍuvaṇavukkum Muḷli-nāṭṭu Irājarāja-chchaturvvēḷ di[maṅgala]-
ttu piḍāgai Kayattāṇkuruchchiyil kāl[r*]-paśāṇam viḷaiyu[m*] nilattu
maṇḍala-mudaṇmai[k]ku ivar pitākkaḷ appāḷḷi[ṭ*]ar Maḷava[r]-
- āyaṅku jīvitamāy [pi]ṇbu ivarḷu maṇḍala-mudaṇmaikku jīvitamāy varu-
giṇa nilattu talai-varuśai¹⁷ nilattilē i[v]v-ūr kaḍamāy-iḷukkum kōḷḷi
oṇr-arai¹⁸-vē[li] nilam irubad-āvaḍin edirūn-āṇḍu-mudal antar[ā]yamam
uḷudāṇ-kuḍiyum utpaḍa=ddēvadūṇa iraiy-iliyāy iruppaḷḷa i-

¹ Nīril maṇaṇ- is the reading in No. 520 of 1911.

² There must be a better reading for the passage that follows *tiṇai*.

³ Read *ōṅgum*.

⁴ No. 520 of 1911 has *oḍukka-kkai* for *oru-kai-tisai*.

⁵ Read *pēr*.

⁶ *Kuḍutta* is a variant.

⁷ Read *kumba*.

⁸ Read *polavar*.

⁹ Delete the first *g* and read *gōpuraṇ*.

¹⁰ Read *pugundu*.

¹¹ Read *śem*.

¹² Read *aṇaiya* as in No. 520.

¹³ *Maṇiy-aṇi* is replaced by *kadir-maṇi* in No. 520 of 1911.

¹⁴ The letters *tam* are inserted in No. 520.

¹⁵ Read *arivaiyar*.

¹⁶ = *ētta* is the reading in No. 520 of 1911.

¹⁷ Read *varisai*.

¹⁸ Read *arai*.

- 24 ḍa-ppeṇa-vēṇum-eṇru ivar namakku-chchoṇṇamaiyil i-ddēvaṅku-tiru-ppaḍimārr-
uḷḷiṭṭu vēṇḍun-nivandaṅgaḷukkum ivar piṇa[n*]da Ṣaḍ[ai*]yattu-nāḷ viśeṣha-
pūjai śeyya amudupaḍi śāttu[p]paḍi uḷḷiṭṭu vēṇḍuvaṇavukku[m] Muḷḷi-
nāṭṭu Rājarāja-chchaturvvēdimaṅgalattu piḍā-
- 25 gai Kayattāṇ[ku]ruchcheyil kār-paśāṇam vīlaiyumu nilattu maṇ[ḍa]la-mudaṇ-
maikku ivar pitākka[ḷ] appāṭṭa[r] Maḷavarāyaṅku jīvitamāy piṇbu
ivaṅku maṇḍala-mudaṇmaikku jī[vi]tamāy varuḡiṇa nilattu talai-varuśai
nilatti[ḷē] ivv-ūr kaḍamaiy=iṇukkuṇ=kōḷāl oṇṇ-arai-vēli nilam iv-
- 26 v-āṇḍu-mudal antarāyamum uḷudāṇ-kudiyum utpaḍa dēvadāṇay=iṇaiy-iliyā[y]-
iṇuppaḍāga iṭṭu variyilār eḷutt-iṭṭa uḷ-variyyum nam ōlaiyumu tara-
[ch]choṇṇōm kai-kkoṇḍu tiruppaḍimārr-uḷḷiṭṭa nivandaṅgaḷ śella=ppaṇṇu-
gav=eṇṇum ip[paḍi] Śandir-Ādittavar=chelvaḍ-ū
- 27 ga kalliluṇ=chembilum vēṭṭivittu=kkolḡav-eṇru tiruvāymolind-aruḷiṇapaḍikku
ivai Tirumalli-nāṭṭu=tTaḍaṅgaṇnichchirṇūr-uḍaiyāṇ Ṣōṇaṇ Uyyaṇiṇ-
rāḍuvāṇ-āṇa Kurukulattaraśaṇ eḷuttu — ivai Miḷalai-kkūrrattu Kī-
kūrru Veṭcheyūr-āṇa Mummuḍiśō-
- 28 ḷanallūr Vēḍanūruḍaiyāṇ Araiyaṇ Sivalḷavaṇ-āṇa M[ā]davarūjaṇ eḷu[t]tu ||
Ivai Śevvirukkai-nāṭṭu=chChakkarapaṇiṇallūr Arai[yaṇ²] Viradamuḍichchāṇ-
āṇa Pallavarājaṇ eḷuttu ||³ḷ-

TRANSLATION.

(Lines 1—4.)—Hail ! Prosperity ! The goddess of Wealth abiding on the lotus flower and the goddess of the Earth, residing in his arm ; the goddess of the Arts abiding on the tongue and the goddess of Victory, growing in their excellence ; the angry tiger filled with strength and the fierce bow, hiding themselves, being shattered ; the scaly fish sporting on the shining golden mountain (*i.e.*, Mēru) ; Virtue increasing abundantly on the earth surrounded by the expansive ocean ; the righteous sceptre swaying (*in all directions*) driving away the black Kali (*age*) ; the wide earth becoming cool under the shade of (*his*) single parasol ; the three kinds of Tamil⁴ glowing in order ; the four kinds of the Vēdas⁵ being learnt (*by students*) and growing simultaneously ; the five kinds of sacrifices⁶ being performed in accordance with (*established*) practice ; the six kinds of faiths being⁷ finely expounded ; the seven kinds of music⁸ spreading along with *iyal* ; (*his*) disc moving as far as the eight quarters ; all kings such as the Koṅkaṇa, Kaliṅga, Kōsala, Māḷuva, Śiṅgaḷa, Teliṅga, Kinnara, Gurjjara, Villava, Magada, Vikkala, Śembiya and the Pallava, bringing with them the tributes due, and rushing before one another and praying for places to be assigned for their residence ; the beautiful garland set with lustrous

¹ Read *varisai*.

² Read *Araiyaṇ*.

³ In continuation of this is engraved an inscription of Tribhuvanaachakravartin Kōṇērinmaikoṇḍāṇ.

⁴ These are *iyal*, *isai* and *nāḍagam*.

⁵ These are the Ṛig, Yajus, Sāman and Atharvan ; the upa-Vēdas are also four, *viz.*, Āyur-, Dhanur-, Artha- and Gāndharva.

⁶ *Vēḷvi* means *yāga* or *yajña*. The reference is apparently to the five *yajñas*, *viz.*, Brahma, Daiva, Bhūta, Pitṛi and Mānusha.

⁷ These are Bhairava, Vāma, Kālāmukha, Māvirada, Pāśupata and Śaiva. There are six other *Samayas*, *viz.*, Lōkāyata, Bauddha, Jaina, Mīmāṃsā, and Bhaṭṭāchārya or Māyāvāda.

⁸ As *pāḍal* is here distinguished from *iyal* (prose), it must have reference to *isai* (music). As such, the seven kinds of music correspond to the seven *svaras*, *viz.*, Nishāda, Rishabha, Gāndhāra, Shadja, Madhyama, Daivata, and Pañchama. Cf. *Eḷu-vagai-pāḍal* with *ēḷ-isai* in *Ēḷisaimōgaṇ* and *Ēḷisaivallabhi*.

gems put on by Indra¹ shining in his breast ; (*the Pāṇḍya*) was crowned to widen the path of Manu who was brought into existence by Brahmā residing on the dew-settled lotus flower.

(Ll. 4—8.)—Causing the tiger to be removed from the country surrounded by the **Ponṇi** (*i.e.*, the Kāvērī), and the fish to spread in the country surrounding **Kaṇṇi**² (*i.e.*, Kanyākumārī), sending forth (*his*) angry steeds and elephants and setting on blazing fire (*the cities of*) **Taṇjai** and **Uṇḍai**³ (*i.e.*, Tanjore and Uṇaiyūr), and causing the *kūṇi* and *nīlam*⁴ to lose their bloom ; destroying tanks, rivers and other water sources ; breaking down several halls, ramparts, towers, theatres, palaces, and pavilions, and causing to flow rivers of tears shed by the queens of kings who were not friendly to him, and ploughing (*their lands*) with asses and sowing seeds of *kavaḍi*⁵ and fighting with the **Śembiyaṇ** (*i.e.*, the Chōḷa) so as to deprive (*him*) of his anger and driving (*him*) out to enter the forest, taking (*his*) golden crown set with gems and bestowing (*it*) on the **Bāṇa**⁶ ; performing the anointment of heroes in the anointing hall of the unfriendly **Valavaṇ**⁷ (*i.e.*, Chōḷa) at **Āyirattai**⁸ the glory of which is hard to be extolled and whose golden walls touch the sunny sky ; (*and thus*) extending (*his*) fame, (*he*) daily cut off the fearful heads of enemy kings. Mounting again on (*his*) fierce rut-elephant, (*he*) removed the commonness of the whole of the sea-girt earth. (*Then*) carrying only (*his*) sharp disc and (*his*) well-formed shoulders, (*he*) entered the sacred limits of the holy **Puliyūr** (*i.e.*, Chidambaram) where live Brāhmaṇas studying the rare Vēdas without the least doubt, saw the sacred form (*of Natarāja*) united with (*his*) consort, finely dancing in the golden hall ; and (*his*) mind being filled with extacy, (*he*) prostrated at the flowery feet (*of the god*), which could not be known (*even*) by Brahmā who resides on the beautiful lotus flower and by Viṣṇu who wears a cool garland of *tuḷūy*.

(Ll. 8—11.)—At **Ponṇamarāvati**⁹ which is girt with tanks bearing lotus flowers where the bees (*by their humming*) rouse from sleep swans with bent wings, staying in a pavilion (*set with*) lustrous gems presenting the appearance of the world-supporting Mēru brought and placed there (*he*) invited (*the Chōḷa king*) to go (*to him*), saying that (*he*) would give (*back*) the **Chōḷa country** covered with gardens and water streams, and the wreathed crown which he (*i.e.*, the Chōḷa) had lost. (*On hearing this*), the Valavaṇ, who, being shorn of his high state, had gone beyond

¹ The smaller Śiṅṅamanūr plates make mention of the wearing of the garland of Indra and of securing one-half of his throne among the achievements of unnamed mythical Pāṇḍya kings. Similarly the Sanskrit portion of the Bigger Śiṅṅamanūr plates refer to a Pāṇḍya king's wresting the garland of Indra and of another's sitting on his throne. The Tamil portion also speaks of a Pāṇḍya sovereign appearing on the throne of Indra with his necklace. The Vēlvikuḍi plates refer to a Pāṇḍya sharing with Indra one-half of his throne and his garland. In the historical introductions of the inscriptions of Rājendra-Chōḷa I, it is said that he took from the king of Ceylon the garland of Indra which a Pāṇḍya king formerly deposited with him.

² The Pāṇḍya king is often referred to as *Kaṇṇi-kāvalaṇ*.

³ These were the capitals of the Chōḷa kings. For references to Uṇḍai, see *Śiṅṅapāṇḍruppaḍai*, line 83 and *Puṇḍarāyūru*, vv. 39, 58, 69, 352.

⁴ *Kāvi* and *nīlam* are the names of flower plants.

⁵ See note 14 on p. 10 above. I am indebted to Rao Sahab C. M. Ramachandra Chettiyar, Coimbatore, for drawing my attention to *Puṇḍarāyūru*, VI. 26.

⁶ *Bāṇa* means also 'a bard'. We cannot be certain if a Bāṇa chief or a bard is meant. In the later records of Pāṇḍya kings, there figure chiefs bearing the name or surname *Māvali-Vāṇarāyaṇ*.

⁷ With the existing traces the word may be read as 'Śōra-Valavaṇ' or 'Śērā-Valavaṇ'. The latter, which rhymes well with 'vīrābhishēka,' means 'of the enemy Valavaṇ'. If the former reading is adopted, it may be taken as the proper name of the hall. But it would mean 'the thief Valavaṇ' and it seems unlikely that the anointing hall of the Chōḷa king was so termed.

⁸ *Āyirattai* was a place of considerable importance in mediæval Chōḷa times.

⁹ *Ponṇamarāvati* was the scene of two battles during the war of Pāṇḍya succession in the 12th century A.D.

Vēḷagiri, returned with his queen¹, and presenting his son before (*the Pāṇḍya*) saying 'yours', fell down (*i.e.*, prostrated) at his victorious lion-throne, extolled and begged (*the Pāṇḍya*) making a libation of water which removed the heat caused by his (*i.e.*, the Chōḷa king's) and prior loss of territory, and saying 'this shall always be the deed of support (*piḍipāṇḍu*) having given back to his (*i.e.*, the Chōḷa king's) son a wide ground along with cool-wreath crown' and giving him a royal writ² (*tirumugam*) impressed with the fish which shine on shoulders of kings ruling the earth girt with surging waves, together with the surname *Chōḷa* which he had formerly lost and his ancient city, (*the Pāṇḍya king*) gave him leave to depart.

(Ll. 11—13.)—Considering (*the Pāṇḍya king*) to be god in removing the faults of kings in world surrounded by the roaring ocean, the North Koṅgu king bowed to him and extol him begged to be heard fully how he was fettered and had undergone suffering in the war y those who did not join him (*i.e.*, his enemies). (*On hearing it, the Pāṇḍya*) rescued him f. prison, removed the garland from his glorious shoulders and showed him the way (*out*). t other day when the South Koṅgu king, entering the van of the ocean-like army resound with the noise of the war drum, made salutations, he (*the Pāṇḍya king*), considering (*h* as fit (*for it*), gave him a shining ornament which (*he himself*) had worn : and out of excess love removed his captivity also. Like the three-eyed god (*i.e.*, Śiva), he (*the Pāṇḍya*) mounted as it were on a red-eyed huge bodied black elephant (*and worshipped on either s by the two Koṅgu kings*) just as the god Viṣṇu⁴ is worshipped by the Sun and the Mō entered Maḍura, the city of palaces⁵, and received simultaneously in the world the salutatio of the two Koṅgu kings.⁶ Not agreeing to the ancient (*limits*) of (*their*) kingdom, he ma them remain within the limits prescribed by himself;⁷ and then despatched them sayi that if any failed to do as bidden, he would make him a feast for the god of Death with trident.

(Ll. 13—16.)—On a subsequent day, when the Chōḷa king, (*resolving*) not to remain s missively under the feet of him who formerly gave him his crown, refrained from executi the commands and refused to pay tribute, actuated by the proud thought that Pupaḷ-nāc belonged to its ruler, and sent forth a van guard and large army, (*the Pāṇḍya*) cleared the

¹ The word *urimai* generally means 'possession'. It has also the special significance of 'wife'. That it may not be improper to translate the phrase '*urimaiyodum pugundu*' as 'entered with confidence', it see better to render it as 'returned with his queen and son' who were his only possession now, having been e prived of his crown and country.

² The passage "*tan-ḍār-muḍiyuḍaṇē, etc., piḍipāṇḍu*" is not free from scribe's errors. Besides, therea some variations in reading. The proper division of words and differences in reading have to be pointed out make the meaning clear. Our text has :—*tan-ḍār-muḍiyuḍaṇē viṭṭa agul idu tan-māreṭṭaikkū-tiṭiṭa iṭṭapadik eṇṇu-m-idu piḍipāṇḍu-ḍav-eṇa*. . . Here *vēḷaikkū* is a mistake for *vēḷukku* and *tiṭiṭa* is a mistake for *tiṭiṭa*. different reading is *māreṭṭaikkū* which has also to be corrected into *māreṭṭaikkū*. In either case, the meani is 'legitimate son' and corresponds to the Sanskrit '*aurasa-putra*'. The word '*piḍipāṇḍu*' may be render into 'deed of support'.

³ It is worthy of note that the order of the king was impressed with the royal crest.

⁴ That the two Koṅgu kings went attending on the Pāṇḍya is made evident not only by the comparis instituted with Viṣṇu attended by the Sun and the Moon but also from what follows, *viz.*, '*kūḍa iri-Koṅg raiyam kumbiḍu koṇḍu*'. They were despatched to their country only after returning to Maḍura.

⁵ Maḍura is known as '*Nāṇ-māḍa-Kūḍal*'.

⁶ Though, perhaps for administrative purposes, the Koṅgu country was divided into two divisions 'North and 'South', there appear to have been more divisions in it. Pērūr is described in the *Pērūrām* as being in M Koṅgu, *i.e.*, West Koṅgu. The division Maḷa-Koṅgu occurs in the Śiṅṅamanūr plates.

⁷ From this passage it is clear that the Koṅgu country was simultaneously administered by at least tw kings and that the extent of each one's territory was also settled. Sundara-Pāṇḍya brought about a repartition

Vālagiri, returned with his queen¹, and presenting his son before (*the Pāṇḍya*) saying 'he is yours', fell down (*i.e.*, prostrated) at his victorious lion-throne, extolled and begged (*the Pāṇḍya*)². Making a libation of water which removed the heat caused by his (*i.e.*, the Chōla king's) flight and prior loss of territory, and saying 'this shall always be the deed of support (*piḍipāḍu*) for having given back to his (*i.e.*, the Chōla king's) son a wide ground along with cool-wreathed crown' and giving him a royal writ³ (*tirumugam*) impressed with the fish which shine on the shoulders of kings ruling the earth girt with surging waves, together with the surname *Chōlapati* which he had formerly lost and his ancient city, (*the Pāṇḍya king*) gave him leave to depart.

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(Ll. 13—16.)—On a subsequent day, when the Chōla king, (*resolving*) not to remain submissively under the feet of him who formerly gave him his crown, refrained from executing the commands and refused to pay tribute, actuated by the proud thought that Puṇal-nāḍu belonged to its ruler, and sent forth a van guard and large army, (*the Pāṇḍya*) cleared them

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⁵ Madura is known as '*Nāṇ-māḍa-Kūḍal*'.

⁶ Though, perhaps for administrative purposes, the Koṅgu country was divided into two divisions 'North' and 'South', there appear to have been more divisions in it. Pērūr is described in the *Dēvāram* as being in Mī-Koṅgu, *i.e.*, West Koṅgu. The division Maḷa-Koṅgu occurs in the *Śiṇṇamanūr* plates.

⁷ From this passage it is clear that the Koṅgu country was simultaneously administered by at least two kings and that the extent of each one's territory was also settled. Sundara-Pāṇḍya brought about a repartition.

with the Buddhist doctrine according to which the realization of the impermanent nature of all things leads to the attainment of right knowledge. After this short introductory sentence, the inscription registers the gift of the queen¹ **Chandalladēvi** who was a lay worshipper and the wife of the *Rāṇaka* **Mahipāla**. No further details of the donatrix or her husband are given in the inscription. We cannot trace this Mahipāla in any other inscription known to us but the title *Rāṇaka* shows that he was at the most a feudatory of some paramount ruler. This title is found so far as the inscriptions of Bengal, Bilār and Orissa are concerned only from the 9th century onwards.² Till further evidence is forthcoming we cannot say definitely who was the overlord of this *Rāṇaka* Mahipāla.

TEXT.

- 1 N[ā]ma-[rū]pam=anityam | Rāṇaka-śrī-
- 2 Mahipāla-ba(va)dhū-paramōpāsi-
- 3 ka-rājñī-śrī-[Cha]ndalladēvyā dō-
- 4 ya-dharmō=yam||

TRANSLATION.

The individual being (lit. name and form) is impermanent. This is the religious gift of the queen (*Rājñī*) **Chandalladēvi**, a devout female lay worshipper and the wife of the *Rāṇaka*, the illustrious **Mahipāla**.

No. 10.—TINNEVELLY INSCRIPTION OF MARAVARMAN SUNDARA-PANDYA I.

BY

K. V. SUBRAHMANYA AIYER, B.A., COIMBATORE.

The subjoined inscription of **Māraṇvarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I** is engraved on the outside of the west wall of the second *prākāra* of the Nelliappar temple at **Tinnevely**. It was copied in 1894 by the Madras Epigraphical Department³ and the text of it is given in Tamil in the *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Volume V⁴. So far, no inscription of this king has been edited critically in the pages of this Journal or the *South-Indian Inscriptions*. For the highly interesting information which the record contains, both in its historical introduction and in its grant portion, it is taken up here for publication.

The inscription consists of 28 lines of writing. It is in **Tamil** prose and verse. Though the **alphabet** employed is Tamil, Grantha letters are used in writing Sanskrit words such as *svasti śrī* (l. 1), *āśrayaṅga* (l. 21), *Rājarāja-chchaturvvedimaṅgalam* (ll. 22, 24), *viśeṣha-pūjāi* (l. 24), etc. The introductory portion alone runs from line 1 to line 20 and is composed in Tamil verse of *Agaval* metre. It contains more than 125 metrical lines. The name of the poet that composed it is not given as is the case with all Tamil inscriptions; but there is no doubt that it is a creditable piece of work. The rest of the inscription is in prose.

¹ The inscription uses the term *Rājñī* which has evidently been used as the feminine form of *Rāṇaka*.

² Cf. the inscriptions of the Pālas of Bengal and Magadha and those of the Sēna, Varman and Chandra kings of Bengal. The Bhaṇja kings Śatrubhaṇja and Raṇabhaṇja bore the title of *Rāṇaka* (*Bhandarkar's List*, Nos. 1490, 1492-95). This title is also found in the Ganjām and Bānpur Plates of Daṇḍimahādēvi. The Rājput title *Rāṇā* evidently originated from *Rāṇaka*.

³ No. 140 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1894.

⁴ No. 431 on pages 155-157.

has been always found in Northern India, and its present instances are found on certainly Guptan monuments; the Rājgir writings on the road may be much earlier. Its cursive form shows that it was a non-monumental, i.e., book writing. The *virāma* sign below *ṇ* in our inscription has its descent in the modern Nāgarī and Bengali scripts. The system is purely Hindu; the forms, though different, have basic unity with Brāhmī forms. It seems that Pushkaraādi with whose personal name the system is associated, invented the system from Brāhmī. A modern example of a similar type of invention is Gurumukhī. The head of each letter in our inscription is headed with a line as in Nāgarī, Bengali and other modern Aryan scripts of the north. This would have arisen in book-writing with pen-and-ink, to keep a straight line in view. The flourishes of long looped vowel-signs and rounded forms of the letters also point to the system of pen-and-ink.

The *v* in our inscription is almost identical with the Brāhmī letter; *p* has a loop to the left instead of to the right, which would denote an earlier origin when *p* was written both ways. The superscript *i* vowel-mark is doubled to denote a long sound. The *m* here has only one arm of the Brāhmī *m* instead of two. The *ṇ* form is entirely unconnected. The *ś* is somewhat unconnected, it resembles remotely the Brāhmī form turned upside down. The superscript and subscript *r* has the same form as in Brāhmī. The double *i* mark resembles the Brāhmī system of the fourth century A.D. The mark for *visarga* on the top of the last *ṇa* resembles a half form of the *jihvāmūliya* sign of the Brāhmī. The origin of the script would go back to B.C. centuries owing to the forms of *p* and *ś* and the unconnected form of *ṇ*. The *mātrās* would have been influenced in their development by the general system which we find in Brāhmī.

A NOTE ON PĀDUKĀS.

The custom of giving *pādukās* still survives in India. The Jainas have throughout set up *pādukās* to their Āchāryas. Sannyāsin *maḥas* still make such memorials to their Mahants. In every case they are memorials to dead personages. The custom survives among Bengal Hindus, where the dead *guru-jana*'s foot-prints are taken on a piece of paper after besmearing the soles with lac-dye (*āltā*—Skt. *alakṭa*), whereby actual prints are reproduced. These prints are preserved.

Pūrṇavarman's foot-prints have given rise to various speculations amongst the Dutch scholars. Dr. Vogel has rightly pointed out (p. 25) that the other foot-prints of the king at Jambu were engraved on the place of cremation. The wording of the inscription indicates that the foot-prints were engraved after the king's death (*yaḥ purā Tārūmay(ā)m nāmnā śrī-Pūrṇavarmanmā*). Similarly the Ci-Arutōn inscription is to be taken as an after-death memorial, engraved probably at the place of the Śrāddha. There is no justification in the text to regard it as a dedication to a living man as taken by the Dutch scholars. It was not for worship, and it was not worshipped in his life-time.¹

No. 3.—MANUR INSCRIPTION OF MARANJADAIYAN.

[BY PROF. K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI, M.A., MADRAS.

Māṇūr is a village in the Tinnevely district about nine miles from Tinnevely on the road to Śaṅkaranayinārkōyil. On one of the pillars in the Ambalavāṇasvāmin temple of this village is

¹ The foot-prints of his elephant (p. 27) Jayaviśāla (which is the name of the animal) is a memorial to his favourite *vāhana*, and must have been engraved after its death.

found engraved the following inscription¹ of the reign of *Mārañjaḍaiyan*, which I edit from a set of excellent ink-impressions received from the Superintendent for Epigraphy, Madras. The inscription has been noticed briefly by the late Rai Bahadur V. Venkayya in the *Annual Report on South-Indian Epigraphy* for 1907, and its contents were summarised by the late Rao Bahadur Krishna Sastri in the *Annual Report* for 1913.²

The record occupies a space of about 7' × 1' 2" and consists of sixty-four lines of equal length. It is incomplete, a few words being wanting at its end. Line 21 has not come out clearly in the impression; but the words in this line can be easily supplied from the context on the analogy of ll. 27-9 which seem to repeat the phrasing employed here. Otherwise the inscription is very well preserved.

The alphabet employed is Vaṭṭeḷuttu with an admixture of Grantha letters especially for ligatures, such as *kshai*, *sva*, *sta*, *sti*, *śrī*, *hma*, *bra*, *pra*, *ddha*, *vya*, *vri*, *tta*, and for some words like *sabhai*, *vēda*, *dharmma* and *strīdhana*. In Grantha letters, the length of the medial *i* is marked by the sign of a medial *ā* attached to the right of the letter in *śrī* in lines 1 and 10; the sign representing a medial *ā* is itself a plain short horizontal stroke from the right end of which hangs a vertical one—see *brā* in lines 17 and 23, and *śrā* in line 29. The Vaṭṭeḷuttu letters resemble in general appearance those of the Ambāsamudram inscription of Varaguṇa-Pāṇḍya.³ The size of the letters is larger in the first five lines than in the following. The letter *ka*, however, resembles more the *ka* of the Āṇaimalai inscription⁴ than that of the Ambāsamudram record. The medial *ū* is marked by a loop below the letter *ṇ* in ll. 4 and 19, and the short *u* by a single vertical stroke below the same letter in line 13. The *puḷḷi* is clearly marked in some cases as in *paṅgu* (l. 14), *pugavum* (l. 34) and *paṇikkavum* (ll. 34-5); but is not so clear elsewhere⁵. One and the same letter is found written in slightly different forms, and different letters sometimes look so alike that we have to depend on the context for their proper identification. As an example of the former tendency the vowel *i* at the beginning of line 25 may be compared with the same letter in lines 5, 11, 26 and elsewhere in the inscription. Compare also, in this connection, the letter *lu* in ll. 27 and 28 with *lu* in l. 29 and *lū* in l. 8; and *yō* in lines 9 and 12. Instances of the latter are furnished by *pa* and *tu* occurring twice in line 5; by the very slight difference between *tu* in this line and *ru* at the end of the preceding one, distinguished from the former by a slight hook at the top of its left arm; and by the letters *pa* and *ṇ* in line 14. It may also be noted that in line 35, *rā* and *ka* look alike, the stroke indicating medial *ā* in the former having crossed the vertical of the main letter, whereas the distinction between the two letters is clearly maintained elsewhere e.g., in l. 54. These peculiarities only go to confirm the correctness of the view that "the Vaṭṭeḷuttu may be described as a cursive script which bears the same relation to the Tamil as the modern northern alphabets of the clerks and merchants to their originals, e.g., the *Mōḍi* of the Marāṭhās to the *Bālbodh*."⁶

The vowel *ai* occurs once in line 58. The letter *ya* is uniseptate and looks much simpler than in the Ambāsamudram inscription and closely resembles the form of the letter in the Vēlvikuḍi grant. The sign for the medial *i* is invariably attached as in the Vēlvikuḍi grant to the right

¹ No. 423 of 1906 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection.

² Part II, paragraph 23.

³ *Ante*, Vol. IX plate opposite page 90.

⁴ *Ante*, Vol. VIII, plate opposite page 320.

⁵ [Nowhere else in the record is the *puḷḷi* marked and it is therefore doubtful if it is marked in the instances noted here. The marks looking like *puḷḷi* on the impression may be due to the roughness of the stone.—Ed.]

⁶ Bühler—*Indian Palaeography* ed. Fleet, p. 75.

side of the letter, and never, as invariably in the Āṇaimalai and sometimes in the Ambāsamudram inscriptions, placed at the top of the letter.

Palaeographically, this inscription belongs to the same group as the Āṇaimalai and Ambāsamudram inscriptions and the Vēlvikuḍi and the Madras Museum grants of Jaṭilavarman. To the same group may be assigned the Tirupparaṅṅuṇṇam and the Trivandrum Museum stone inscriptions.¹ Slight differences as in the formation of the letter *ya*, the disposition of the medial *i* symbol, and the general appearance, sloping (Āṇaimalai and Vēlvikuḍi) or vertical (Madras Museum, and Ambāsamudram), of the letters in an inscription do not, in the case of Vaṭṭeḷuttu records, furnish any reliable criteria for a close determination of their exact age.² It seems to me therefore that the Māṇūr inscription of Māraṇjaḍaiyaṇ is also a record of the reign of the celebrated donor of the Vēlvikuḍi grant and the Madras Museum plates.

It must be observed, however, that the high regnal years in this and in some other inscriptions of Māraṇjaḍaiyaṇ have been considered to be an obstacle in the way of accepting this conclusion.³ I have pointed out elsewhere what appears to me the proper method of reconciling these high regnal years with the historical data furnished by the Vēlvikuḍi and the larger Śiṅṅamaṇūr grants,⁴ and I need not repeat the arguments here. I have also examined elsewhere the views recently expressed by Mr. K. V. Subramania Aiyar on some inscriptions of Māraṇjaḍaiyaṇ and on the date of the accession of Varaguṇa-Mahārāja.⁵

The language of the inscription is Tamil, but Sanskrit words are also employed wherever necessary. The rules of *sandhi* are sometimes observed, as in *nūṇṇaṇu* (l. 4), but more often not—*pattu onbadu* (l. 5), *kūḍi irundu ivvūr* (ll. 11-12) and so on. The letter *v* is needlessly duplicated in two places—*maṇṇāḍuvadāgavvum* (ll. 45-6) and *seyvvaḍāga* (l. 61). The grammatical construction of the sentence at the beginning of the *vyavasthai* (ll. 14-20) is peculiar, but might be heard to-day from the mouth of any Sanskrit Pandit in South India. Some words are used in peculiar senses now obsolete; examples are *maṇṇāḍutal* in the sense of 'to discuss or deliberate' more generally, 'to take part in the proceedings (of an assembly)'; and *śrāvaṇai*, a word unknown to literature, and apparently closely allied in meaning to *paṇṇu*,⁶ as can be seen from the general sense of lines 31-34 read along with ll. 18-19. *Śrāvaṇai* and *āvaṇam* are doubtless two forms of the same word—cf. *Śramaṇa*, *amaṇa*; and *Śrāvaṇa*, *Āvaṇi*. And the old Tamil lexicon

¹ Cf. Venkayya at *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. xxii, p. 68 and *Madras Epigraphical Report*, 1907, Part II, p. 20, as modified by 1908, II, 36; and above, Vol. IX, p. 86, n. 13. [Mr. A. S. Ramanatha Ayyar thinks that it is wrong to group together the Āṇaimalai, Ambāsamudram, Vēlvikuḍi, Madras Museum, Tirupparaṅṅuṇṇam and Trivandrum Museum inscriptions as belonging to the same period. He suggests that the letters of the Māṇūr record which do not exhibit the older forms of *r*, *ṇ* and *ṇ* can favourably be compared with the writing in inscriptions of Māraṇjaḍaiyaṇ (*Travancore Archaeological Series*, Vol. IV, p. 119), Śaḍaiyamāraṇ (*ibid.*, pp. 121-122) and Vira-Pāṇḍya (*ibid.*, Vol. III, pp. 69 and 72).—Ed.]

² Cf. Krishna Sastri's remarks above, Vol. XVII, p. 292 and *South-Indian Inscriptions*, III, p. 442.

³ *Madras Epigraphical Report*, 1907, II, 21, is tentative on the point; 1929, II, 8, is more decisive.

⁴ *The Pāṇḍyan Kingdom*, Chap. IV and pp. 253-5. [Mr. A. S. Ramanatha Ayyar is of opinion that the Māṇūr inscription must be attributed, palaeographically, to a later Māraṇjaḍaiyaṇ, probably Parāntaka-Viraṇārāyaṇa Śaḍaiyaṇ, the brother of Varaguṇavarman of A.D. 862. He also considers that a few records of Māraṇjaḍaiyaṇ which cite high regnal years, viz., Nos. 298 of 1916 (35th year), 431 of 1914 (35th +*), 12 of 1923-29 (35+6th year), 863 of 1917 (35+7th year), 605 of 1915 (43rd year) and 104 of 1905 (39th year), all of the Madras Epigraphical collection, are palaeographically similar to the Māṇūr record and may have to be ascribed to the king named above.—Ed.]

⁵ Above, Vol. XX, pp. 46-54; *Early Pāṇḍyan Chronology—Journal of Indian History* 1932 April.

⁶ In No. 64 of 1898 we have the phrase: *maṇṇaiyūṇṇ śrāvaṇaiyūṇṇ aḷḷiṭṭa vūṇṇ paṇṇu*. Here *śrāvaṇai* would seem to be a unit of land other than a house-site. The word is evidently used in the sense of document or title-deed in an inscription (323 of 1910) of the reign of Kulōtunga I in the phrases: *vilai śrāvaṇai-ppaḍiyūṇṇ* and *iṇai-yili-śrāvaṇai-ppaḍiyūṇṇ*, with which cf. *vilai-āvaṇam* (sale-deed).

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Of the **geographical data** supplied by the inscription, **Māṇanilainallūr** is obviously the present **Māṇūr**. The *nāḍu* in which this place was located bore the name **Kaḷakkuḍi**. Other places in **Kaḷakkuḍi-nāḍu** mentioned in the inscriptions are **Karuvānallūr**,¹ seven miles to the north of **Śaṅkaranayinārkōyil**, and **Karavandapuram**,² which seems to have had the alternative name of **Kaḷakkuḍi** as can be inferred from the **Āṇaimalai** inscriptions.³ It has been suggested that **Kaḷakkuḍi** might be identical with the modern village of **Kaḷakkāḍu** in the **Nāṅgunēri Tāluk**.⁴ Considering that the *nāḍu* extended to the north beyond **Śaṅkaranayinārkōyil**, it may be doubted if **Kaḷakkuḍi-Karavandapura** could be the same as **Kaḷakkāḍu**, too far south in the **Nāṅgunēri Tāluk**. **Ambāsamudram** and **Śērmādēvi** to the north of **Kaḷakkāḍu** were part of **Muḷli-nāḍu**, and **Kaḷakkāḍu** is itself said to have been in the **Vānavaṇ-nāḍu**, in a record of a later date.⁵ There is a village called **Kaḷakkuḍi** in the **Tinnevely Tāluk** itself, which may possibly have been the headquarters of the *nāḍu*.

TEXT.

First side.

- 1 Svasti śrī || Kō Māraṇja-
- 2 ḍaiyaṅku yāṇḍu
- 3 muppattāṇju
- 4 nāl nāṇ-pūrr-aṇu-
- 5 pattu-oṇbaḍu i-
- 6 n-nālāl Kaḷak[ku]ḍi-
- 7 nāṭṭu brahmadēyam Māṇa-
- 8 [nī]lainallūr māhāsa-⁶
- 9 bhaiyōm peruṅguṇi śā-
- 10 rri śrī-Gōva[r*]ddhanattu-kkū-
- 11 ḍi irundu ivv=ūr mā-⁸
- 12 hāsabhayōm kuḍi⁷ maṇṇā-
- 13 ḍuvadaṇukku śeyda vyavastai-
- 14 y=āvaḍu ivv=ur⁸ paṇḍuḍai-
- 15 yār makkaḷ sabhaiyil maṇ-
- 16 ṇḍukirāḍu oru dha[r*]ma[m*]-uṭpa-
- 17 ḍa Mantirabrāhmaṇam vallār su-
- 18 vṛittar=āy irappārē oru paṇ-
- 19 giṇṇukku⁹ oruttarē sabhaiyil
- 20 maṇṇāḍuvadāgavum vilaiyum
- 21 [pratigrahamum strī-dhanamum-uḍai-]¹⁰

Second side.

- 22 yār oru dhanmam=uppa¹¹
- 23 ḍa Mantirabrāhmaṇam

¹ No. 424 of 1906 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.

² No. 418 of 1906 of the same collection.

³ *Ante*, Vol. VIII, p. 318 and n. 8.

⁴ No. 130 of 1905 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.

⁵ Read *kūḍi*. The suggestion may be made that *kuḍi-maṇṇāḍu* means: 'deliberate on the affairs of the village'; but there is no other instance of such usage.

⁶ Read: *ivv-ūr*.

⁷ Read *ṇukku*.

⁸ Conjectural reading based on l. 28 below.

⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ Read *māhā*.

¹¹ Read *uṭpaḍa*.

- 24 valla-āy suvri(ri)ttar=āy
 25 iruppārē maṇṇādu-
 26 vadāgavum idaṇ=mēr¹-
 27 paṭṭadu vilaiyālu-
 28 m pratigrahattālum sti-²
 29 dhanattālum śrāvaṇai
 30 puguvār muḷu śirāva-
 31 ṇai aṇṇi kāl śirāva-
 32 ṇaiyum araich=chirāvaṇai-
 33 yum mukkāl śirāvaṇaiyu-
 34 m pugavum paṇikkavu-
 35 m perādā[r=ā]gavum pa-
 36 ṇgu vilaikku koḷpa-
 37 vār³ oru vēdam ell[ā]
 38 idamum sa-pariśish[t]a-
 39 m parikshai tandārkkē
 40 śrāvaṇai paṇippadā-
 41 gavum ip=pariśu aṇ-
 42 ri śrāvaṇai pukkāraiym

Third side.

- 43 piṇṇaiyum ik=kach-
 44 chattil paṭṭa-pari-
 45 śē maṇṇāduvadāga(v)-
 46 vum ip=pariśiṇā-
 47 l muḷuch=chirāvaṇai
 48 illādārai evvagai-
 49 ppaṭṭa vāriyamu-
 50 m ēṇṇapperādār⁴=āgavu-
 51 m ip=pariśu śeygiṇ-
 52 ṇārum aṇṇēṇṇu kuttu-
 53 kkāl śeyyapperādā⁵-
 54 r=āgavum kuttukkāl śey-
 55 vāraiym kuttukkāl śe-
 56 vvārkkū⁶ uṇavāyudani-⁷
 57 ppāraiym vevvēṇṇu-
 58 vagai aiyyaṇṇu k[ā]śu taṇ-
 59 ḍaṇ-gonḍu piṇṇaiyum
 60 ik=kachcha[t*]til paṭṭa-pari-
 61 śē śeyv(v)adāgavum i-
 62 p=pariśu paṇittu vyava-

¹ r looks like ṇ.

² Read var. [The impression reads koḷ(v)ār—Ed.]

³ Read strī-

⁴ rā looks like rāva; cf. rā in māru in l. 1. Likewise rā and dā look much alike.

⁵ rā and dā look alike.

⁶ Read śeyvārkkū.

⁷ This reading is doubtful. Mr. G. R. Krishnamachari suggests that it may be read as upō[kam]—in the sense of upōha; and that upōham, nippār may be rendered as those standing by or near, i.e., abettors.

63 stai śeydōm mahāsabhāi-
64 yōm mahāsabhaiyār [pa]¹

TRANSLATION.

Lines 1-14. Hail ! Prosperity ! the year thirty-five, and day four hundred and sixty-nine of (the reign of) King Mārañjadaiyaṇ,—on this day, we, (the members of) the mahāsabhā of Māṇanilainallūr, a brahmadēya in Kaḷakkudi-nāḍu, having proclaimed a general body meeting by beat of drum ; and, having assembled in the sacred Gōvardhana, made the following resolution (vyavasthāi) for conducting deliberations in the meetings of the mahāsabhā of this village :

Ll. 14-20. In the matter of the share-holders of this village taking part in the deliberations of the assembly, only those who are conversant with Mantra-brāhmaṇa inclusive of one Dharma and are of good conduct shall take part in the discussions of the sabhā, only one person (representing) a share ;

Ll. 20-26. of those who own (shares) by purchase gift or dowry, only such as are conversant with Mantra-brāhmaṇa inclusive of one Dharma and are of good conduct shall take part in the deliberations ;

Ll. 26-35. in the future, those who exercise their right of property (śrāvāṇai-puguvār) (acquired) by purchase, gift or dowry, shall not, except by (possessing) full śrāvāṇai, exercise their right and vote² (merely) in virtue of a quarter, half or three-quarters of a śrāvāṇai ;

Ll. 35-45. among those who acquire shares by purchase, the śrāvāṇai shall be awarded only to such as have passed an examination in an entire Vēda together with the Parisishṭa ; and those who enter upon a śrāvāṇai, by means other than the above, shall take part in the discussions only in accordance with the terms of this settlement (kaccham) ;

Ll. 46-51. in virtue of this arrangement, those who do not possess a full śrāvāṇai shall not be selected to any kind of vāriyam ;

Ll. 51-61. those who abide³ by this agreement shall not say 'nay' and cause any obstruction (to this arrangement) ; those who cause obstruction and those who abet the obstructionists⁴ shall be fined five kāsus each, and even thereafter, the terms of this resolution (kaccham) shall be strictly observed.

Ll. 61-64. We, the members of the mahāsabhā ordered in this wise and made this settlement. The members of the mahāsabhā.....

No. 4 KHAROSHTHI INSCRIPTION ON A BEGRAM BAS-RELIEF.

By STEN KONOW, PH.D., OSLO.

Bēgrām, on the confluence of the Ghorband and Panjshīr rivers, has been identified with ancient Kāpiśī.⁵ The site has been explored by French archæologists, and M. Barthou has, *inter alia*, unearthed a damaged sculpture in bas-relief,⁶ which has been interpreted as representing the Buddha's first interview with Bimbisāra or the invitation to preach addressed to Bhagavat by Brahmā and Indra. Gotama, with a moustache, is seated on a throne, raising the right hand in the *varada-mudrā* and resting the left, which is mutilated, on the lap. To the right stands

¹ The continuation on the fourth face seems to be built in.

² The word *paṇikkavum* in the context is not easy. I have taken it to mean 'declare one's opinion,' 'vote.'

³ The expression *ipparīṣu śeygiṇṇārūm* (ll. 51-2) is vague, but obviously it must refer to the persons who enter on *śrāvāṇai* in an irregular manner, without passing the examination, and are left out of account for the *vāriyam*.

⁴ Lit. "Stand in intimate relation with those who cause obstruction."

⁵ Cf. A. Foucher, *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, VI, pp. 341 ff.

⁶ J. Hackin, *La sculpture indienne et tibétaine au musée Guimet*, Paris 1931, Pl. XI.

No. 45.—FOUR PANDYA RECORDS FROM UKKIRANKOTTAI.

By A. S. RAMANATHA AYYAR, B.A., MADRAS.

The subjoined Pāṇḍya records¹ come from Ukkirankōṭṭai, a village in the Tinnevely taluk of the Tinnevely District. Three of them are in the **Tamiḻ** language and are engraved in **Vaṭṭeluttu** characters assignable to the 10th century A.D., while the fourth in **Sanskrit** is in **Grantha** characters of the same period. There are no new points worth mentioning about the graphic peculiarities of these Vaṭṭeluttu and Grantha scripts, as they are of the usual variety employed in other contemporaneous records of the locality.

Record **A** is dated in the **13th year** opposite to the **2nd year** of reign of the Pāṇḍya king **Śaḍaiya-Māraṇ** and registers a gift of sheep by a lady named **Tuḍarūri**, wife of **Tenṇavaṇ Pallavadiāraiyaṇ** alias **Māraṇ²-Śūraṇ** for maintaining a perpetual lamp in the temple of god **Āditya-Bhaṭāra**³ at the eastern entrance of **Karavandapuram** in **Kaḷakkudi-nāḍu**. Record **B** is a Sanskrit version of the same endowment made by **Tuḍarūri**, here called the wife of **Śrīkaṇṭha-Śūra** to the temple of god **Vikarttana** at **Karavandapura**, but the king's name is not mentioned in it. Record **C** was originally engraved on a broad slab of stone, which has been cut longitudinally into two and planted in the temple compound to serve as gate-posts, and in the process, its first line containing the king's name has suffered mutilation. But the regnal year quoted for the king, viz., 2+9, as well as the fact that the same **Tenṇavaṇ Pallavadiāraiyaṇ** alias **Kaṇḍaṇ** (**Śrīkaṇṭha**)-**Śūraṇ** is herein mentioned as being in charge of **Kaḷakkudi** (*Kaḷakkudi mahānāyakaṁ seyyaperai*) help us to attribute this inscription also to the **Śaḍaiya-Māraṇ** of record **A**. Further, as it is stated that this **Pallavadiāraiyaṇ** erected an *ambalam* (wayside choultry) called 'Nagarattāṇ' in the name of the trading guild (*Nagarattār*) of the colony called **Rājaśiṅga-ppēraṅgāḍi**, newly founded by him, apparently in the name of his sovereign, the **Śaḍaiya-Māraṇ** of these records can be identified with **Rājasirṅha III**, who is already well-known from the **Śiṇṇamaṇūr** plates⁴ issued in the 2+14th year of his reign, and to whose period the characters employed in all these epigraphs can very appropriately belong. Record **D**, though it does not mention any king's name, can, palæographically, be attributed to the same king's reign.

The village now known by the name of Ukkirankōṭṭai has been called **Karavandapuram** in **Kaḷakkudi-nāḍu** in **A**, while in **D** it is simply called **Kaḷakkudi**. **Karavandapuram** alias **Kaḷakkudi**⁵ (and **Kalandai**) has been mentioned as the birth-place of **Māraṇ-Kāri**, the excavator of the rock-cut shrine of **Narasirṅha** at **Āṇaimalai** in the **Madura District**, and of his brother **Māraṇ-Eyinaṇ**, both of whom successively held the office of **Uttaramantri** under the Pāṇḍya ruler **Māraṇ-Śaḍaiyaṇ**, and also that of **Śāṭṭaṇ-Gaṇavadi**, the king's *Mahāsāmanta*⁶, and it was

¹ Nos. 194, 195 196 and 199 of 1935-36 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.

² The first part of the name 'Māraṇ' is based on the name of the reigning Pāṇḍya king.

³ The temple in which this record is found is now called the Chokkaliṅga temple and a *liṅga* is installed in its central shrine. It was probably a temple dedicated exclusively to **Sūrya** in earlier days. But as the people in the locality say that the present temple was built from stones brought from the adjoining fields, it is also possible that the temple of **Āditya-Bhaṭāra** may have existed as a separate shrine in the vicinity, and that when it fell into ruins, its stones were built into the present shrine. In this connection it has to be remembered that inside a fort, a **Śiva** temple should be constructed in the north-east, and that of **Sūrya** in the east. (Gopinath Rao, *El. of Hindu Iconography*, Vol. I, p. 22.)

⁴ *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. III, p. 444.

⁵ Above, Vol. VIII, p. 319 and Vol. XVII, p. 303. The name **Kalandai** mentioned as the native place of **Mūrti-Eyinaṇ**, appears to be only a poetic form of the word **Kaḷakkudi** (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXII, p. 71 and above, Vol. XVII, p. 290).

⁶ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXII, p. 67, wherein is quoted No. 37 of 1908.

considered that this Kalakkudi might be Kalakkāḍ¹ in the Nanguneri taluk of the Tinnevely District. But from the present inscriptions this identification has to be given up and **Karavandapuram** alias Kalakkudi to be identified with **Ukkiraṅkōṭṭai** in the Tinnevely taluk.

Karavandapuram must have been a place of sufficient strategic importance in early Pāṇḍya days as to necessitate the building of a fort here by the Pāṇḍya king Neḍuñjaḍaiyaṅ, who in the Madras Museum Plates dated in the 17th year of his reign, claims to have 'built, along with a broad stone ditch, a lofty wall whose top never loses the moisture (caused by) the sky coming in contact (with it), and the clouds resting (on it), so that (the town of) Karavandapuram might get resplendent, which has beautiful halls and long streets, (where even) warriors are afraid of the arrow (-like) pointed and long eyes of women with lotus faces'.² This Neḍuñjaḍaiyaṅ has been identified with the king figuring in the Āṇaimalai inscriptions (c. A.D. 770) and the Vēlyikuḍi copper-plates.³ Though in the latter record several *birudas* are applied to him, he is not known to have had the surname of 'Ukkiraṅ' or 'Ugra'; and it is therefore not clear why and when Karavandapuram came to acquire its present name of Ukkiraṅkōṭṭai, or 'Ukkiraṅ's fort'. Its origin cannot be connected with the name of the early king Ugrapperuvaludi, for he is believed to have flourished long anterior to Neḍuñjaḍaiyaṅ's time.⁴ In the Sanskrit portion of the larger Śiṅṅa-maṇūr plates⁵, it is stated that Parāntaka Vīraṇārayaṇa Śaḍaiyaṅ (c. A.D. 900) fought a battle at Kharagiri and captured a certain Ugra, who, it has been surmised, was probably a scion of the Pāṇḍya family. In that case, it may perhaps be hazarded that Karavandapuram which was fortified by Neḍuñjaḍaiyaṅ (Jaṭila Parāntaka) before about A.D. 785, was temporarily in the possession of this Ugra-Pāṇḍya a century later, and thus got the name which has survived to the present day, though it has also to be pointed out that the place was known only as Karavandapuram in the time of Śōḷaṅṅalaikōṇḍa Vīra-Pāṇḍya (c. A.D. 970), as evidenced by a record copied from the Chokkanāyaki shrine in the same village.⁶

Vestiges of a fort and a moat are even now pointed out at some spots in the village as evidence of its former greatness, but the villagers have no information of value to offer regarding its ancient history. That the fortification may have been of fairly extensive dimensions can, however, be surmised from the fact that the temple of Āditya-Bhaṭṭara which is described in record A as being situated in the *kīḷaivāyil* or eastern gate, apparently of the fortified village, is nearly half a mile distant from the Chokkanāyaki shrine which, as implied by the name of the goddess 'Vaḍavāyil-naṅgai' must have been located at the northern gateway. It is interesting to note in this connection that the shrines of Āditya and Chokkanāyaki were located in the appropriate directions of the east and the north, in conformity with the rule mentioned in Kauṭilya⁷ and the Āgamas⁸ that the shrines of guardian deities should be erected in the appropriate cardinal points inside a fort. From other inscriptions copied at the place, it is learnt that there were two Śiva temples called Arikēsariśvaram and Rājasīṅgīśvaram in the vicinity of the village, though possibly not inside the fort itself and named as such after the Pāṇḍya kings Arikēsari and Rājasīmha.

¹ Above, Vol. VIII, p. 319 and Vol. XVII, p. 298.

² *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXII, p. 74.

³ Above, Vol. XVII, p. 295.

⁴ Nilakantha Sastri: *The Pāṇḍyan Kingdom*, p. 30.

⁵ *S. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 457.

⁶ No. 197 of 1935-36 of the Madras Epigraphical collection. This fragmentary record reads as follows: *Śōḷaṅṅalai-kōṇḍa śrī-Vīrapāṇḍyadēvaṅku yāṇḍu paḍiṇ-aṅḱu iṇvāṇḍu Kārttiyai-tiṅḱaḱ mudal-pakkam āṅḱam-pakkam mudalāga Pāṇḍimāttāṇḱa-vaḷaṇāṭṭu-kKaravandapurattu Vaḍavāyil-naṅgai.....*

⁷ Shamasastri's Translation, p. 62.

⁸ *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Vol. I, Introduction, p. 22. Chokkanāyaki was probably one of the *Saptamūrti* group, several archaic statues of which are found strewn about in the temple compound.

In the Larger Śiṅṅamaṇṇūr plates, an earlier Pāṇḍya king Śrīvallabha¹ is stated to have fought a battle at Kuṇṇūr and his conquests are said to have extended from Kuṇṇūr to Śiṅṅa-ḷam. If this Kuṇṇūr is identical with the native place of the donatrix Tuḍarūri mentioned in record A, the geographical detail that it was situated in Karuṇilakkuḍi-nāḍu is of some interest. The same village Kuṇṇūr is stated to be located in Nilakkuḍi-nāḍu (probably a shortened form of Karuṇilakkuḍi-nāḍu) in an epigraph from Paḷḷimaḍam² in the Aruppukōṭṭai taluk of the Ramnad District.

The colony which Tennavaṇ Pallavadiāraiyaṇ founded in front of the *koṇṇarāyil* or palace at Karavandapuram was, as stated already, called Rājasiṅga-ppēraṅḡāḍi in honour of the reigning king. It must have been a fairly influential community, for in record D Inbaṇ Dēvaṇaśeṭṭi, a member of the **Ayyapoḷil-500** guild, who was probably the agent in charge at this place, is stated to have built a circumambulatory verandah (*tiruchchurṇālai*) called 'Nagarattāṇ' round the temple of Vaḍavāyil-naṅgai, in the name and on behalf of the *Nagarattār*. **Ayyapoḷil** which is the Tamilised form of the word Ayyavoḷe (*i.e.*, Aihole in the Hungund talukā of the Bijāpur District, Bombay Presidency) is famous as the headquarters of a very influential and prosperous trading corporation which boasted of branches even in distant parts.³ Several trading centres were called 'Ayyavoḷes of the South', apparently because they were branches founded by the merchants or agents of the Ayyavoḷe guild proper. The elaborate *prasaṣṭi* of the Ayyavoḷe guild found in an inscription⁴ in Mysore describes the guild as having been composed of 500 *svāmis*, and this conventional numerical strength of the guild is also indicated by the title 'Aiñṇūṇṇuvaṇ' borne by the local agent mentioned above.

One other point of interest in these records is that the endowments were not only left under the protection of the merchant-guild of the place, but that the *madiṭ-chēvagar* or 'the soldiers on guard at the ramparts'⁵ were also enjoined to supervise the proper conduct of the charities. As already noted in the *Annual Report on S. I. Epigraphy* for 1932-33, page 68, endowments made in the time of the Pāṇḍya king Sundara-Pāṇḍya (A.D. 1225) to the temple at Peruṅḡuḷam, a medieval military cantonment in the Tinnevely District, were left in charge of a governing body composed of representatives from the several battalions stationed at the place. In an inscription from Tiruvāliśvaram⁶ in the same district, it is stated that the temple of Tiruvāliśvaram-Uḍaiyār, its treasury and the temple servants were placed under the protection of the Chōḷa garrison called 'Mūṇṇukai-Mahāsēṇai' stationed at that place. Similarly in a record⁷ copied at Saṅgrāmanallūr in the Coimbatore District, which was evidently fortified and garrisoned in olden days, the soldiers were required to protect the *gōpura*, the temple and its premises. It is therefore evident that in places which were under the control of the military, a body composed of some military officers and men functioned in respect of religious and other institutions under their charge, in a manner similar to that of village assemblies in purely civil stations.

TEXT.

A

1 Śrī[*][Kō]-chChāḍaiya-Māraṅku yaṇḍu iraṇḍu idan=edir padiṇmūṇṇu ivv=[āṇḍu]
Kaḷakkuḍi-nāṭṭu-kKaravandapurattu kīḷaivāil śrīkōi-

¹ S. I. I., Vol. III, p. 461.

² No. 430 of 1914 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.

³ Ep. Carn., Vol. VII, Sk. 118.

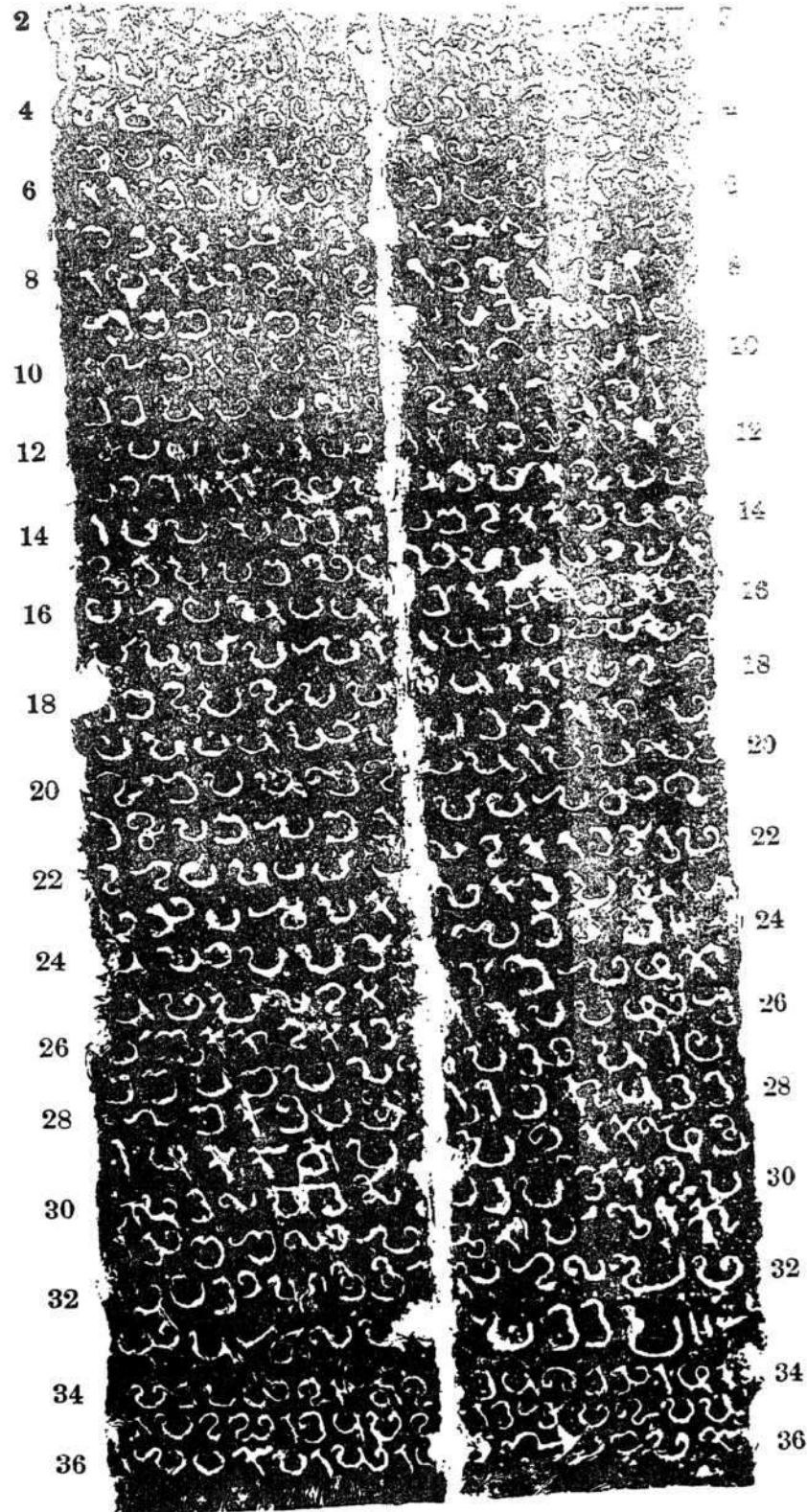
⁴ The term *madiṭchēvagar* (*madiṭ*=rampart+*chēvagar*=soldiers) means 'the soldiers guarding the rampart' in the fort at the place. Compare *uḷvīṭṭuchēvagar* and *Malayāṇ-orraichēvagar* in the sense of 'soldiers' (*Trav. Archl. Series*, Vol. I, p. 159 and f. n. 8).

⁵ No. 120 of 1905 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.

⁶ No. 167 of 1909 of the same collection.

FOUR PANDYA RECORDS FROM UKKIRANKOTTAI.

C-1



N. P. CHAKRAVARTI.
Res. No. 1406 F'37-295.

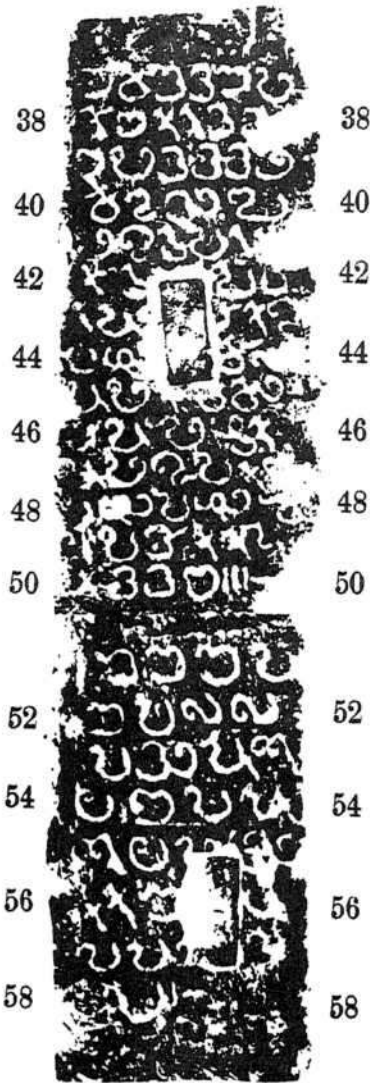
SCALE: ABOUT ONE-FIFTH.

SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.

B.
Left half



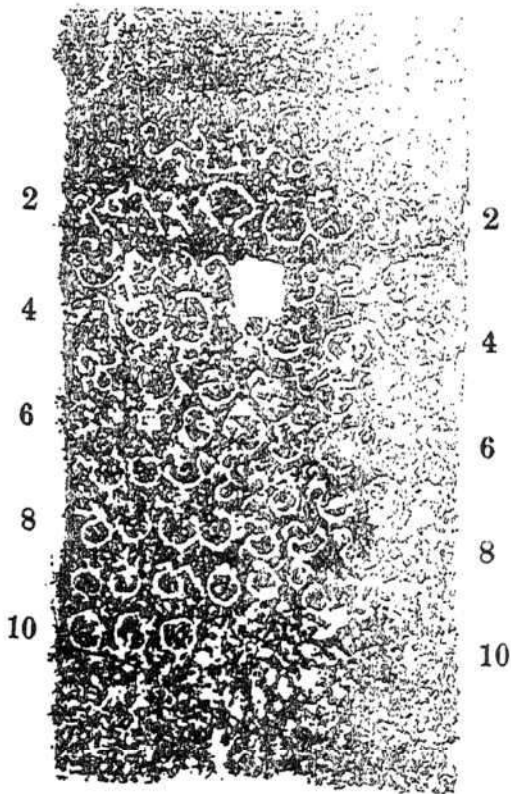
C-2



Right half



D.



TRANSLATION.

A

Prosperity !

The thirteenth year opposite the second year of king Śaḍaiya-Māraṇ—in this year, Tuḍarūri of Kuṇṇūr in Karunilakkuḍi-nāḍu, wife of Teṇṇavaṇ Pallavadiāraiyaṇ alias Māraṇ-Śūraṇ, gave fifty sheep for (maintaining) a perpetual lamp endowed by her to god Āditya-Bhaṭāra of the temple at the eastern entrance of Karavandapuram in Kaḷakkuḍi-nāḍu. These fifty sheep which neither die nor grow old, Pūdi-Pōraṇ a veṭṭikkūḍi of the śiṅga-Iśvaram (temple) of this village, took over, agreeing to supply daily one uḷakku of ghee by the (measure called) Śōliyam.

This shall be under the protection of the Nagarattār and of the Maḍiḷ-chēvaṇar (soldiers guarding the ramparts).

B

The wife of Śrikanṭha-Śūra, named Tuḍarūri, gave to the temple of (god) Vikarttana at Karavantapura, a lamp which has brightened the world ; may it last as long as all the worlds (exist).

C

(Lines 1 to 18) The ninth year opposite the second year of—in this year, the (number of) sheep which the Paḍaittalaiyaṇ Nakkaṇ-Muṇṇūrruvaṇ of this village received, agreeing to measure daily one uri of ghee for a chain-lamp which had been presented to the ambalam (called) Nagarattāṇ erected in the name of the Nagarattār by Teṇṇavaṇ Pallavadiāraiyaṇ alias Kaṇḍaṇ-Śūraṇ who was the Mahānāyaka of Kaḷakkuḍi in Rājasiṅgappēraṅgāḍi, (a settlement) which had been formed by him in front of the korraṇāyil of this village, is one hundred.

(Ll. 18-21) For these sheep and for the (proper) supply of ghee, the surety is the Paḍaittalaiyaṇ Veṇṇavāypēsi of this village.

(Ll. 22-24) This was left under the care of the Nagarattār and the soldiers of the rampart so that they may arrange for the unfailing supply of this ghee.

(Ll. 25-33) The amount which Teṇṇavaṇ Pallavadiāraiyaṇ alias Kaṇḍaṇ-Śūraṇ deposited with the Nagarattār for the maintenance of the sweeper¹ of the ambalam called Nagarattāṇ is ten ḷakkāṣu. This kaḷaṇṇu amount is to remain as capital, and from the interest thereon five nāḷi of paddy shall be given to the sweeper daily.

(Ll. 34-50) Two kāṣu together with this, (i.e.) twelve ḷakkāṣu (in all), the Nagarattār gave to the Veṭṭkōvar Vira nāyaṇ, Kōṇ Śāttan, Kōṇ Nagarattāṇ, Tattaṇ-Śendil, so that the work of² and of sweeping may be performed by them and their descendants.

(Ll. 51-58) By order of Teṇṇavaṇ Pallavadiāraiyaṇ, Araiyaṇānikkaṇ gave this (edict).

D

Hail ! Prosperity !

Nagarattāṇ, the circumambulatory verandah (tīruchchurūlai) of (the shrine of) the goddess Vaḍavāyil-amandā at Kaḷakkuḍi was erected by Iṇbaṇ-Dēvaṇachcheṭṭi, a (member of the) Ayyapoḷil-Aiṇṇūrruvaṇ (-guild).

¹ The service expected of the meḷuḡuv-aḷ was smearing the floor with cow-dung and sweeping.

² The inscription is damaged at this place, and the details of service which had to be rendered in addition to sweeping, cannot be made out.

darkar who points out the difficulty¹ that if the year of the Sōhāwal plates is taken as the Gupta year, the month Āshāḍha should be intercalary, but in none of the years 509, 510, 511 and 512, which might be taken to correspond to G. E. 191, was it so. "Perhaps in this date", says Prof. Bhandarkar, "*ekōṇa-navaty-uttarē* is intended for *eka-navaty-uttarē*, which is not unlikely as we know that when there are two or more identical letters or words, one or more are inadvertently omitted by the writer or engraver. This date 189, if referred to the Gupta era, becomes equivalent to A.D. 507 or 508, but even then there was no intercalary Āshāḍha in 506, 507, 508 or 509. On the other hand, if we refer 189 to the Kalachuri era, we obtain A.D. 437 as its English equivalent. And we do find an intercalary month of Āshāḍha in A.D. 437."² The difficulty pointed out by Bhandarkar is more apparent than real; for as Dikshit has shown³ the month intercalated in the Gupta year 191, ' (which according to the rules of intercalations was *Śrāvaṇa*) must have received its name from the preceding month, a conclusion to which the late Dr. Kielhorn was forced in the calculation of the date of the Betul plates of Saṁkshōbha'. An authority for such a custom has again been recently pointed out.⁴ No valid objection, therefore, remains to the view that the dates of the Uchchakalpas are in the Gupta era.

(4) The drafting of the Uchchakalpa records and the symbol on their seals indicate that the Uchchakalpas rose after the Guptas. In the genealogical portions of their inscriptions we find the same form used as in the Gupta records.⁵ Unfortunately nearly all the seals of the Uchchakalpa plates are lost; but from the one specimen that has been described by Fleet⁶ it seems that the Uchchakalpa kings formed their seals on the model of those of the Guptas. There is no such resemblance noticeable between the records of the Uchchakalpas and those of the Early Kalachuris.

The foregoing discussion will show that the view that the Uchchakalpa dates refer to the Gupta era is the probable one in the present state of our knowledge.

No. 27.—THE AILUR INSCRIPTION OF KOPPERUNJINGADEVA.

BY V. VENKATASUBBA AIYAR, B.A., MADRAS.

This inscription⁷ is engraved on a rock above a natural reservoir of water to the south of the village of Vailūr⁸ in the Wandiwash taluk of the North Arcot District. The letters are incised boldly and the record is in a good state of preservation.

¹ See his *List of Northern Inscriptions*, p. 159, n. 5.

² Even this view is not free from difficulties. According to the epoch which suits early Kalachuri dates the English equivalent for the present date occurring in Āshāḍha would be expected to fall in A.D. 438 or 439. According to the epoch which suits later Kalachuri dates it should fall in A.D. 438, if the year is taken as expired as is usually the case. If the year is taken as current, it will of course fall in A.D. 437, but such cases are exceptional, apart from the fact that the epoch determined by Kielhorn does not suit early dates.

³ Above, Vol. XXI, p. 125.

⁴ *Indian Culture*, Vol. I, p. 693.

⁵ See for instance that the names of the queens are mentioned along with those of the ruling princes in the Uchchakalpa plates as in the Mathura Stone Inscription of Chandragupta II (*C. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 25), the Bilsad Stone Pillar Inscription of Kumāragupta I (*Ibid.* p. 42), etc.

⁶ *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 125.

⁷ No. 418 of 1922 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.

⁸ This village is different from Vāyalūr in the Chingleput District, wherein the inscription of the Pallava king Rajasimha is found. It is, however, spelt as Vāyalūr in the *I. R. on Epigraphy* for 1922, but its present name is Vailūr as given above.

The record is in **Tamiḻ** language and consists of a **prose** passage followed by five **verses** extolling the greatness of the later Pallava chief **Kōpperuŷjīngadēva**. In engraving the epigraph, each line of the verse is not metrically arranged, but the stanzas themselves are divided by punctuation marks. The verses employed are: *Paṇṇirūśirkkaḷi-neḍilāśiriya viruttam* (v. 1), *Nēriśai-veṇba* (v. 2), *Kali viruttam* (v. 3) and *Eṇṣīrkkaḷi-neḍilāśiriya viruttam* (vv. 4 and 5). The record is free from any admixture of Grantha letters except *Svasti śrī* (l. 1) and the letters *ri* in Tiribuvana (l. 16) and *ā* in *āṇai* (l. 16). The use of the word *āṇai* in this inscription requires some explanation. It is derived from the Sanskrit word *ājñā* through the Prākṛit form *āṇā* meaning 'command' or 'order'. The Tamiḻ lexicon *Piṇḡala-Nighaṇṭu* renders the word as 'sign' or 'insignia of authority' and the word seems to have been used in this sense here since no order is conveyed in the inscription. Analogous to the word *Śokkacheḷiyāṇ āṇai*, some inscriptions of this period conclude with the words *Pallavaraiyaṇ* (or *Vallavaraiyaṇ*) *sattiyam*,¹ *Avāṇimūḷududaiyār āṇai*,² *Tribhuvāṇamūḷududaiyār āṇai*,³ etc. A record from Aragaṇḍanallūr⁴ ends with the words '*idaṇṅku māṇu ṣōṇṇavan Śokkanāyaṇār āṇai*', i.e., 'he (who) says contrary to this (shall be a transgressor of) the authority (of) Śokkanāyaṇār,' and from a record of Tiruvēndipuram⁵ we learn that such transgression was treated as a cognizable offence by the assembly.

The few verbal errors found in the record are corrected in foot-notes under the text.

The main theme of the epigraph is to celebrate a unique event in South Indian history, viz., the capture and imprisonment of the **Chōḷa** sovereign along with his ministers and the annexation of a portion of the Chōḷa territory by the **Pallava** chief **Kōpperuŷjīnga**. This is expressed in the prose passage commencing the record. The name of the Chōḷa sovereign whom Kōpperuŷjīnga imprisoned as also that of the poet⁶ who composed the verses is not given. The verses themselves reveal that the poet has limited himself to facts without indulging in any far-fetched imagery.

The concluding words of the present inscription indicate that the verses had been approved by the hero⁷ of the theme.

The first verse extols the greatness and prowess of Kōpperuŷjīngadēva in accomplishing the imprisonment of the Chōḷa king along with his ministers and annexing the Chōḷa territory, and further, it refers to his encounter with **Hoysala** warriors, his vast army, his favourite deity in the Golden Hall at **Chidambaram** and to his love for and patronage of Tamiḻ literature. The second verse warns other kings not to oppose this chief but to submit themselves quietly by paying tribute, considering the fate of the Chōḷa king. The next verse, after referring to the exploits of this ruler in stamping the insignia of his banner on the breast and shoulders of powerful kings, refers to the langour of the Chōḷa sovereign in prison. The last two verses are addressed directly to the king describing the state of his lady-love⁸ during his absence on a campaign against the Chōḷa king.

¹ Nos. 204, 206 and 245 of 1934-35 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.

² No. 152 of 1902 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.

³ No. 157 of 1902 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.

⁴ No. 195 of 1934-35 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.

⁵ No. 160 of 1902 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.

⁶ In the *Annual Report on Epigraphy*, Madras, for 1923, p. 96, the name of the poet is taken as Śokka-Śiyaṇ. Śokka-Śiyaṇ was the name of Kōpperuŷjīngadēva and not of the poet.

⁷ Kōpperuŷjīnga appears to have been a poet himself judging from the title *Kavi-sārvabhauma* applied to him in a record from Tirupati in the Chittoor District.

⁸ Reference to love affairs in martial themes is peculiar to Tamiḻ poetry. This subject is treated at length in the *Tolkāppiyam*.

i.e., A.D. 1215 to A.D. 1232. The king mentioned in our inscription may, therefore, be identified with Kōpperuñjīngadēva I.

The earlier Kōpperuñjīngadēva has left a few inscriptions at Tiruvaṇṇāmalai¹, in one of which he is given the titles *Niśāṅkamalla*, *Mallai-Kāruḷaṇ* and *Bharatam-valla*². The southern *gōpura* of the Naṭarāja temple at Chidambaram was constructed by him³. The officer *Śōḷa-kōṇ* seems to have served under him at Chidambaram⁴. He is distinctly called *Aḷagiyāsiyaṇ* in the Villiyānūr inscription mentioned above and may be identified with *Jiya-Mahīpati* of the Tripurāntakam inscription⁵.

We shall next determine who the Chōḷa king was that was defeated at Tellāru. The contemporaries of Kōpperuñjīngadēva I. on the Chōḷa throne were Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷa III and Rājarāja III, of whom the first lived till A.D. 1217⁶ and the second commenced his reign in A.D. 1216⁷. For the present enquiry, Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷa III may be omitted, because our record mentions the defeat of the Hoysaḷas who came to the assistance of the Chōḷas only in the time of Hoysaḷa Vīra-Narasimha II who ascended the throne in A.D. 1220, by which time, however, Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷa III had died. The Chōḷa king mentioned in the present record must, therefore, be Rājarāja III, as may also be inferred from the Tiruvēndipuram inscription⁸.

The last mentioned record gives a detailed account of the attempt of Kōpperuñjīngadēva to subvert the power of his overlord the Chōḷa emperor. It states that Kōpperuñjīngadēva captured the Chōḷa monarch at Śēndamaṅgalam. Our inscription, however, specifies the place where the Chōḷa king was first defeated and thus links the two incidents by mentioning them together. The Vailūr and the Tiruvēndipuram records,⁹ therefore, appear to be complementary to each other. If so, Rājarāja III must have been imprisoned only once and not twice as has hitherto been supposed by some scholars¹⁰.

The fact that the Tiruvēndipuram record refers to the complete annihilation of the Pallava forces by the Hoysaḷas, from which Kōpperuñjīnga could not have easily recovered, would indicate that the Tellāru battle was probably fought prior to the Śēndamaṅgalam incident. The latter event may be placed in A.D. 1232 corresponding to the 16th year of Rājarāja III⁸. By this time Kōpperuñjīnga had consolidated his position and his territory is referred to as 'Kōpperuñjīngaṇ-dēśam' in the Tiruvēndipuram record. From the accession of Rājarāja III, Kōpperuñjīnga never figured as his subordinate¹¹. As early as A.D. 1222 Hoysaḷa Vīra-Narasimha is said to be marching towards Śrīraṅgam in the Chōḷa country¹². Two years later (*i.e.*, A.D. 1224), we find that Vīra-

¹ Nos. 480, 500, 512 and 513 of 1902 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.

² No. 480 of 1902 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.

³ No. 285 of 1921 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.

⁴ No. 463 of 1902 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.

⁵ No. 197 of 1905 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.

⁶ No. 282 of 1909 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.

⁷ No. 367 of 1919 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.

⁸ Above, Vol. VII, pp. 167-68.

⁹ Nos. 418 of 1922 and 142 of 1902 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.

¹⁰ A. R. on *Epigraphy*, Madras, for 1923, p. 97.

¹¹ From the mere mention of Kōpperuñjīnga in a record from Vriddhāchalam in the South Arcot District (No. 136 of 1900 of the Madras Epigraphical collection) dated in the 14th year of Rājarāja III, it has been supposed that the former was a Chōḷa vassal till A.D. 1229. This inscription mentions as donor an *agambāḷi-mudali* of Kōpperuñjīnga which fact need not establish the subordination of this chief to the Chōḷa. Similarly, a brother of an officer of Kōpperuñjīnga figures as donor in the 30th year of Rājarāja III *i.e.*, A.D. 1246 (No. 504 of 1902 of the Madras Epigraphical collection) when Kōpperuñjīnga had openly declared his independence.

¹² *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. VI, Cm. 56.

Narasimha was called 'the establisher of the Chōla kingdom' and a Kāḍava is said to have been his opponent¹. The battle of Uratti² where the Kāḍava (Kōpperuñjiṅga) was wounded in the 7th year of the reign of Rājārāja III, corresponding to A.D. 1223, was also fought in the period when Vira-Narasimha came to the assistance of the Chōla monarch. The second war of Māḡavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I. with the Chōla is placed in this period³. From the beginning of Rājārāja III's reign, therefore, Kōpperuñjiṅga was a source of danger to the Chōla empire and when the latter was able in A.D. 1232 to effect his *coup de théâtre* by imprisoning the Chōla king after defeating him at Tellāru, he signified the event by assuming the rôle of a monarch counting his accession from this date. Evidently to perpetuate his victory at Tellāru, the *nāḍu* comprising this village was called **Sīmhaporuda-vaḷanāḍu**⁴ i.e., the *vaḷanāḍu* where Sīmha (Kōpperuñjiṅga) fought.

For a clear understanding of the present record a knowledge of the political situation in the Chōla country about this time is necessary. The Chōla empire which had been assiduously built up by Rājārāja I. and his successors showed signs of decay in the beginning of the 13th century A.D. Even during the early years of Kulōttuṅga-Chōla III, this empire was intact, but real trouble began towards the close of his reign. The Pāṇḍyas under Māḡavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I. began to assert themselves, with the result that the Chōla country was taken by the conqueror and soon after restored, as a matter of grace, to Kulōttuṅga-Chōla III. In the historical introduction to his inscriptions beginning with the words '*pū-maruviya tirumaḡandaipum*' etc., Māḡavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I. claims to have invested with a crown the Chōla king's son i.e., Rājārāja III, who sometimes later began to protest against his submission by refusing tribute to the Pāṇḍya king, who thereupon immediately chastised⁵ him. In this plight Rājārāja III appealed for help to the Hoysala monarch Narasimha II who forthwith despatched a contingent of forces into the Chōla country. When Rājārāja III was pushed north by the Pāṇḍya forces, Kōpperuñjiṅga should, as suggested by Mr. Subrahmanya Aiyar⁶, have joined issues with the Pāṇḍyas and defeated the Chōla monarch at Tellāru. The timely assistance of the Hoysalas saved the Chōla empire for a time, but it introduced a new power into the politics of the Tamil country. Having come, the Hoysalas took deep root in the Chōla country by making Kaṇṇaḡūr their capital and building fortifications right along the south bank of the river Kāvērī⁷. Later on they shifted their capital further up to Tiruvaṇṇāmalai when their original capital Dvārasamudra was devastated by Malik Kāfūr.

In our record Kōpperuñjiṅga is called a **Kāḍava**. The earliest reference to this term is found in the Vēlvikuḍi grant of Jaṭila-Parāntaka-Neḍuñḡaḍaiyaṅ who is stated therein to have defeated the Kāḍava king at Peṇṇāḡaḍam on the north bank of the river Kāvērī. In Tamil literature the term *Kāḍava* along with *Toṇḡaiyar* and *Kāḍuveṭṭi* is invariably used to denote the Pallavas. A Kāḍava king, who is styled a Pallava, is said in the *Periyapurāṇam* to have built a temple of Śiva called Guṇadaravichcharam at Tiruvadi in the South Arcot District. The Tamil poem *Vikramaśōḷaṅ-ulā* mentions a Kāḍava as the ruler of Gingee in the same district⁸. The Kāḍavas, therefore, appear to have been in power in this district, but who exactly these chiefs were and what their

¹ Fleet: *Dyn. Kan. Dist.*, p. 507; in this record Narasimha is said to be 'a very Janārdana (Vishṇu) in destroying the demon Kaiṭabha in the form of the Kāḍava king'.

² No. 271 of 1904 of the Madras Epigraphical collection. This battle was fought against the Kāḍava by the Yāḍava Chief Vira Narsingadēva who was a contemporary of the Hoysala Vira-Narasimha II.

³ Above, Vol. XXII, p. 44.

⁴ No. 382 of 1925 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.

⁵ Above, Vol. XXII, pp. 45 ff.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 44.

⁷ No. 514 of 1918 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.

⁸ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXII, p. 143.

relationship was to the main branch of the Pallavas, may be inferred from the descriptive labels of the sculptures found in the Vaikunṭa-Parumāl temple at Conjeevaram. Here we find that the kings of the collateral branch of the Pallavas which descended from Bhīmavarman, the brother of Simhavarman, were actually called Kādavas. These appear to have been in power over a distant part of the Pallava empire, since, according to the labels mentioned above, Pallava-malla had to go a long distance 'crossing several mountains and impassable forests' to reach Kāñchi. When the Pallava power was eclipsed by that of the Chōlas, the descendants of the former, under the name Kādava, Tonḍaimān etc.¹, seem to have drifted away from Kāñchi towards the South and employed themselves as officers under the Chōla monarchs. In the time of Kulōttuṅga-Chōla II, we find the Kādavas figuring as police officers collecting *pāḍikāval* rent in the region now covered by the South Arcot District². Gradually they strengthened their power by influential marriages³ and by forming compacts⁴ with neighbouring chiefs for collective action to safeguard and protect their interests. The most important of these chiefs in the 13th century was Kōpperuñjiṅgadeva, the hero of our record. He is first mentioned in an inscription of the 35th year of Kulōttuṅga-Chōla III, i.e., A.D. 1213⁵ and the title *Kāvalar-Tambirāṇ*⁶ indicates his early position in the state. He had seen the weakness of the Chōla empire exposed by Māgaravarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I, who took the Chōla country and presented it back to King Kulōttuṅga-Chōla III⁷. The time was, therefore, opportune for Kōpperuñjiṅga to assert his independence. So he tried a few years later to supplant the Chōla monarch and failed in the attempt owing to the interference of the Hoysalas. He was, however, able to secede from the Chōla empire and establish an independent kingdom comprising the present South Arcot, Chingleput and North Arcot Districts. If the Chōla was only an 'Emperor of three worlds' (Tribhuvanachakravartin), his rival Kōpperuñjiṅga styled himself an 'Emperor of all the worlds' (Sakalabhuvanachakravartin).

In the *Cambridge History of India*⁸, this chief is identified with 'the son and successor of the Pallava chieftain who was responsible for turning the Ceylonese out of the Pāṇḍya country in the war of the Pāṇḍya succession'. There is, however, no evidence to support this statement. In fact, such a view is untenable because, the two generals who took a leading part in this war *viz.*, Kuḷattulāṇ Tiruchchigirambalam-Uḷaiyāṇ Perumānāmbi *alias* Pallavarāyaṇ and Vēdavanam-Uḷaiyāṇ Annaiyappan Anṇaṇ Pallavarājaṇ belonged respectively to Kuḷattūr⁹ (Chingleput District) and Palaiyāṇūr¹⁰ (near Madras), whereas Kōpperuñjiṅga was a native of Kūḍal in Tirunnavuḍipāḍi¹¹ in the South Arcot District.

The kingdom established by Kōpperuñjiṅga I. hardly lasted for half a century, and after Kōpperuñjiṅga II, it fell an easy prey to the Pāṇḍyas when they extended their power into Tonḍaimaṇḍalam. Though a rebel, Kōpperuñjiṅga is recognised as a ruler in a number of later records, and in one of them found at Kāṭṭumaṇṇārkōyil in the South Arcot District, his successor Kōpperuñjiṅga II is placed between Rājārāja III and Sundara-Pāṇḍya¹².

¹ Some of the Sambavarāya Chiefs also called themselves Pallavas. Rājānārāyaṇa Sambavarāyaṇ was known as Śīyaṇ Pallavaṇ (No. 428 of 1922). These chiefs, like the Kādavas, had the title 'Ālappirandāṇ,' Ālajiya Śīyaṇ, Araṇanārāyaṇaṇ, etc.

² Nos. 137 of 1900, 45 and 46 of 1903 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.

³ Nos. 203 of 1902, 460 of 1905, 112 of 1912 and 435 of 1913 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.

⁴ Nos. 516 of 1902, 435 of 1913, 234 of 1919, 487 of 1921 and 56 of 1922 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.

⁵ No. 487 of 1921 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.

⁶ No. 480 of 1902 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.

⁷ Nos. 72 of 1924 and 9 of 1926 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.

⁸ Vol. III, p. 482.

⁹ Above, Vol. XXI, p. 188.

¹⁰ Above, Vol. XXII, p. 88.

¹¹ No. 83 of 1918 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.

¹² No. 570 of 1920 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.

Köpperuñjīṅga's devotion to the God at Chidambaram and his patronage of Tamil literature alluded to in our inscription are also mentioned in other records of this chief. The title *Rājā-kaḷ Tambirāṇ*¹ was also assumed by Māṇavarman Vikrama-Pāṇḍya who calls himself 'the consuming fire to the Kāṭahaka' (i.e., Kāḍava). The name Śokkachchīyaṇ, i.e., Aḷagiyasīyaṇ found in our inscription applied to the Chief, was given to the southern *gōpura* of the Naṭarāja temple at Chidambaram which was built by him and also to other places in this village² which probably owed their existence to him.

Of the places mentioned in the present inscription, Tallāru may be identified with the village of the same name in the North Arcot District. The identification of Piṇṇi is not certain, but judging from the title *Peṇṇānādi-nātha*³ applied to Köpperuñjīṅga, it seems to refer to the river Pennai which flows through the South Arcot District. Pugār is the modern Kāviriṭṭaṇṇam in the Tanjore District. Kaṇṇi is the name of the river that flowed in ancient times near Cape Comorin. The town Mallai is Mahābalipuram in the Chingleput District.

TEXT.

- 1 Svasti śrī[||*] Sakalabuvaṇachchakkaravatti Śrī-Köpperuñjīṅgaṇ Śōḷaṇai=tTallārriḷ
- 2 veṇṇu sakala parichchiṇṇamun=koṇḍu Śōḷaṇai=chchiraiy-iṭṭu vaittu Śōṇāḍu-koṇḍa
A-
- 3 laḡiyasīyaṇ ௨ | Poṇṇi-nāḍaṇum=urimaiyum amaichcharum=iruppāḍ=un śīraik-kōṭṭam [||
p[o]rupp-ira-
- 4 ṇḍ=eṇa vaḷa[r*]nda tō[n*]valiyiṇār-koṇḍadu Śōṇāḍu[||] Kaṇṇi Kāviri Bagīrati
niṇ piriā teṇḍurai vāvi[||]
- 5 kāval maṇṇavar tīraiyaḍaṇ=unaṅguvaḍ=un perun=tiruvāśal [||] veṇṇiḍāḍa⁴ pōr-
kKaṇṇaḍar veṇṇiḍā-
- 6 pporudāḍ=un peruñ-chēṇai viḷaṅgu śemponiṇ=ambalakkūttu nī(y) virumbiya
dēvāram[||] Piṇṇik[ā]vala
- 7 Avaṇinārāyaṇa pēṇu śentamiḷ vāḷa-ppiṇanda Kāḍava Köpperuñjīṅga niṇ⁵
perumai yār pugaḷvarē(y)[||] 1*
- 8 Tīrai=itṭ=irumiṅgaḷ tev-vēṇḍar śempon[||] tīrai=itṭa Pūmpugār-chChōḷaṇ śīrai-
kiḍanda[||] kōṭṭandaṇai niṇai-
- 9 miṇ Köpperuñjīṅgaṇ kamala[||]nāṭṭaṇ=kaḍai śivanda nāḷ ௨ || [2*] Mīl=ivaṇ koḍi
viḍai-vēṇḍar mārbīṇun[||] tōḷilu-
- 10 n-tiṭṭiya Toṇḍaimaṇṇavar[||] vāḷil veṇṇiḍu Śīrai-valavaṇ tūṅgiya[||] nāḷiṇum
periyad=iṇ-nāḷeṇa-[p*]purambē⁶ ௨ [3*]

¹ A. R. on Epigraphy, Madras for 1914, para. 21; also for 1917, p. 127. This title was also assumed by Māṇavarman Kulāśekhara (A. R. on Epigraphy, Madras for 1919, p. 83) and by another king in Kollam 761 (No. 60 of 1916 of the Madras Epigraphical collection). The Vijayanagara king Kṛishṇadēvarāya also had this title (No. 465 of 1913). In the variant form *Rājākaḷnāyaṇ*, Hoysala Sōmēśvara or his son Rāmanātha used it (A. R. on Epigraphy, Madras for 1910, p. 110).

² Nos. 197 of 1905, 285 of 1921, 467 of 1902, etc., of the Madras Epigraphical collection.

³ No. 286 of 1921 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.

⁴ Read tōḷ.

⁵ Read veṇṇiḍāḍa.

⁶ Read niṇ.

⁷ The letter *ti* is corrected from *tu*.

⁸ Read pulambē.



- 11 Arai-kaḍaliṇ=isaiyuḍanēy=āṇḍar vēyiṇām pa[1*][li]śai śevi kavara¹ andi-mālai[.]
niṟaimadiyi=niḻave[n]ṇu=ṇeruppu-ppaṭ-
- 12 ṭāl nēriḻai niṇṇ=āṇṇuval[ō] Nirupatuṅgā[.] piṟai poruda kaṇa-makara-kimpuri [va]ṇ-
kōṭṭu-pperuṇkaḷuṇṇu²=chChōḷaṇaiyum=ama³
- 13 chcharaiyum piḍittu=ch[.] chiraiyil=iḍa=kkaḷuṇṇu² viḍu miṇḍaṇ Śīyā Tiri[buva]-
ṇattirāsākkal Tambirāṇē[.] [4*] Oru nāḷum veḍiyā⁴
- 14 da ne[ḍi]ya kaṇgul=ūḷiyēṇa[.] niṇḍu-vara ulagiṇ=puṇ-kaṇ[.] maruṇmālai yidu
muṇṇē vandatenṇāl vaḍandai⁵ yivaḷ=āṇṇuval[ō]
- 15 Mallai-vēndē[.] porumālai-muḍi-araśar kaṇṇi[mādar] pōṇṇisaiyum Buvanamuḷudu-
ḍaiyār tāmuni[.] tirumādum puṇar
- 16 [pu]yattu [mi]ṇḍaṇ Śīyā Tiri⁶bu[va]nattirāsākkal Tambirāṇē [5*] idu Śokkach-
chīyaṇ āṇai⁷ [.]

TRANSLATION.

(Lines 1-3) Hail! Prosperity! *Sakalabuvāṇachchakkaravatti*, (the) prosperous **Kōpperuṇ-
jiṅgaṇ Aḷagiyāśīyaṇ**, (who) conquered the **Chōḷa** king at **Tallāṇu**, deprived (him) of all (royal)
insignia, (and after) imprisoning the **Chōḷa** (king), took the **Chōḷa** country.

(Ll. 3-7) Protector of **Piṇṇi**, **Avaṇinārāyaṇa**, **Kāḍava** born to protect (and) foster **Sen-
Tamiḷ**, **Kōpperuṇjiṅga**! Who can extol thy greatness! Your prison-house is the abode of
the lord of **Poṇṇi**,⁸ (his) wife (and of his) ministers; by the growing valour of (your) shoulders
(which) resemble two mountains the **Chōḷa** country was acquired; (the rivers) **Kaṇṇi**, **Kāviri**
(and) **Bagīrati** are your favourite reservoirs (ever having) billows of clear water; ruling chiefs
(carrying) tributes (wait) pining (at) your beautiful big gates; your invincible army fought with
the warlike **Kaṇṇaḍar** who knew no retreat; the dancing (god) in the shining Golden Hall is your
beloved deity.

(Ll. 8-9) (Oh! kings!) Live paying (off your) tribute, remembering (well) the prison-
house wherein lay—on the day when the ends of the lotus-like eyes of **Kōpperuṇjiṅga** became red
—the **Chōḷa** (lord) of **Pugār** (to whom) the enemy kings paid (their) tributes in gold.

(Ll. 9-10) Let the day when the lord of **Toṇḍai**⁹ conquered (with his) sword the haughty
kings and painted the (insignia of his) banner on their chests and shoulders, be hailed a greater
day than the one when the **Valava** was sent to droop in prison¹⁰.

¹ With *āṇḍar vēyiṇām palliśai śevi kavara*, compare *avaṇ vēyiṇ mullaiyaṇ tīṇkuḷal kēlāmō tōḷi* in *Ayichchi-
yarkuravai* of the *Śilappadigāram*. *Āṇḍar* may be taken with either *vēyiṇ* (flute) or *āmbal-iśai*. *Āmbal* is a kind
of musical note.

² Read *kaḷuṇṇu*.

³ Read *amai*.

⁴ Read *viḍiyā*.

⁵ Read *maḷandai*.

⁶ The letter *ri* in *tiri* is engraved in Grantha.

⁷ The letter *ā* in *āṇai* is engraved in Grantha.

⁸ The **Chōḷa** king is called *Poṇṇitturaivaṇ* in *Śēndan Divākaram*.

⁹ Cf. the epithet '**Toṇḍamaṇṇaṇ** who won the sacred **Toṇḍai-nāḍu** through the strength of (his) shoulders' applied to **Pallavāṇḍar** *alias* **Kāḍavarāyar** in the *Atti* record (No. 296 of 1912 of the *Madras Epigraphical col-
lection*).

¹⁰ The word *tūṅgiya* is generally used in inscriptions in the sense of 'sent to a long sleep i.e., death'. But since the **Chōḷa** king was released from prison by **Hoysala Vīra-Narasimha II** about 1232 A.D. and actually ruled there-
after, for about 20 years, the word *tūṅgiya* is here rendered as 'sent to droop'.

(Ll. 11-13) Oh ! **Nripatuṅga**, lord of the kings of the three worlds, powerful **Śiyā** (lion) (who) despatched elephants to capture and put in prison the **Chōḷa** (emperor) (with his) ministers (riding on a) huge elephant (whose) powerful tusks vying with the crescent, (were adorned with) heavy **makara**¹ and **kimpurī**² (jewels) ! (Consider how your) lady-love could endure (in your absence) the heat(!) of the full-moon in the evening (when her ears were) filled with the sounds of the roaring ocean resonant with the musical note emanating from the divine flute.

(Ll. 13-16) Oh ! **lord of Mallai**, powerful **Śiyā** (lion), lord of the kings of the three worlds, of arms espoused³ by **Bhuvanamuḷudaiyār** (i.e., the goddess of Earth) (who is) praised by the queens of kings wearing crowns with wreaths of garlands and by Prosperity (i.e., the goddess of Wealth) ! (Consider also) whether this **maṇḍai** (i.e., your lady-love) could (further) bear (in separation) the unending tedious night being prolonged like a **yuga** (especially when) preceded by a chain of bewilderments brought on by the troubles of this world.

This (is the) order of **Śokkachchīyaṇ**.

No. 28.—SANGUR. INSCRIPTION OF DEVARAYA-MAHARAYA : SAKA 1329.

By R. S. PANCHAMUKHI, M.A., MADRAS.

The subjoined inscription is engraved on a stone tablet set up near the village gate at **Saṅgūr** in the **Haveri Taluk** of the **Dhārwar District**. The record is published here for the first time, from the estampages secured by me in 1932-33.⁴ The writing covers an area of 2' 2" by 7" and the size of each letter is approximately $\frac{3}{4}$ " in height. The top of the stone bears the sculpture, in bold relief, of a hero seated on horse-back, which closely resembles the one found at **Hosa Kummaṭa** near **Ānegondi**.⁵ The hero has a dagger hanging at his waist and holds a drawn sword in his right hand. This is evidently the image of **Kumāra-Rāmanāthadēva** mentioned in line 6 of the inscription.

The characters are **Kannaḍa** of the 14th and 15th centuries A.D. and do not call for any comment except that *th* in *pruthvī* (l. 1) and *Rāmanātha* (l. 6) is marked with a vertical stroke at the bottom to denote aspiration as in the modern script. **Orthography** is generally free from errors. In line 4 *vinōgādhipati* is written through mistake by the engraver for *niyōgādhipati*. The language of the inscription is **Kannaḍa** prose throughout.

The inscription opens with the description of the **Vijayanagara king Dēvarāya I**, son of **Harihara-Mahārāya**, who is given the Western **Chālukya** epithets **Samastabhuvanāśraya**, **Prithvivallabha**, **Mahārājādhirāja** **Rājaparamēśvara** and **Satyāśraya-kuḷa-tilaka**. It then states that the statue of **Kumāra-Rāmanātha** was installed by **Mādarasa**, son of **Sēnādhipati Saṅgama** and grandson of **Baichaveggaḍe** who was the **Bāhuttara-niyōgādhipati** and a devout servant of **Kampilarāya**, at **Chaṅgāpura** included in **Chandragutti-nāḍu** which belonged to **Gōveya-rājya**. The consecration of the image is stated to have been performed on

¹ *Makara*, which usually signifies an alligator or crocodile is a conventional beast like the European dragon, commonly found in Hindu, Jaina and Buddhist decorative art in India and Greater India.

² The Tamil lexicon *Chūḍāmaṇi-Nighaṇṭu* defines *kimpurī* as an ornamental band fixed to the tusks of a royal elephant.

Here the Pallava chief with his consorts **Bhūdēvi** and **Śrīdēvi**, his consorts **Bhūdēvi** and **Śrīdēvi**.

⁴ B. K. No. 173 of 1932-33.

⁵ Its photograph is given in *Qart. Journ. Myth. Soc.*, Vol. XX, between pages 266 and 267.

No. 39.—EPIGRAPHIC NOTES.

By PROF. K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI AND K. GOPALACHARI, M.A., MADRAS.

I. 'Some Unpublished Amarāvati Inscriptions' (above, Vol. XV, pp. 258 ff., No. 6).

Chanda reads: 'Malamāvuka..yā Retiyā thabho', and translates '(This) pillar (is the gift) of.....Reti, an inhabitant of (wife of?) Malamāvuka'. The letter after *ka* is clearly *ja*. The next letter exhibits the outlines of *ya*, and in No. 12 *jāyāyā* occurs. The inscription may then be read, 'Malamāvuka-[jāyā]yā Retiyā thabho' i.e., 'gift of a pillar by the wife of Malamāvuka.'

II. *Op. cit.* No. 9.

Chanda reads: 'Kaṛṇma . . yā Apakuyā [tha]bho', and adds, 'Two letters after Kaṛṇma have been broken off'. The Editor suggests 'Perhaps they were *ṛṇ* *ṇ*'. The first letter, though much mutilated, has the backbone and limbs of *ja* partially visible. So again the word is *jā[yā]yā*.

III. *Op. cit.* No. 26.

Chanda reads: '[cha]chuli sa[m*]ghāya' and translates '.....to the brotherhoodchachuli'. The *cha* at the beginning indicates that more than one person donated the object on which the inscription is incised. What is read as *chuli* should be read as *chula*; for what is taken as the *i* mark is nothing but the ornamental vertical of *la*. See *li* (No. 41). *Chula* often occurs in Amarāvati inscriptions as part of personal names, and as *Samgha* (also *Hamgha*) is also a name of frequent occurrence: '.....cha Chula-samghāya' is the correct reading. The translation is '.....and to Chula-samgha.'

IV. *Op. cit.* No. 41.

Chanda reads: '.....mahā govalivu bālikāya', and translates 'of the great cowherd's daughter'. What is read as *li* in *govalivu* is only *la* (compare *li* in *bālikāya*) and as *govalava* gives sense, and what is taken as the *u* sign is just a crease on the stone, and as the application of *Mahā* to a *govalava* (Skt. *gōrallabha*), an officer under the king, is more probable than to a cowherd, *govalava* would seem to be the correct reading. Meaning, 'of the daughter of the *Mahā-gōrallabha*'.

The characters resemble those of the inscription of Śivamaka Śātakarṇi.

V. *Op. cit.* No. 56.

What is read as 'Turughura' should be read as 'Turulura'; see line 39, Bühler's table III. Turulūra is mentioned in another Amarāvati inscription (Lüders: *List of Brahmi Inscriptions*, No. 1209).

VI. *Prākṛit Inscriptions from Nāgārjunikoṇḍa* (above, Vol. XX, p. 24, Inscription H, text l. 11):

Imaṁ chetiyaṁ vihāro cha.

Dr. J. Ph. Vogel reads 'imaṁ khaniyaṁ vihāro cha', and explains *khaniya* by Pāli *khāṇu* 'pillar' (Childers, *Pali-English Dictionary*). The explanation is far from satisfactory. In our epigraphs, a pillar, even a vihāra pillar, is called *khambha* (Inserr. F, B5, C3, etc.). In fact *chetiyaṁ* seems to be the correct reading, only the letter *che* is rather carelessly engraved. The *chetiya* referred to is probably stūpa No. 6. In inscriptions from Nāgārjunikoṇḍa, a *chetiya*, *chetiya-ghara* and *vihāra* often occur together.

VII. *Additional Prākṛit Inscriptions from Nāgārjunikoṇḍa* (above, Vol. XXI, p. 64. Inscription L, text l. 10) : B[o]dhisiri.

Dr. Vogel has read it as [E]dhisiriya. The letter read doubtfully as *e* is probably *ba* and the name B[o]dhisiri—a name met with in these epigraphs. [The first syllable does not look like *Bo* to me.—Ed.]

VIII. *Op. cit.*, L, l. 3 and M3, l. 5 : Vasasataya.

Dr. Vogel read the term as 'vasasanaya' in inscr. L, and as 'vasasanāya' in inscr. M3, and treated it as a term of uncertain meaning. In a footnote the Editor has asked, 'can it be *vasasatāya* ?'. The difference between the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa *ta* and *na* is often fairly clear. Though we are not sure of the *ta* in inscr. L, in M3 we have surely *ta* and not *na* (compare *Mahāvīnaseḷiyānam*, l. 6) :—*vasasatāya samva 10*. The same term occurs in the Chinna Ganjam inscr. of Gotamiputa siri-Yaṇa Sātakaṇi and the Banavāsi inscr. of the time of Hāritiputa Viṇhukaḍa-Chuṭukulānaṇḍa Sātakaṇi—'vasasatāya samvachhara sata[vi] . . mam 20+7' in the former, and 'vasasatāya savachharam 10+2', in the latter. In our epigraphs also *vasasatāya* occurs before *samvachhara*.

According to Bühler *vasasatāya* has the same import as the phrases *pravardhaseṇa-riṇḍa-rūṇḍa-samvatsara*, *riṇḍa-samvatsara*, etc., of the Pallava and Chālukya (and Śālaṅkāyana) grants. This seems to be ultimately connected with the Vedic ideal of *Paśyāma śaradaś=śatam*.

IX. *Lüders' List No. 1078*.

The inscription may be read with great probability :—

- 1 Nāḍasa Va[ḍha]nāyasa.
- 2 Bhogavatasa gābho dānam.

The fifth letter in l. 1 is very unlike any other *sa* in the inscription, and seems to be *ḍha*, of which the upper part has peeled off. The present reading is based on a careful examination of the estampage in the office of the Archaeological Superintendent at Poona, and the rather unsatisfactory photozincograph in the *Cave Temples of W. India* (Vol. IV, Plate XLIV) does not contradict it. The inscription may be translated : 'A cell, the gift of Nāḍa Vaḍhanāya Bhogavata'.

X. *Lüders' List No. 1165 : Junnar (ASWI., Vol. IV, p. 97, No. 27 and Pl. L.)*.

The first letter of what is read as *nesakaresu* and restored as *vasakaresu* is neither *na* nor *va*. It is unlike the three *na*-s in the same inscription ; the open base of the letter makes *va* equally impossible. Moreover, it is not proper to ignore the *e* sign over the letter in any emendation of the text. The only possible reading is *tesakaresu* (the Skt. form is probably *tējaskarēṣu*, polishers) ; Junnar Nos. 24, 25 and 29 have similar *ta*-s. What is read as *pāō* is *pāu* and what is read as *pā[do] se[ma]* is clearly *pāu māse*.

So we have

- 1 Seniye tesakare[su]
- 2 māse pāunaduke |
- 3 kāsā(sa)kāresu seniya(ye) p[ā]u māse

meaning : "With the guild of *tesakaras*, monthly, one and three quarters. With the guild of *kāsakāras*, monthly, one quarter". [The derivation of *tesakara* from Skt. *tējaskara* is extremely doubtful.—Ed.]

XI. *Lüders' List No. 1105* : above, *Vol. VII*, pp. 64 f. (Karla No. 19, text, l. 5,—year 17.)

The unit figure was read as 4 by Bühler and as 8 by Rapson. Senart thinks that it may be any unit number (above, *Vol. VII*, p. 65). It is certainly not 8 as assumed by Rapson as it is open to the left and not to the right, or 4 as read by Bühler as it is quite unlike the symbol for 4 which occurs in the next line. A study of the inscription from the stone and from a fresh impression (reproduced here) shows that 7 is more probable than any other unit figure. The square characters employed in our inscription may account for the angular form of the symbol. It would appear to be a slightly later form, but such late forms are not unknown in the Karla inscriptions; witness symbol for 1 in the last line of this very inscription.

Rapson's historical argument (*Coins of the Andhra Dynasty*, etc. p. xlix) for the figure being read as 18 is based on the word *viṣayaṭhasatāḥke* which is now seen to mean not 'from victorious camp' but 'for the sake of victory and prosperity'. (*Vide* Koṇḍamuḍi plates, above, *Vol. VI*, p. 319, n. 7.)

XII. *The Koṇḍamuḍi plates of Jayavarman*. (Above, *Vol. VI*, pp. 315 ff., text, l. 42)

Mahātalavarena.

It was long before the discovery of the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa, Allūru and Rāmaredḍipalle inscriptions which mention the office of *Mahātalavara* that Hultzsch read the word as '*Mahātugivarena*' and conjecturally translated it as 'the best of the Mahātagi family'. In his edition of the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa inserr. (above, *Vol. XX*, p. 7, n. 1), Vogel, and following him other writers, have merely remarked that '*Mahātugivarena*' is a mistake of the scribe or engraver for '*Mahātalavarena*'. But the peculiar form of *la* in the word '*Bṛihatphalāyana*' (l. 4) i.e., the vertical starting from the right arm of the curve, leaves no doubt that the letter read as *gi* by Hultzsch has to be read as *la* and the word is therefore really *mahātalavarena* in l. 42.

XIII. *The Kollair plates of Nandivarman II*. (*Ind. Ant.*, *Vol. V*, pp. 175 ff., text, l. 4) :

Videtūrapallikā.

Fleet's reading is *Videnūrapallikā*. But in the plates under reference, e.g., lines 1, 3, etc., as also in the Peddavēgi and Kantēru plates, all Śālaṅkāyana records, the re-ascent in the *ū* sign in *nū* is to the left of the vertical, whilst in the letter read as *nū* in the word under discussion, the re-ascent is to the right as in *bhu* or *bhū*. The letter can only be *tū*. Hence the correct reading seems to be : *Videtūrapallikā*.

XIV. Above, *Vol. IX*, pp. 56 ff., the *Ellore plates of Dēvarman*. *J. A. H. R. S.*, *Vol. V*, pp. 31 f., the *Kantēru grant of Nandivarman*; *ibid.*, *Vol. I*, pp. 92 ff., the *Paddavēgi plates of Nandivarman*; and the *Kollair plates* (cited in XIII above). **Muḍuda(ḍa ?), Mutuda.**

The reading of the word is not settled. Burnell read it as *Munyada* (*S. Ind. Pal.*, p. 14). Fleet was of opinion that for *Munyada* as a common name no meaning could be found, and that *Munyada* as a proper name was out of place (*Ind. Ant.*, *Vol. V*, p. 176 n). Reading it as '*Mutyada*' he corrected it to '*Amūtyādi*'. While editing the Ellore Prākṛit grant of Dēvarman, Hultzsch read it as *Muḷuḍa* and remarked :—"The plates of Vijaya-Nandivarman seem to readMunūḍa; but the apparent *nu* in the middle of this word may in reality be an obliterated *lu*" (p. 59, n. 4). But *la* has always a short curve attached to it at the right end of its back (the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa inserr. and the Māṅgaḷūr and Chikkulla plates). What is read as *la* has no such curve. K. V. Lakshmana Rao reads the word in the Sanskrit grants as *Munūḍa*.

The word, which occurs in 4 of the 5 grants of the Śālaṅkāyanas, can have but one reading. In the Peddavēgi, Kollair and Kantēru plates, the re-ascent in the *u* sign in the proper *nu* is to

the left of the vertical, whilst in the letter read as *nu* here, as in *Videtūrapallikā*, the re-ascent is to the right. The letter can only be *tu*. That the last letter is *ḍa* and not *da*, is shown by copper-plate No. 2 of 1924-25 (Madras), where the back of *ḍa* has a notch at the right whilst that of *da* lacks it. *Mutuḍa* being the correct Sanskrit reading, Hultzsch's reading must be abandoned in favour of *Muduḍa* which would be the Prākṛit form of *Mutuḍa*.

XV. *The Maṭṭepāḍ plates of Dāmōdaravarman* (Above, Vol. XVII, pp. 327 ff., text, ll. 2-3).

Anēka-gō-sahasr-ānēka-Hiraṇyagarbh-ōdbhav-ōdbhavasya.

Hultzsch has read the word preceding *gō-sahasra* as *anēka-gō* and translated ; 'pregnant'. A careful examination of the plates shows that the proper reading of the phrase is as given above.

Hultzsch's translation : "(and) who is the origin of the production (*i.e.*, who has caused the performance) of many *Hiraṇyagarbhas* and of (gifts of) thousands of pregnant cows", must be amended into : "(and) who is born of one who was the cause (or one who was born) of several *Hiraṇyagarbhas* and of several *gō-sahasras*", meaning that Dāmōdaravarman's father made these two *dānas* repeatedly. The play upon the word *udbhava* has special reference to the nature of the *Hiraṇyagarbha* and is untranslatable.

XVI. *A Karla Chaitya Pillar Inscription.*

While all other Chaitya Pillar inscriptions at Karla are incised on octagonal columns having a pot-shaped base, lotus-shaped top, and elephant capital, this inscription is on one of the eight plain octagons in the apse, standing second from the right row. (Marked x on the photograph.)

The letters resemble those on the other pillars. But the cursive *ha* of our inscription, especially the *hi* in *putahi*, is peculiar. Medial *o* is indicated in *bho* by two short strokes one going up and the other going down from the horizontal. The *e* sign in *Je* is attached to the centre of the letter.

The orthography of the inscription calls for very few remarks. In cognate inscriptions *be* is used for *dvē*, *e.g.*, *bitīye* for *dvitīyē* (Karla No. 22, *ASWI.*, Vol. IV, p. 113 and Nāsik No. 2 above, Vol. VIII, p. 60), *bitīyika* for *dvitīyikā* (Junnar Nos. 3 and 18 *ASWI.*, Vol. IV, pp. 93 and 95). In one of the Junnar inscriptions (*ASWI.*, Vol. IV, No. 25, pp. 96-7) we have however *ve*.

The language is Prākṛit.

The personal names, Jebubhūti, Miṭṭidasa and Bhayabhūti are names not met with in other records, though the last one may recall to our mind the Bhāya..... of a Nānāghatī relievō inscription. *Dāsa* and *bhūti* enter into the composition of names (Nāsik No. 8, above, Vol. VIII and *ASWI.*, Vol. V, No. 23, pp. 83 ff.).

TEXT.

- 1 Dhenukākāṭa Miṭṭidasa-vejasa
- 2 thabho dāna[m] sahā bhariyāya Jayami-
- 3 tāye(ya) sahā ve put[e]hi Bhayabhūtinā
- 4 Jebubhūtinā¹ cha Vasumit[ā]ya cha.

TRANSLATION.

Gift of a pillar by the physician (*vejasa* Skt. *vaidyasya*) Miṭṭidāsa, of Dhenukākāṭa, with his wife Jayamitā, two sons Bhayabhūti and Jebubhūti¹ and with Vasumitā.²

¹ [Reading may be *Jabu-* or *Jambubhūti*.—Ed.]

² She was perhaps a daughter.

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Several records¹ copied at different places mention that the senior queen (*paṭṭamahishī*) of king Achyuta was Varadādevī-Ammaṇ and that the crown-prince Venkaṭādri *alias* Chikkarāya was her son. That the king had another queen named Tirumalāmbā was known only from the references in the two Telugu works *Vijayavilāsaṁ* and *Raghavābhīṣadhyudayaṁ*,² which also supply the additional information that her sister Mūrtimāmbā was given in marriage to China Chevvappa-Nāyaka, along with the governorship of the Tanjore principality as dowry. The present inscription is important in its furnishing **epigraphical confirmation** as to the existence of this queen Tirumalādevī and in enabling us to identify her with Ōduva (or Vōduva) Tirumalāmbā, the composer of the two Sanskrit verses under reference, as also of another verse³ commemorating the king's gift of *Svarṇamēru* to Brāhmins at Hampi in Śaka 1455. It is possible that the three verses⁴ recording the king's celebration of the *tulābhāra* of pearls at Kāñchīpuram in Śaka 1455 in company with his queen Varadāmbikā and prince China-Venkaṭādri, were also her composition.

A Sanskrit *champū-kāvya* called the *Varadāmbikāpariṇayam* was written by a certain Tirumalāmbā, who describes herself in its colophon⁵ as 'the favourite of king Achyuta'. As indicated by its title, the theme of this work is the marriage of Achyuta with Varadāmbikā, the younger sister of the two brothers bearing the name of Tirumala, narrated in the usual conventional style. It may have been composed in the reign of Kṛṣṇadēvarāya⁶ himself, and the portions relating to the birth of a son to Achyuta by name Venkaṭādri and the latter's anointment as *guvarāja* at the time of his father's coronation may probably have been added on later by the same authoress.⁷ Though of average literary merit, the *kāvya* is interesting because of the quasi-historical nature.

¹ She is referred to as a *paṭṭamahishī* in a record dated in Śaka 1463 (*Tirupati Devasthanam Epigraphical Report* 1930, p. 245) and in Śaka 1464, Śubhakṛit (No. 330 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1929-30). See also No. 181 of 1922 of Śaka 1455.

² S. K. Ayyangar, *Sources of Vijayanagar History*, pp. 255, 285.

³ No. 9 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1904 and No. 708 of 1922.

⁴ These unpublished verses (No. 511 of 1919) may, with advantage, be reproduced here.

शके भूतशरावुघीन्दुगणिते वर्षे पुनर्नन्दने
मासि यावथनामके च विमले पक्षे रवेर्वासरे ।
द्वादश्यां हरिसिद्धिं श्रीरचयन्मुक्तातुलापूरुषं
दानं श्रीनरसाच्युतचित्तिपतिः काञ्चीपुराभ्यन्तरे ॥
मुक्तातुलापूरुषदानविधौ विकौर्त्ता-
द्युक्तामयीन् समधिकं वरदांविभायाः ।
दानांबुपूरपरितान् खयतस्मैत्य
रत्नाकरत्वमभजल्लवणाकरोपि ॥
काञ्चां श्रीचिन्मैकटाद्रिमणिना दाने तुलाभारके
संप्रत्यारचिते द्विजास्त्रमभवन्नर्थातिभाराकुलाः ।
षादीयं कलिकलमषादधिगतादुत्तौर्भारा जनौ
शीघ्रीपालकुमारकाः(ः)स्तदितरे भाराय जाता भुवः ॥

These verses are also found in No. 178 of 1924 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection from Kāñchastī, now under publication in *S. I. I.*, Vol. IX.

⁵ विविधविद्याप्रगल्भराजाधिराजाच्युतरायसार्वभौमप्रेमसर्वस्वविश्वासमुवा तिरुमलाम्बया—(*Varadāmbikāpariṇaya-champū* edited by Dr. Lakshman Sarup, pp. 179-80).

⁶ *Sources of Vijayanagar History*, p. 170.

⁷ The coronation of Achyuta took place towards the end of A. D. 1529, when Venkaṭādri was also anointed *guvarāja* (*Achyutarāyābhīṣadhyudayaṁ*). The *Varadāmbikāpariṇayam* states that on seeing the prince adorned with all good qualities, the king made him heir-apparent. So the latter portion may have been supplemented after A. D. 1530.

of its contents¹ and the light it throws on contemporary political and social life. We may infer from it that this poetess Tirumalāmbā was identical with Ōduva Tirumalaidēvi-Ammap-avargal (Vōduva² Tirumalammanavaru), who, originally a 'Reader' (Ōduva) at the royal court, subsequently rose to the position of a co-queen (*rājamahishī*) herself.³ It may also be noted that she was one of the galaxy⁴ of poetesses, royal and otherwise, who attained to literary fame under the patronage of the Vijayanagara kings.

The fervent hope expressed in this inscription by Tirumalāmbā that the performance of *dānas* and the engraving of the commemorative verses in holy places would ensure for Venkaṭādrī's descendants the rule of the kingdom as *sūrabhāvanas*, implies that doubts had probably begun to be entertained even at this time, as to whether the prince would be allowed to peacefully succeed his father, if such a contingency arose. The danger that threatened his regal hopes came from two quarters.⁵ Towards the end of Achyuta's reign, his ambitious brothers-in-law Salakam Pedda-Tirumalarāja and China-Tirumalarāja had usurped much power into their hands and, in the event of the king's death, were even prepared to wrest the kingdom from their helpless nephew, by fair means or foul. Then there was also the party of nobles led by Aḷiya-Rāmarāya, the son-in-law of the late king Kṛṣṇarāya. This astute general, by espousing the cause of Sadāśivārāya on the plea of his being the son of an elder brother of Achyuta, schemed to overthrow the power of the Salakam brothers and concentrate it in his own hands. This tussle for power must have already attained definite shape and proportions at the time of the present record in A. D. 1539, for the co-queen to have voiced her devout prayer. It is, however, unfortunate that the cupidity of the younger uncle China-Tirumalarāja proved stronger than the prayer, for he is believed to have strangled⁶ his royal nephew in A. D. 1543, when the latter was on the throne only for a few months.⁷

As regards the two verses quoted in this epigraph which are couched in the *Śārdūlavikṛīṭa* metre, it may be mentioned that more than a dozen copies⁸ of them exist in the different scripts of the kingdom, Tamil, Telugu, Kannaḍa, Grantha and Nāgarī, and in several places, so far apart as Anṇigere in the Bombay Presidency and Śrīraṅgam in the Madras Presidency; but in none of them is there the additional information furnished by the Śrīraṅgam copy. While the Sanskrit verses glorify only the gift of *Anandanidhi* made by the king in Śaka 1461, the Tamil portion refers to the performance of a *talābhāra* on the same day. This was also probably celebrated in the

¹ The information it gives about Narasa's military achievements is particularly useful.

² This is the spelling adopted in the Kannaḍa version of No. 9 of 1904.

³ See *Sources of Vijayanagar History*, p. 170, f.n. and also p. 11 of Introduction, *Varadāmbikāpariṇaya-champū*.

⁴ Gaṅgādēvi, the authoress of the *Madhurāvijayam* and the wife of Prince Kampapa, was a notable example. There was another named Mōhanāṅgi, who wrote the *Mārīchīpariṇayam*.

⁵ For a discussion on these points, vide Dr. N. Venkataramanayya's *Studies in the History of the Third Vijayanagara Dynasty*, pp. 76 et seq.

⁶ Brigg's *Firishta*, III, p. 83 as quoted in *Studies in the History of the Third Vijayanagara dynasty*, p. 79. The *Mahisūranarapativijayam* and copper-plate records simply state that after a short reign Venkaṭādrī died. (*Mys. Archl. Rept.* for 1907, p. 14 and above, vol. IV, p. 14.)

⁷ No. 597 of 1929-30 from Handūḷi (South Kanara), dated in Śubhakṛit, mentions that Venkaṭādrīrāya was ruling at Vijayanagara.

⁸ Hampi (Nos. 27, 28, 39 and 40 of 1889, and No. 1 of 1904); Anantaśayanagudi (Nos. 684 and 685 of 1922); Kamalāpur (Nos. 17 and 20 of 1904); Harihar (Dāvanagere 24); Nīrgunda (Hoalkere 123); Gadag (B. K. Nos. 7 and 14 of 1926-27); Anṇigere (B. K. No. 186 of 1928-29).

Viṭṭhalēśvara temple on the bank of the Tuṅgabhadra at Bhāskara-kshētra (*i.e.*, Hampi), the venue of the *Ānandanidhi-dāna*, mentioned in the following Kannaḍa preamble of the Gadag version.¹

Svasti Samastabhuvanāśraya śrī-prithvī-vallabha Mahārājādhirāja Rājaparamēśvara śrī-Virapratāpa Achyutarāya-Mahārāyaru Vijayanagaraṇḍe neleviḍinoḷu sukha-saṁkathā-vinōdadiṁ rājyaṁ-geyyuttam-iḷḍu Śaka 1461 (etc.) puṇya-kāḷaḷoḷu Bhāskara-kshētra Tuṅgabhadra-tīra Viṭṭhalēśvarana sannidhiyalli Mādhava-prītyarthav-āgi Ānandanidhiy-emba dānavanu koṭṭu samasta-bhūsuraranu santōsha-baḍisida² praśastiyanu Saṁskṛita-bhāṣā-kavitadalli Śārdūlavikṛīḍitaḥ=emba vṛittaṅgaḷanu Gadagina śrī-Triyambakadēvara sannidhānadalli śilā-śāśanakke barasida dharmma-kīrttiya praśastiya vṛittaṅgaḷa kramav-entendoḍe || (The two Sanskrit verses follow).

From this it is also clear that *Ānandanidhi* is the name of a particular kind of *dāna* and that it was performed in the temple of Viṭṭhalēśvara on the bank of the Tuṅgabhadra at Bhāskara-kshētra to propitiate god Mādhava and that these laudatory verses were engraved also in the temple of Triyambakadēva at Gadag.³ The inscriptions engraved at Śrīrāṅga and other places must have also been of this nature. According to Hēmādri, who describes this gift in some detail in the *Dānakhaṇḍa* of his *Chaturvarga-chintāmaṇi*⁴, the *Ānandanidhi-dāna* consists of presenting to learned Brāhmins, after some ceremonial recitations, pots made of the *udumbara* wood (*audumbaram ghaṭam*) and filled with precious stones and coins of gold, silver or copper. The days prescribed⁵ for the performance of this *dāna* are days in the months of Kārttika, Māgha and Mādhava (Vaiśākha), days of Ayana, Vishu, Manvādi and Yugādi, and days of the lunar and solar eclipses; and the merit accruing from this ceremony is said to be longevity, perfect health and imperial sovereignty.⁶ It is no wonder therefore that king Achyuta selected this *Ānanda-*

¹ No. 7 of the Bombay-Karnatak Epigraphical Collection for 1926-27.

² Compare *dvijān Dhanadayann=āmōdayan=Mādhavam* of the verse.

³ A similar preamble found in the Anṇigere copy states that the verses were engraved in the Amṛitēśvara temple at that place under similar circumstances; while the Dāvanagere copy has simply the following sentence:—“Śrīman-Mahārājādhirāja Rājaparamēśvara-śrī-Virapratāpa-śrī-Achyutadēva-Mahārāya-kṛita-Mahānandanidhi-praśamsā-padya-dvayaṁ likhyatē”.

⁴ *Bibliotheca Indica*, No. 34, *Chaturvarga-chintāmaṇi*, *Dānakhaṇḍa*, pp. 583-588; and *Madras Epigraphical Report* for 1923, p. 119.

⁵ कारयेत्कार्तिकान्ते वा माघ्यां माघवेपि वा ।

अथने विषुवे वापि मन्वादिषु युगादिषु ॥

चन्द्रस्योपरान्ते वा खशक्नौदुर्वरङ्घटम् ।

पिधानं राजतं तद्वन्मध्यं सौवर्णमुत्कृजत् ॥

नानारत्नवरापूर्यं नानानानाभिरावृतम् ।

हैमराजतताम्रौघैः सवितैरपि पूरितम् ॥

⁶ तदाखिलमहीराज्यं प्राप्नोति व्रतसंज्ञके ।

नित्यानन्दनिघेर्दानान्नित्यानन्दोभिजायते ।

यः कुर्यात् सौच्यतायुःस्याद्दीर्घसन्तानमाप्नुयात् ॥

nidhi-dāna for celebration to ensure succession to his son, though unfortunately the actual results completely falsified his expectations.

The final sentence in Tamil states that these verses which were forwarded¹ (*varakkāṭṭi-aruliṇa*) by the king (*svāmī*), were arranged to be engraved during the regime (*adhikārattil*) of **Śrī-raṅgappa-Nāyaka**, son of **Tuḷuva Veṅgaḷa-Nāyaka** and a subordinate (*pāṇḍuśeṇai-paṇḍuśeṇai*) of king Achyuta, who was probably wielding some authority in the Tiruchchirāppalli region. He figures in another record² from Śrīraṅgam dated in Śaka 1460, wherein he is described as the son of 'Madura(Maruda)-arasar-paḍaiviṭṭu Tuḷuva Veṅgaḷa-Nāyaka'. In Śaka 1458, the same officer is stated to have provided for offerings and worship to god Veṅkaṭeśa at Tirupati³, for the merit of Achyutarāya-Mahārāya, his queen Varadāji-Amman and prince Chikka-Veṅkaṭādri-Uḍaiyar.

Śrīraṅga-Nārāyaṇapriyaṇ, the temple-accountant, has affixed his signature at the end, in attestation of the fact that the inscription was engraved in the temple with his full cognisance. This name or rather title was borne by all the accountants of the Śrīraṅgam temple in succession, having been bestowed, it is said,⁴ from the time of **Śrīraṅga-Nārāyaṇa-Jiyar** alias **Kūra-Nārāyaṇa-Jiyar**, the author of the *Sudarśanaśatakam*, who flourished in the 13th century A.D. and was connected with the administration of the Śrīraṅgam temple for a long time.

TEXT.

- 1 Śubham⁵=astu [1*] Svasti śrī [1*] **Śakābdam 1461** idanmēl śellāniṇṇa Vikāri-samvatsarattu Bhādrapada-māsattu pūrva-pakṣhattu dvādaśiyum Maṅgalavāramum peṇṇa Tiruvōṇa-nakṣatrattu ṇāl Śrīraṅga-Mahārājapāṇḍuśeṇai Rājaparamēśvara śrī-Virapratāpa śrī-Vīra-Achchhyutarāya-Mahārāyar tulābhāra-mahādāṇam paṇṇi-aruliṇār [1*] idukku Mahārāyar-uḍaiya rājamaṇi-bhāgavān **Ōduva Tirumalaidēvi-Amman-avargal** śloka-dvayam śeydaruliṇār [1*]
- 2 Inda dharmmam **Śrīraṅgādi-puṇya**(puṇya)-kṣētramgaḷilē chandr-ādityavaraiyum prasiddham=āga naḍandāl **Chikka-Veṅkaṭāddirirāyar**=ruḍaiya santānattil uḷavargal sārvaabhaumarāy prithuvī-rājyam paṇṇuvārgal eṇṇu Perumāḷ Śrīraṅganāthadēvar saṇṇadiyilē śilā-śāsanam paṇṇinapaḍi || Śākē chandra-ras-āmarēndra-gaṇitē varshē Vikāryy-āhvayē pakṣhē Bhādrapadasya pōshita-vidhau dvādaśy-abhikhyē tithau [1*] vārē Bhūmisutasya Viśhva-nalōpaiau tārē=**chyuta**-
- 3 **kshamāpatir**=ddatv=Ānanta(da)nidhim⁶ dvijān [Dhanada]yana=āmōḍayan=Mādhavam [11*] Puṇy-aughaiḥ paripūlitasya paritō⁷ bhūt-āḷi-samvēśṭitas=sadvarggaḷi=śabalaḷkitasya⁸ satat-ākṛāntā bhujāṅga-vrajaiḥ [1*] prāptasya=ūti-nava-prasastim-aḍhika-prakhyāta-sauryy-Āchyuta-kshamāp-Ānanta(da)nidhēr⁹=nav¹⁰ā=pi nidhayal kin=tē labhantē tulām || [2*] Śubham⁵=astu [1*]

¹ This implies that Achyutarāya was not present at Śrīraṅgam at the time of the record. As stated in another inscription (No. 16 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1938-39), which reads 'Vijaya-samvatsarattu Āshāḍha bahuḷa dvādaśi-nāl Śrīraṅgattukku eḷundaruḷi,' the king was at Śrīraṅgam on July 18, A. D. 1533. This was later than the occasion when, according to the *Achyutarāyaḥhyudayam*, he stayed here for some time, while his brother-in-law Salakam Tirumala had led the expedition down south against the Tiruvaḍi king.

² No. 91 of 1938-39.

³ Tirupati Devasthanam Epigraphical Report (1930), p. 245.

⁴ *Kōyilōḷugu*, p. 72.

⁵ Many of the Sanskrit words in the Tamil portions are engraved in Grantha characters.

⁶ The other copies read *Ānandanidhim* and *Ānandanidhēr*.

⁷ Some of the other copies read *puratō*.

⁸ The other copies read *sva-vaśikritasya* and this reading has been followed in the translation.

⁹ Read *nav*.

4 Inda suvāmi varakkāṭṭi-aruḷiṇa ślōkam iraṇḍum Achchuta(Achyuta)dēva-Mak(h)ārāyar-
uḷaiya pādasēvai pa[ṇ*]ṇum **Tuḷuva Veṅgaḷa-Nāyakkar** magan **Śīraṅgappa-**
Nāyakkar adikāratil śilā-sādanam paṇṇiṇa-paḷikku kōvil-kkaṇakku **Śīraṅga-**
Nārāyaṇapriyaṇ eḷuttu [||*]

TRANSLATION.

(Line 1) Be it well ! Hail ! Prosperity !

In the **Śaka year 1461** (*expired*) corresponding to the (*cyclic*) year Vikārin, in the month of Bhādrapada, on Tuesday, which was a day of the twelfth *tithi* of the first fortnight, with Śravaṇa-nakshatra—*Mahārājādhirāja Rājaputran Śrī-Virapratāpa śrī-Vīra-Achyutarāya-Mahārāya* was pleased to perform the *tulābhāra-mahādāna* (*ceremony*). For (*i.e.*, in commemoration of) this,¹ the queen (*rājamahishī*) of the Mahārāya named **Ōduva Tirumalaidēvi-Ammaṇavargal** was pleased to compose two (*Sanskrit*) *ślōkas*.

(Ll. 2-3) (*In the hope that*) if this *dharma*² is conducted well, as long as the moon and the sun, in holy places such as **Śīraṅgam**, **Chikka-Veṅkaṭādirāya's** descendants will rule the earth as emperors (*sārvabhaumas*), this epigraph was thus engraved in the shrine of god Śīraṅganātha.

In (*the*) Śaka (*year*) counted by *chandra* (1), *rasa* (6) and *amarēndra* (14), in the (*cyclic*) year Vikārin, on the day of the *tithi* called *dvādaśī*, in the increasing fortnight of Bhādrapada, which was a Tuesday with the *nakshatra* presided over by Viṣṇu (*i.e.*, Śravaṇa) king Achyuta by bestowing (*gifts of*) *Anandanidhi*³ made Brāhmins like Dhanada⁴ (Kubēra) and pleased (*god*) Mādhava.

Though (*themselves*) *nava* (nine)⁵ how can the *nidhis* (*of* Kubēra) attain equality with the *Anandanidhi* of king Achyuta of renowned valour, which has earned *nava* (new)⁵ celebrity (or eulogy)—for, while the former are surrounded by hosts of demons and are seized by crowds of serpents, the latter is protected by meritorious deeds and is covered (*only*) by the assemblage of the good ?

Be it well !

(L. 4) These two verses which were graciously sent by the *svāmī* (king), were engraved on stone during the regime of **Ś[r*]īraṅgappa-Nāyaka**, son of **Tuḷuva Veṅgaḷa-Nāyaka** and a subordinate of Achyutadēva-Mahārāya,—in attestation whereof, this is the writing (*i.e.*, signature) of the temple-accountant **Śīraṅga-Nārāyaṇapriyaṇ**.

¹ The word *idukku* is not appropriate, for the verses describe only the *Anandanidhi*.

² There is some ambiguity here, for no *dharma* was actually made at Śīraṅgam on this occasion ; it appears to be a shortened form of the *dharma-kīrtiṇi prastāva* of the Gadag and Anṇigere versions.

³ The word *ananta-nidhi* means 'inexhaustible treasure', but the more technical 'Anandanidhi' of Hēmadri appears to have been intended.

⁴ The idea in the first verse is that the Brāhman-recipients of the rich gifts of *Ananda-nidhi* were made to resemble Dhanada (Kubēra), the possessor of the nine *nidhis* ; while the second verse says that king Achyuta's gifts, however, outvalued Kubēra's *nidhis*, for specified reasons.

⁵ A pun on *nava*=nine and *nava*=new.

No. 43.—VILAVATTI GRANT OF PALLAVA SIMHAVARMAN.

By C. R. KRISHNAMACHARLU, B.A., MADRAS.

The plates containing the grant were brought to my notice by Mr. K. Ramakoteswara Rao, B.A., B.L., Editor, "*Triveni*", Madras, and placed by him in my hands for examination in September 1933. He informed me that they had originally been lent to him by Sri (now Hon'ble) Bezwada Gopala Reddi, Minister for Local Self-Government to the Government of Madras. In reply to my enquiry regarding the history of the discovery of the set Sri Reddigaru informed me that it was discovered at **Vavvēru**, a village one and a half miles to the west of his native village Buchchiredḍipāḷem in the Kōvūr taluk of the Nellore District, Madras Presidency. The plates were originally unearthed by Satyavēlu Rāmi Redḍi of the former village some time about the year 1928 while digging *pāṭimatti* (i.e., earth in the old village-site), at about eight feet below the surface level. Some earthen pots are also reported to have been found along with the plates but, as they were broken, they were not preserved. The plates were subsequently purchased by me for the Government Museum, Madras, and are now deposited there.

This inscription has been noticed by me in the *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy* for the year 1933-34 as No. 1 of App. A and its contents are briefly reviewed in Part II (p. 30) of the same report.

The set consists of **five plates**, four of which measure 9 inches while the fifth measures only $8\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length and all of them measure $2\frac{3}{8}$ inches in width. They are held together by a circular ring of the same metal measuring about $3\frac{3}{8}$ inches in diameter, which passes through a ring-hole, measuring $\frac{3}{8}$ inch in diameter, near the left margin of the plates. The ends of the ring are soldered into the bottom of a circular **seal** measuring roughly one inch in diameter. On its plain surface the seal bears the relief of a couchant bull facing the proper left and seated on a stand which is indicated by a thin horizontal line in relief. Above the bull is a relief carving of a wavy line which may represent the sea, and above it is the figure of what appears to be an anchor. The latter seems to be tied on to what looks like a post on the right hand side.

The first and the last plates are inscribed on one side only, while the rest bear writing on both the sides. The ring had been cut and soldered in one place and cut in another place before the plates reached me. There is, however, no report of impressions of the plates having been taken before.¹ The plates with the ring and seal weigh 121 *tolas*.

The outstanding feature of the document is its elegant execution. The composition is also carefully done observing the rules of *sandhi* in almost all cases.

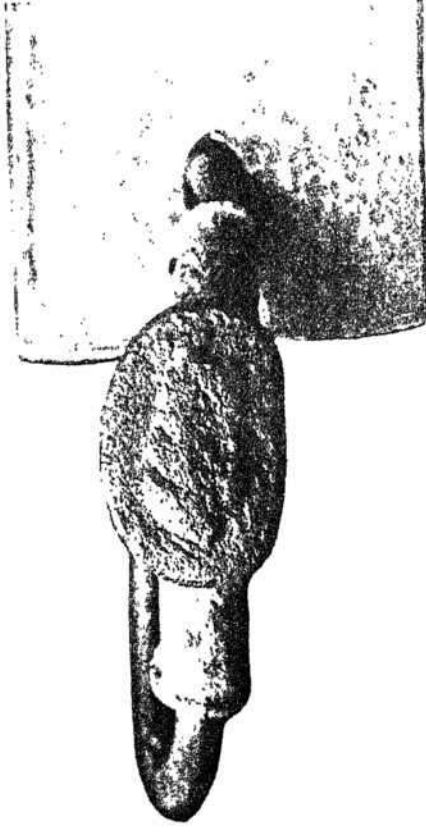
The **script** of the plates closely resembles that of the Uruvupalli grant of the same king. Most of the letters in both the grants are **box-headed**,² which is a somewhat rare feature in South Indian epigraphs. For example this characteristic is not noticed in the Māṅgaḷūr grant of this king wherein the top-strokes (*talakattu*) of letters are rather thick but not box-shaped.

In our grant some letters are arrow- or nail-headed as they are sometimes called (e.g., *ka*, *cha*, *ra*, *va*, and *bha*, in lines 3 ff.). Another point to be noticed is that while the plates of the Uruvupalli, Māṅgaḷūr and Pīkīra grants are numbered in numerical figures cut on their proper right...

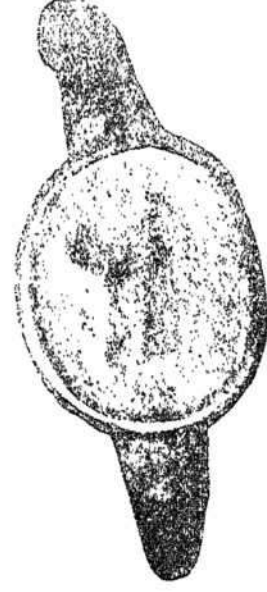
¹ I understand that Mr. M. S. Sarma of the *Bhārati* Office, Madras, examined the document before he sent them to me at Mr. Ramakoteswara Rao's instance.

² Cf. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. V, plate opposite page 50.

B. Chura Grant of Pallava Vijaya-Vishnugopavarman.
(Ep. Ind., Vol. XXIV, pp. 137ff.)



C. Pikira Grant of Simhavarnan.
(Ep. Ind., Vol. VIII, pp. 159ff.)



A. Vilavatti Grant of Pallava Simhavarnan.
(Ep. Ind., Vol. XXIV.)



From photographs.

N. P. CHAKRAVARTI.

SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.

margins, the plates under examination are not numbered so. A third noteworthy point is that while all the known grants of the king begin with the invocation *Jitam Bhagavatā* preceded, in two cases (Māṅgaḷūr and Pīkira grants), by a spiral which has been rendered by Hultzsch as *Om*¹, our grant commences with the expression *Svasti* like the two other known Pallava records, viz., the Ōṃgōḍu grant of Vijaya-Skandavarman² and the Chendalūr plates of Kumāravishṇu.³

The emblem on the seal of the Uruvupalli grant was originally made out by Dr. Fleet to be a 'dog',⁴ but from deference to native opinion he later accepted it to be a 'lion'. The illustration accompanying the facsimiles of the grant suggests a wild animal like a dog or a wolf, sitting on its four legs and about to pounce. The short tail of the animal precludes its being taken for a lion which must conventionally have a long and curling tail.

The seal of the Māṅgaḷūr grant⁵ is not described or depicted but the animal on that of the Pīkira grant⁶ appears from the description given by Venkayya to resemble the one on the seal of the Uruvupalli grant. Unfortunately the Ōṃgōḍu grant carries no seal and consequently the seal of the present set gains importance as being the only well-preserved one of this king known so far. The animal here is clearly a **bull**, with a prominent hump, seated facing the proper left, and having a pretty heavy dew-lap. Above the bull appears to be what looks like an anchor as already stated or, a boat as assumed by me in my *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy* for 1934 (p. 30, para. 4). Attention may be drawn here to a Pallava coin bearing the effigy of a bull on one side and that of a double-masted boat on the other, illustrated by Sir W. Elliot.⁷

In the seal of the Prākṛit charter issued by Vijaya-Buddhavarman's queen Chārudēvī, the animal had been originally taken⁸ to be a deer but a closer examination would reveal it to be a standing bull facing the proper right, the hump rather indistinct. The view taken by me on the first examination of Fleet's facsimile is confirmed by an examination of the better illustration of the seal which appears in the plate published by Dr. Hultzsch.⁹

A few important **orthographical** peculiarities may be noticed here. The long *ī* attached to the consonants is distinguished by an inward curl. While in some other records of this king the word *jitam* in the invocation *Jitam=Bhagavatā* is written with a final *m* conjoined with the succeeding letter *bha*, here it is incised with an *anusvāra* as in the Uruvupalli and the Ōṃgōḍu grants. But the conjunct letter is employed in *Lōkapālānām=pañchamasya* in l. 6 and in *°yājīnām=Pallavānām=Mahārājah* in l. 13. The *anusvāra* is replaced by the class nasal: *kshētrañ=cha* in l. 14, *śārīran=daṇḍam* in l. 22, *paran=dānam* in l. 23, *ghōran=na* in l. 24, etc. Consonants following *r* are invariably doubled as in all early grants, and as in some other earlier ones the consonants preceding *r* are also doubled as for example in *parākkramō* in l. 10. The forms *pādā-muddhyātō* in l. 11 and *sarvvāddhyaksha* in l. 14 may also be noticed. Above all, the employment of the Tamil letter for *ḷa* in *Vilavatti* (l. 13) is noteworthy and indicates the influence of Tamil on the composer of this grant though it originated in and related to the Telugu country.

The epithet *vaṭṭa* in the expression *vaṭṭa-grāmēyakāḥ* (l. 21) meaning the officers of the grouped villages also suggests the influence of Tamil. I understand that in Mahārāshṭra and Hyderābād the expression *vaṭṭam-jāghirdār* is in vogue.

¹ Above, Vol. VIII, p. 161, Text.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. XV, pp. 251 f.

³ *Ibid.*, Vol. VIII, p. 234.

⁴ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. V, p. 50.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol. V, p. 154.

⁶ Above, Vol. VIII, p. 160.

⁷ *Coins of Southern India*, Plate I, No. 38.

⁸ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. IX, p. 101.

⁹ Above, Vol. VIII, p. 144.

The epithets and eulogies applied in our grant to the several kings are almost the same as those found in the allied grants, viz., the Uruvupalli, Pikira and Ōṃgōḍu ones with slight interchanges. The phraseology of the Māṅgaḷūr grant is quite distinct from that of the other charters of the king, and its author Nēmi seems to have composed it in an almost independent and original style of his own without borrowing from any of the other grants of the family. The practice in the plates appears to have been to apply a particular set of attributes to the particular generation irrespective of the actual king concerned. If we compare the text of the Uruvupalli grant with the rest we find that the same set of epithets is applied in all to the great grandfather, the grandfather, the father of the king and the king of the grant, irrespective of any particular king. Thus, epithets applied to Skandavarman I, the first member in the Uruvupalli grant, are applied to Viravarman, the first member in the other grants. But the epithets *vasudhā-tal-aika-vīra* or *prithvī-tal-aika-vīra* is applied consistently in all to king Viravarman and this one appears to have been particularly his personal attribute. Skandavarman I, his son Viravarman and the latter's son Skandavarman II of the Uruvupalli grant are mentioned in the earlier Ōṃgōḍu grant of Vijaya-Skandavarman II but with quite a different set of attributes. Viravarman is not therein called the sole hero of the world. Some other epithets of the later grants are traceable in the earlier Ōṃgōḍu grant, viz., *anēka-samara-labdhā-vijaya-yaśaḥ-pratāpa*¹ (for *prakāśa* of later grants) and *pratāp-ōpanata-rāja-maṇḍalāḥ*,² which are applied to Viravarman. It therefore appears that the ornate eulogy of the several kings was for the first time composed and brought into use in the reign of Vishṇugōpa and uniformly adopted in all the known grants of his son Simhavarman except in the Māṅgaḷūr grant as already remarked.

In connection with this and the allied grants there exists what we may call the "Simhavarman problem." Dr. Fleet assigned the Uruvupalli plates to Simhavarman, a supposed elder brother of Vishṇugōpa³ and made him Simhavarman I of the dynasty. Dr. Hultsch, while editing the Pikira grant of Simhavarman, has attempted to solve the difficulty by assuming the non-existence of an elder brother of Vishṇugōpa by name Simhavarman and the passing of the succession from Skandavarman II to Simhavarman without Vishṇugōpa ever having ascended the throne, on the ground that he is entitled only *Yuvarāja* or *Yuvamahārāja*.⁴ If Vishṇugōpa did not succeed to the throne there is no meaning in saying that he 'made a gift' as the Uruvupalli charter states. I think there is not much justification for Dr. Hultsch's supposition. The assumption of the title *Yuvarāja* or *Yuvamahārāja* which appears to have been due to some dynastic convention or exigency does not by itself deny accession to Vishṇugōpa as it did not in the case of the Eastern Chālukya king Maṅgi-Yuvarāja.⁵ The Mayidavōlu plates were issued by Yuvamahārāja Śivaskandavarman. Professor Dubreuil who has made a special study of the Pallava dynasty accepts that Vishṇugōpa did rule,⁶ but follows Dr. Fleet in assuming a Simhavarman as the elder brother of Vishṇugōpa. Hultsch and Dubreuil are partially right and partially wrong. We need not either suppose with the former that Vishṇugōpa did not ascend the throne or agree with the latter and Dr. Fleet that he had an elder brother named Simhavarman. I would suggest that the difficulty can be solved by supposing that the Uruvupalli grant originally made by Vishṇugōpa was, for some reasons not known, formally issued by his son Simhavarman

¹ In the Uruvupalli and other plates this epithet is applied to Viravarman's grandson Vishṇugōpa.

² In the Uruvupalli plates this epithet is given to Viravarman, but in the other grants of Simhavarman, to his son Skandavarman II. The eulogies applied to the several generations of kings in the Uruvupalli plates are indifferently applied to the kings figuring in the Chendalūr plates of Kumāravishṇu II (above, Vol. VIII, p. 235).

³ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. V, pp. 50 and 154.

⁴ Above, Vol. VIII, p. 160.

⁵ See my remarks in the article on the Churā grant of Vijaya-Vishṇugōpavarman, above, p. 139.

⁶ *Ancient History of the Deccan*, p. 63.

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captured (preferably re-captured) Kāñchī which had been the Pallava capital in the earlier generations. With sufficient reason are the Chendalūr plates issued from Kāñchīpura and the donee is, very naturally, a native of a village in its vicinity, the name of which though not read by Dr. Hultzsch, may, I think, be safely read as Puḷḷaḷūru¹ and identified with the village of that name situated 9 miles north of Conjeeveram.²

Discussing the initial date of Simhavarman Rao Bahadur Krishna Sastri remarks: "If the initial date derived from the *Lōkavibhāga* for Simhavarman II is to be accepted there must have been in A.D. 440, the fourth year of the king, a solar eclipse in the month of Chaitra. This, however, does not happen to be the fact".³ I regret, I have to differ from Mr. Sastri and point out that Dr. Schram's *Tables of the Eclipses of the Sun in India* record an eclipse on the 17th of May in A.D. 440. The month of Chaitra in certain years overlaps the month of May and definitely such is the case in the years in which there is an *Adhika* and a *Nija* Chaitra month. So it is quite possible to assume that in the Chaitra of A.D. 440 there was a solar eclipse. Consequently the assumption of A.D. 436 as the initial year for Simhavarman would be fully justifiable. So the date of our grant which is dated in the tenth year of his reign would correspond to A.D. 446.

Muṇḍa-rāshṭra is also mentioned in the Uruvupalli and Pīkira grants of Simhavarman.⁴ It is evidently identical with the later Muṇḍa-nāḍu or Muṇḍai-nāḍu of the *Nellore Inscriptions*.⁵ **Vilavatti**, the gift village may possibly be the village Vavvēru where the plates were discovered or with greater probability it may be the village Viḍavalūru, about 12 miles east of it. Both the villages are in the Kōvūr taluk. **Paddukkar-ādhishṭhāna** from which the charter was issued may be identified with the village Paḍugupāḍu about 9 miles south by east of Vavvēru in the same taluk. This is now a Railway station a little distance from the northern bank of the river Pennār on the Madras-Calcutta line and within a mile from Kōvūr.

TEXT.⁶

First Plate.

- 1 Svasti[*] Jitam Bhagavatā [*] śrī-Vijaya-Paddukkar-ādhishṭhānē parama-brahma-
nyasya sva-bā-
- 2 hu-nirjjit-ārjjita-⁷kshātra-tapō-nidhēḥ vidbi-vihita-sarvva-⁸maryyādā-sthiti-sthita-
- 3 sy-āmit-ātmanō mahārājasya ⁹prithivī-tal-aika-vīrasya śrī-Vīravarmmaṇaḥ prapau-
- 4 trasy-ātyuchchita¹⁰-śakti-siddhi-sampannasya pratāp-ōpanata-rāja-maṇḍalasya Bhaga-

Second Plate; First Side.

- 5 vad-bhakti-sad-bhāva-sambhāvita-sarvva-kalyāṇasy-ānēka-gō-hiraṇya-bhūmy-ādi-pradānai[h]
- 6 ¹¹pravṛitta-dharmma-saṅchayasya prajā-pālana-dakshasya Lōkapālānām=pañchamasya¹²
mahā-

¹ The reading Puṭṭukākā given in *Nellore Inscriptions*, p. 1421d, must be given up.

² Sewell, *List of Antiquities*, Vol. I, p. 188.

³ Above, Vol. XV, p. 253.

⁴ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. V, pp. 51 ff. and above, Vol. VIII, pp. 160 and 163.

⁵ *Nellore Inscriptions*:—See *Nellore* 19, 31, 61, 71, 72 and 121. The villages mentioned in connection with this nāḍu would all point to the Kōvūr taluk of the Nellore District in which the present plates were discovered. The southern portion of the Kandukūr taluk also would go into this rāshṭra.

⁶ From the original plates and ink-impressions prepared in my office.

⁷ Read *-bal-ārjjit-ārjjita-* as in other plates.

⁸ The Uruvupalli and Pīkira grants read *maryyādasya*.

⁹ The Uruvupalli grant has *vasudhā*.

¹⁰ The Pīkira grant reads *prapautrō=bhyuchchita*.

¹¹ Read *pravṛiddha* as in the Uruvupalli and Pīkira grants.

¹² Read *lōkapālasya* after this as in the above-mentioned grants.

- 7 tmanō mahārājasya śrī-Skandava[r*]mmaṇaḥ pautrasya dēva-dvija-guru-vṛiddh-ōpasē-
vinō¹ vi-
8 vṛiddha-vinayasy=ānēka-saṁgrāma-sāhas-āvamardd-ōpalabdha-vijaya-yaśaḥ-prakāśasya

Second Plate ; Second Side.

- 9 ²nirupam-ātmanō Yuvamahārājasya śrī-Vishṇugōpasya putraḥ Kali-yuga-dōsh-ā-
10 vasanna-dharm-ōddharaṇē nitya-sannaddhaḥ³ sprihaṇīya-parākkramō rāja[r*]shi-guṇa-sa-
11 rvva-sandōha-vijigīshur-ddharmma-vijigīshur=Bhagavat-pādānuddhyātō Bappa-bhaṭṭā-
raka-pāda-
12 bhaktaḥ paramabhāgavatō Bhāradvājaḥ sva-vikram-ākraṇt-ā[gdyā]⁴-śrī-nīlayō yathāvad-
āhṛit-ā-

Third Plate ; First Side.

- 13 nek-⁵āśvamēdha-yājīnām=⁶Pallavānām=mahārājaḥ śrī-Simhavarmma Muṇḍa-rāshṭrē
Viḷavaṭṭi-
14 grāmē tasy=aiva grāmasya kshētraṇ=cha sarvvāddhyakshāmś=cha tat-saṁchārīṇaś=ch=
ājñāpayati⁷ a-
15 ya[m] ⁸gramaḥ sa-grā⁹as=sarvva-parihār-ōpētō ⁹dēva-bhōga-hala-varjjam=asmad-āyur-bba-
16 la-vijay-ābhivṛiddhayē samēdhamāna-vijaya-rājyē daśamē samvatsarē Śrāvanyām
śukla-pa-

¹ The Uruvupalli grant reads -ōpachāyīnō and the Pikira grant has -āpachāyīnō. The Ōṁgōḍu grant reads -ōpasēvinō as in the present one.

² The Pikira and Ōṁgōḍu grants read *saty-ātmanō*. The Uruvupalli grant applies the epithets *saty-ātman* and *mahātman* to *Mahārāja Skandavarman*.

³ The Uruvupalli and Pikira grants read *-dharana-nitya-sannaddhasya*. The possessive form which has evidently been incorporated from the former into the latter of these grants has been left uncorrected into the nominative, though the appositional expressions *putraḥ* (l. 10), *parākkramō* (l. 11), etc., are in the latter case : vide above, Vol. VIII, p. 162, text ll. 10 & 11.

⁴ Read -ānya-nṛipa- as in other grants. The other allied grants make this an attribute of the Pallavas and not of this particular king.

⁵ The Uruvupalli and Pikira grants read -āśvamēdhānām while the Ōṁgōḍu grant has -ānēka-kratūnām *Śata-kratūnām* (above, Vol. XV, pp. 254 f., text ll. 16 ff.).

⁶ The Pikira grant has *dharmma-mahārāja-śrī-* while Ōṁgōḍu has *vallabhūnām Pallavānām dharmma-mahārāja-śrī-*.

⁷ The Uruvupalli grant is addressed to the *grāmēyakas* at the first instance and then to the *āyuktakas*, *naiyōkas* (probably *naiyōgikas*), *rājavallabhas* and *saṁchārīntakas*. The Pikira grant is addressed to the *grāmēyakas*, *adhikṛita-sarvvāddhyakshas*, *vallabhas* and *śāsana-saṁchārīns*, almost as in the Māṅgaḷūr grant.

⁸ Read *grāmaḥ sa-grāsakas=*.

⁹ Dr. Fleet's translation of the expression *Vishṇuvarmma-sēnāpati-kṛita-Vishṇuhāra-dēvakulāya dēva-bhōga*, etc., in the Uruvupalli grant is inaccurate. The grant is not meant for the family of Vishṇuhāradēva which was founded by Vishṇuvarman but for the temple (*dēvakula*) called Vishṇuhāra founded by the general of Vishṇuvarman, as a *dēvabhōga*. This would thus appear to be one of the early temples of Kandukūr founded in Pallava times. A still earlier temple of Pallava times is that of Bhagavan-Nārāyaṇa mentioned in the Prākṛit copper-plate charter of Yuvamahārāja Vijaya-Buddhavarman's queen Chārudēvi dated in the reign of Vijaya-Khandavarman (above, Vol. VIII, p. 145). Dr. Fleet's reading *dēvabhōga* in text l. 26 of the Māṅgaḷūr grant (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. V, p. 156) is only a printer's mistake for *dēva-bhōga* (vide his translation, *ibid.*, p. 157). But his reading *vasad-bhōga* (*ibid.*, p. 156, text l. 29 and p. 157 f.n.) is correctly *vasad-bhōgya*. Dr. Fleet stated that the meaning of *vasad-bhōgya-maryādayā* was rather doubtful. It is possible that it corresponds to the *kuḍinīṅgā-dēvadāna* of the Tamil inscriptions and perhaps means 'with the tenants' occupancy rights assured'.

VILAVATTI GRANT OF PALLAVA SIMHAVARMAN.

i.

1
2
3
4

ii, a.

5
6
7
8

ii, b.

9
10
11
12

iii, a.

13
14
15
16

Third Plate ; Second Side.

- 7 **kshē pañchamyām** Gautama-gōtrāya Chhandōgāya Vishṇuśarmmaṇē dattam(ttah)
 [*] yad=asmin=grāmē
 8 lōha-charmmakār-āpaṇa-paṭṭakāra-prāvārañchara-rajjū-pratihār-āpaṇ-Ājivika-ka-
 9 rāṇi Nāhala-Mukhadharaka-kūpa-darśaka¹-tantravāya-dyūta-vivāha-nāpita-dē-
 0 y-ādini cha sarvva-parihāra-kāru-dēyāni cha yāny=anyāni ch=āsmad-bhāgyāni tāny=asmai

Fourth Plate ; First Side.

- 1 brahmadēyīkṛitya dattāni Vaṭṭa-grāmēyakāḥ [asmad-ājñām*] kurvvantv=itarē pariha[ra*]-
 ntu parihārayantu
 2 cha[*] yaś=ch=aitad=asmach-chhāsanam=atikrāmēt=sa pāpaḥ ²sārīran=daṇḍam=arhati [*]
 Api ch=ā-
 3 tr=ā[r]shāḥ ślōkā bhavanti || () O ||—³Bhūmi-dānāt=paran=dānam=iha lōkē na vidyatē [*]
 yaḥ praya-
 4 chchhati bhūmi[m*] hi sarvva-kāmūn=dadāti saḥ [[*] ⁴Brahma-svaṁ [hi*] visham
 ghōran=na visham visham=uchayatē [*] visham=ēkākinam

Fourth Plate ; Second Side.

- 25 hanti ⁵prahma-svaṁ putra-⁶bautrikam || Sva-dattām para-dattām vā yō harēta vasundhā-
 rām⁷ [*] gavām śata-
 26 sahasrasya hantuḥ [pi]⁸bati kilbisham [[*] ⁹Yathā nirōhanty=uptāni kīrṇāni cha mahī-
 27 talē [*] ēvaṁ kāmā virōhanti bhūmi-dāna-samārjjitā[h*] || Bahubhir=vvasudhā dattā ba-
 28 hubiś=ch=ānupālītā [*] yasya yasya yadā bhūmis=tasya tasya tadā phalam ||

Fifth Plate.

- 29 ¹⁰Asamkhyēyāni varshūpi svarggē mōdanti bhūmidāḥ [*] ākshēptā ch=ānumantā cha tāny=ēva
 30 narakē vasēt || Prabhōḥ ¹¹sumukh-ājñāptyū¹² rahasyādhikṛitēn=**Achyutēna** likhitam śāsanam||
 31 Svasta(sti) || ¹³—

¹ [See above, p. 298, n. 5.—Ed.]

² This reading is found in the Pīkira and other grants of the king. The Mayidavōlu Prākṛit plates read *sārī-
 ram śāsanam karejāmo* (above, Vol. VI, p. 87, text, l. 24).

³ The Uruvupalli and other grants quote this verse in a different form. The Pīkira grant which cites the
 verse reads *Bhūmidāna-saman=dānam*.

⁴ This verse is not quoted in the other grants of the king.

⁵ Read *brahma*.

⁶ Read *-pautrikam*.

⁷ Read *vasundharām*.

⁸ The letter *pi* looks like *bi*.

⁹ This verse does not occur in the other grants of the king.

¹⁰ This verse is not quoted in the other grants of the king.

¹¹ Read *sva-mukh*.

¹² Invariably all the earlier grants adopt the form *ājñāpti* while the later ones, like those of the Eastern Chā-
 lukyas, have *ājñapti*. The former though obsolete seems to be more suitable to the context in the technical sense
 of 'the agency that obtains the command (*ājñāptih*) while *ājñaptih* would strictly refer to the 'agency that
 commands'.

¹³ There is a symbol between these two sets of *daṇḍas*.

No. 6.—AMBASAMUDRAM INSCRIPTION OF SOLANRALAIKONDA VIRA-PANDYA.

A. S. RAMANATHA AYYAR, B.A., MADRAS.

The subjoined inscription¹ is engraved on the south wall of the *Eṇichchāvudaiyār* shrine in the Siva temple, situated on the northern bank of the *Tāmrparṇī* at **Ambāsamudram**, the headquarters of the taluk of the same name in the Tinnevely District. This god who is called *Tirupōt-tudaiya-Bhaṭāra* (the god of the bull-vehicle) in early inscriptions, must have been the principal deity of the temple in the olden days, because several endowments of the Pāṇḍya kings *Māraṇ-Jaḍaiyaṇ* and *Śaḍaiya-Māraṇ* are found recorded on the walls of this shrine only.² But when the adjacent and more imposing *Kāśi-Viśvanātha* temple came into existence, apparently in the later Pāṇḍya times, this shrine appears to have shrunk into an insignificant auxiliary structure isolated in the north *prākāra* of the bigger temple. Further, during some extensive repairs carried out some fifty years ago, some of the engraved stones belonging to the present record have become disarranged, with the result that one piece containing the ends of lines 9 to 16 is now found embedded in the inner wall of the shrine, while another important slab which must have contained the ends of lines 1 to 8 cannot be traced at all.

The inscription is engraved in clean-cut **Vatṭeḷuttu** characters attributable to the 10th century A. D. **Grantha** letters have been used in the words *Srasti Śrī* (l. 1), *Sūrya-graḥaṇa* (l. 11), and *Brahma*³ (l. 12). The letters *ta* and *ra* and consequently *ta* and *ra* are written alike, without much differentiation. There are no special **orthographic** peculiarities noticeable in this record, except that some old forms of words occurring in other early Chōla and Pāṇḍya records of this period are also found here, such as, *i-ññāḍa* (l. 2) for *i-nnāḍa*; *paḍiṇṇa vēli* (l. 3) for *paṭṭu-vēli* and *nāḷi-ūm* (l. 15) for *nāḷiyam*. The Sanskrit words *āchārya* and *śrīkārya* are transformed into *āchārchchēya* (l. 19) and *śrīkārchchēya* (l. 22); the colloquial form *seyśa* for *seyda* is also used (l. 24).

The record is dated in the **15+5th year** of the Pāṇḍya king **Sōḷaṇ-ṛalai-konḍa Vira-Pāṇḍya**, when an order issued in the 12th year of his reign was engraved on stone on the wall of the temple by his officer **Chōlāntaka-Brahmamārāya**. It is important in that it mentions the occurrence of a **solar eclipse in the month of Mithuṇa in the 12th year** of the Pāṇḍya king's reign, and enables us to fix that date.

From the inscriptions copied hitherto, it has not been possible to determine the exact years between which Vira-Pāṇḍya reigned. All that we know is that the Chōla king **Parakēsarivarman Āditya-Karikāla II** claims to have cut off the head of a Vira-Pāṇḍya, in the title *Vira-Pāṇḍyan-ṛalai-konḍa* assumed by him from the 2nd year of his reign⁴, and that the highest regnal year so far found⁵ for Vira-Pāṇḍya is 15+5 or 20.

The predecessor of Rājārāja I (A.D. 985-1013) on the Chōla throne was **Parakēsarivarman Uttama-Chōla**, whose date of accession was A.D. 969-70⁶, and as he had a reign of about 16 years,⁷ he must have ruled from A.D. 969-970 to 985-986. As both Āditya II and Uttama-Chōla had the same title of **Parakēsarivarman**, it had been inferred that they had ruled jointly in the interval

¹ No. 101 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1905.

² Nos. 105 of 1905 and 86 of 1907.

³ No. 472 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1908 (*S. I. I.*, Vol. III, No. 199).

⁴ No. 474 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1909 is dated in the 15+4th year, while the present record quotes the 15+5th year.

⁵ *S. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 284 (No. 456 of 1908).

⁶ No. 357 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1907 (*S. I. I.*, Vol. III, No. 144).

between Rājakesari Sundara-Chōla and Rājakesari Rājarāja I. The Uḍaiyārguḍi record¹ dated in the 2nd year of Rājakesarivarman (Rājarāja I) states that the lands belonging to some persons who were implicated in the death of Āditya-Karikāla were confiscated by the king; and it is reasonable to consider, from the trend of political events that attended the succession of Uttama-Chōla, that he had himself countenanced this act of treachery, which led him a step nearer to the Chōla throne. The Tiruvālaṅgāḍu² plates while slurring over the actual facts that culminated in Āditya's death make, however, the significant remark that 'Rājarāja did not wish to succeed to the Chōla territory, so long as his uncle Uttama-Chōla coveted it'. These facts suggest that Āditya must have been killed before Uttama-Chōla's actual succession, and so Āditya II must have lived and ruled before A.D. 969-70.

The Leiden plates³ of Rājarāja I mention that while yet a boy, he (Āditya) 'played sportively in battle with Vira-Pāṇḍya, just as a lion's cub (*does*) with a rutting mad elephant, proud of (*its*) strength' while the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates² are more explicit in stating that 'he killed the Pāṇḍya king (who must have been the same Vira-Pāṇḍya) in battle,' and 'having deposited in his (*capital*) town the lofty pillar of victory, (*viz.*), the head of the Pāṇḍya king, Āditya disappeared (*from this world*) with a desire to see heaven'. From these statements, we can infer that Āditya II had won his military spurs even during the reign of his father and that he did not live for a long time after his own independent victory over his Pāṇḍya adversary. Though the title *talai-konḍa* assumed by kings, has, in some rare instances, been interpreted⁴ to connote a simple capture of the crown of their opponents, this specific statement in the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates warrants the conclusion that Vira-Pāṇḍya literally lost his head, *i.e.*, met his death, in his encounter with Āditya.⁵ The highest regnal year found for Vira-Pāṇḍya in the records so far copied is only 15-5, *i.e.*, 20, and it was probably the last year of his reign. As the earliest year in which the title *Vira-Pāṇḍiyan-talai-konḍa* is applied to Āditya is 2, we may assume that the 20th year of Vira-Pāṇḍya coincided with the 2nd year of Āditya's reign.

Of Āditya's father Rājakesarivarman Sundara-Chōla, it is stated in the Leiden plates³ that he fought a fierce battle with his enemies at Śevvūr (Chēvūra), while the Kanyākumāri record⁶ mentions that the Pāṇḍya opponent of this king fled from the field of battle and hid himself in a forest. The earliest record⁷ of Sundara-Chōla crediting him with this achievement in the title *Pāṇḍiyanai-chchuram-iṣakkiṇa* is dated in his 7th year; and as he is considered to have reigned from about A.D. 956 to 973,⁸ this conflict with the Pāṇḍya king, who must have been Vira-Pāṇḍya himself, could have taken place only in about A.D. 964. It seems probable therefore that the Pāṇḍya king was then simply defeated and routed, that he actually lost his life in another subsequent near engagement in which Āditya distinguished himself, and that this signal victory gave Āditya the title of *Vira-Pāṇḍiyan-talai-konḍa*, in common with the two feudatories Pārthivēndravarman⁹ and Bhūti-Vikramakēśarin¹⁰, who must have both helped him in this exploit.

¹ No. 577 of 1920 and *ante*, Vol. XXI, p. 165.

² *S. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 420.

³ *Ante*, Vol. XXII, p. 256.

⁴ Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri: *The Cōlas*, Vol. I, p. 169. This is not convincing.

⁵ No. 256 of 1907 from Tiruvālaṅgāḍu, dated in the 4th year of Āditya, states that 'he destroyed Vira-Pāṇḍya and took his head' (*Vira-Pāṇḍiyanai eṇḍu talai konḍa*).

⁶ *Trav. Arch. Series*, Vol. III, p. 156.

⁷ No. 291 of 1908; *ante*, Vol. XII, p. 126.

⁸ *The Cōlas*, Vol. I, p. 180. No. 123 of 1895 is attributable to him and the astronomical details—17th year, Kumbha, Sunday, Rēvati—give the equivalent A.D. 973, February 9, Sunday.

⁹ No. 223 of 1915. Pārthivēndravarman's identity with Āditya II himself or with Prithvipati II seems doubtful.

¹⁰ No. 129 of 1907.

As stated already, a solar eclipse occurred in the month of Mithuna in the 12th year of Virapandya. In the period from A.D. 930 to 970, the only three years in which a solar eclipse occurred in Mithuna were :—

- (1) A.D. 950, June 18 (Mithuna 26), Tuesday,
- (2) A.D. 959, June 9 (Mithuna 17), Thursday, and
- (3) A.D. 960, May 28 (Mithuna 5), Monday.

If the week-day on which the eclipse occurred or the *nakshatra* which was current on that day had been specified in the present record, it would have been possible to verify the exact date referred to; but in their absence we shall have to select a plausible equivalent, only by a process of elimination.

If we suppose that A.D. 950 was the 12th year of Virapandya's reign, it would give A.D. 957 as his final¹ year, and as this will have corresponded to the 2nd year of Aditya, the Chola king's date of accession would be A.D. 956. This would yield the inconsistent results that Aditya killed him in A.D. 957, and that his predecessor Sundara-Chola defeated him in A.D. 963; so this date of accession for Aditya is not possible. Similarly, A.D. 960 which would yield A.D. 967 as the 20th year of Virapandya and the 2nd year of Aditya and A.D. 966 as Aditya's date of accession, may have also to be discarded, because in that case Aditya's reign which extended to the 5th year would overlap into the reign of his successor Uttama-Chola (accession A.D. 969-70), which is not possible, since, as stated already, Aditya II should have passed away before Uttama-Chola could have succeeded him. On the other hand, if we take A.D. 959 as the 12th year of Virapandya, his 20th year and Aditya's 2nd year would have corresponded to A.D. 966, giving A.D. 964-5² as Aditya's initial year. This date would satisfy the presumption that his fight with Virapandya could have happened in about A.D. 966, which would be only a year later than the defeat of the Pandya ruler at Sundara-Chola's hands in about A.D. 964 before the 7th year of the latter's reign, and that a five-year rule for Aditya II could also be accounted for between A.D. 965 and 969. These results may be tabulated thus :—

| | Virapandya's 12th year. | Virapandya's 20th year = Aditya's 2nd year. | Aditya's accession. | Virapandya's accession. |
|---|----------------------------|--|------------------------|----------------------------|
| 1 | 950 | 957 | 956 | 938 |
| 2 | 959 | 966 | 965 | 947 |
| 3 | 960 | 967 | 966 | 948 |

Of these three dates, No. 2 may therefore be considered as the best suited for the record under review, and it would yield A. D. 947 to 966 as the period of reign of Virapandya. His position in the Pandyan genealogy may be taken to be between Rajasimha³, who was defeated by Parantaka I before A.D. 922, and Amarabhujanga⁴, whom Rajaraja claims to have conquered.

The Pandya king himself claims to have taken the head of a Chola, as evidenced by the title *Solanralai-konda* assumed by him from the 6th year onwards (i.e., from A.D. 953-54).⁵ Who

¹ As there is only one record of the 15+5th year, it has been inferred that he died in the beginning of that regnal year.

² Three records of Aditya II from Ulaiyangudi in the South Arcot District furnish astronomical details which would approximately take the date of his accession to the end of A.D. 963. This point requires further examination in the light of future discoveries.

³ Udayendiram plates of Prithivipati II (S. I. I., Vol. II, p. 387).

⁴ S. I. I., Vol. III, p. 387, where he is taken to be a Pandya king. We have no means of determining this at present.

⁵ No. 163 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1894.

this Chōla king was, who was killed by Vira-Pāṇḍya the Chōlāntaka, has not been specified by name in any of his records. Sundara-Chōla was called 'Ponmāligait-tuñjīṇa-dēva' (the king who died at the golden palace or at Chidambaram known as the *Kanakasabhā* ?)¹, but he could not have been the victim, because records going up to the 17th year (= A.D. 973) are found for him. Ariūjaya, the predecessor of Sundara-Chōla, was called 'Ārrūr-tuñjīṇa-dēva' (he who died at Ārrūr); but the circumstances that led to his death at that place are not known. As a *paḷḷippaḍai* was erected for him at Mēlpāḍi² in the Chittoor District, it may be inferred that he fell fighting in one of the skirmishes with the army of the Rāshtrakūṭa king Kṛṣṇa III in that locality. There is reason to believe that he lived a few years later than A.D. 953. Gaṇḍarāditya was called 'Mērk-ēḷundaruḷṇa-dēva' (he who proceeded west)³, but he could not have been Vira-Pāṇḍya's adversary, because, having probably succeeded as *yuvārāja*-coregent soon after the death of prince Rājāditya in A.D. 949-50 and with records of the 8th year definitely assignable⁴ to him, he would have lived up to A.D. 957-8 at least. In addition to all these, there was another Chōla prince of this time called Uttamaśīli, who is mentioned in two records⁵ dated in the 24th and 26th years of his father Parāntaka's reign; but we know next to nothing about him and his career, except that a village⁶ and a channel in the Trichinopoly District were named after him.

According to the calculation arrived at above, Vira-Pāṇḍya must have assumed the title of *Śōḷaṅ-galai-kōṇḍa* from about A.D. 953-54; and this date coincides with the 46th or 47th year of the reign of Parāntaka I. Parāntaka's records of the 46th year are only two in number and none of his 47th year has been discovered yet. It is therefore tempting to conclude that it was the last year of the Chōla king's reign and that it was **Parāntaka** himself who had **lost his life at the hands of Vira-Pāṇḍya**,⁷ thus giving the latter an opportunity to avenge the defeat and possibly the death of his father (!)⁸ Rājasimha at the Chōla king's hands, some years earlier. It was left to Āditya II to follow up the family vendetta by killing Vira-Pāṇḍya in his turn in about A.D. 966. These conclusions appear to be warranted by the sequence of events that happened in the eventful half-a-century preceding the accession of Rājārāja I in A.D. 985. There is, however, one solitary Kannada record⁹ at Vanamaladinne in the Punganur taluk of the Chittoor District, situated in the northern-most border of the Chōla dominion of the time, which quotes the 48th year of Parāntaka's reign; and this has perhaps to be explained by supposing that the recent news of the death of the Chōla king had not percolated so far north, at the time that record was incised. This need not surprise us, as such instances are not unknown in the history of this period.

As regards the **subject-matter** of the record, it is stated that in the 15+5th year of *Śōḷaṅ-galai-kōṇḍa* Vira-Pāṇḍya, **Chōlāntaka-Brahmamārāyar**, the officer of the king (*adikāram-śeykura*) receiving the royal order relating to a gift of 10 *vēli* of land as *kuḍinūṅgā-dēvadāṇam*

¹ That tribute 'he who died in the Ponmāligai' has no point, unless it be that some important fact connected with Sundara-Chōla's death was sought to be expressed by it. Could Uttama-Chōla have had any hand in his removal as certainly he must have had in Āditya II's death?

² *S. I. I.*, Vol. III, No. 17.

³ No. 540 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1920.

⁴ Nos. 570 and 574 of 1908. The dates suggested in *The Chōlas*, Vol. I, have been followed.

⁵ Nos. 446 of 1917 and 19 of 1895.

⁶ Uttamaśīli-chaturvēdimāṅgalam (No. 359 of 1924) and Uttamaśīli-vāyakkāl (No. 169 of 1907).

⁷ Vira-Pāṇḍya must have encountered the Chōla king in some southern campaign only. It may also have to be noted that Vira-Pāṇḍya's records are not found very much to the north of Madurai.

⁸ In No. 122 of 1905 from Tiruppuḍaimarudūr in the Tinnevely District dated in the 2+18th year of a *Sadaiya-Māraṇ* (Rājasimha), a servant of a Vira-Pāṇḍya is mentioned.

⁹ This record (No. 200 of 1931-32) reads thus in its date portion—*Madura-gōṇḍa Gō-Parakēṣari nālvatteṣṣāge*.

made by the king earlier in his 12th regnal year to the temple of Tiruppōttudaiya-Bhaṭāra, had it engraved on stone in that temple. This officer figures in an inscription¹ of the king dated in the 15+4th year at Suchindram in the Travancore State, where his name has been incorrectly read as Chērāntaka-Brahmārāyar. *Chōlāntaka* (Death to the Chōla) was evidently the title assumed by Vira-Pāṇḍya to commemorate the act of his having cut off the head of the Chōla king (*śōḷaṅ-ṛalai-konḍa*), and this may have been adopted by the officer Chōlāntaka-Brahmārāyar, either because he had also taken part in the encounter himself or simply after the title of his master. A liquid-measure called 'Chōlāntakaṇ-nāli' was also current in this period in the Pāṇḍya country. Vira-Pāṇḍya is said to have had also the title of *Pāṇḍimārttāṇḍa*,² 'the Sun of the Pāṇḍya family'; but this title was in vogue even earlier in the time of Śaḍaiya-Māraṇ³ (Rājasimha).

The names of the several revenue officials who were cognisant of the endowment made to the temple of Tiruppōttudaiya-Bhaṭāra are enumerated:

1. The officer who was supervising the king's secretariat duties in the 12th year (*eṇ-karmam=ārāchchi mēl=ēḷuttu seykinṇa*)⁴ was Tamiḷavēḷāṇ⁵ belonging to Kāḍandai community (?);
 2. the *ēḷi-mudal* was Araiyaṇ Mānābharāṇa;
 3. the *ōḷai-ēḷuttu* was an officer, whose name is lost;
 4. the *vāykelēvi* was [Chū]lāmaṇi-kilavaṇ of Mēyūr *alias* Kuvalaiyaśiṅganallūr in Aṇḍa-nāḍu;
- and
5. the *baṇḍāru-ppottagam* was Vikramapāṇḍya-Mūvēndavēḷāṇ *alias* Kaṭṭinakkan Iraṇaṇ of Vēḷiyāṅgūr in Kil-Kuṇḍāṇu in Koḷuvūr-kūṛram.
 6. The original document was attested and engraved by Pullaṇ-Korṇaṇ; and
 7. the engraving of the record in the 15+5th year of the king was done under the supervision of Dēvaṇ-Kiriṇaṇ, the *śrīkāryam* of the temple.

From the surnames of two of these officers (Nos. 2 and 5), we can infer that there were Pāṇḍya princes having the names of Mānābharāṇa⁶ and Vikrama-Pāṇḍya even before Vira-Pāṇḍya's time. Another record⁷ of this king testifies to the existence before this period of another prince Sundara-Pāṇḍya, in whose name a shrine called Sundarapāṇḍyēśvaram was erected at Paḷḷimaḍam in the Ramnad District.

The details of the scale of offerings, etc., that had to be provided for from the endowment registered in this document are given at some length:

For one day—

| | |
|---|---------------------------------------|
| to god Tiruppōttudaiya-Dēvar | 32 nāḷi of rice (for four offerings), |
| for aṇṇa-bali | 6 nāḷi, |
| for kaṇi-amudu | 1 nāḷi, |
| to god Tiruvēṅkaṭaṇilai-Dēvar | 4 nāḷi, |
| to god Tirumūlattāṇattu-Dēvar | 4 nāḷi, and |

¹ *Travancore Archaeological Series*, Vol. III, p. 71. An officer called Chōlāntaka-Pallavaraiyaṇ *alias* Māraṇ-āchchaṇ of Pōḷiyūr is mentioned in another record from the same place (*ibid.*, p. 72).

² *An. Rep. on South Indian Epigraphy* for 1932-3, para. 30; and No. 122 of 1905.

³ The functions of the several officials are not clearly definable.

⁴ An officer of the name of Tennavaṇ Tamiḷavēḷ figures in records of this king from Kilmaṭṭūr, Madura District (Nos. 624 and 626 of 1926), and he was probably identical with this officer.

⁵ No. 26 of 1895 from Tillaisthānam (Tanjore District) mentions a Mānābharāṇa in the 8th year of a Parakēśarivarman. It may be noted that there were also later members of the Pāṇḍya family with the same set of names of Mānābharāṇa, Vikrama-Pāṇḍya and Sundara-Pāṇḍya, who were contemporaries of Rājādhirāja I in A.D. 1046.

⁶ No. 421 of 1914 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.

| | |
|--|--|
| to god Gaṇapatīyār | 2 <i>nāli</i> : |
| i.e., in all | 49 <i>nāli</i> of rice |
| or (its equivalent of) | 1 <i>kalam</i> , 9 <i>kuruni</i> and 2 <i>nāli</i> of paddy. |
| For one year—it will be | 680 and odd <i>kalam</i> of paddy. |
| The land set apart for the several requirements of the temple were— | |
| for the stipulated quantity of paddy | $2\frac{1}{2} + 2\frac{1}{2} + 1\frac{1}{2}$ <i>vēli</i> , |
| for the <i>āchārya</i> Munnūruvan-Sēdan | $\frac{1}{2}$ <i>vēli</i> , |
| for the <i>kaṇakka-baṇḍaram</i> Sōlai-Viru. | $\frac{1}{2}$ <i>vēli</i> , |
| for eight men-servants (<i>mān</i>) | $1\frac{1}{2} + 1\frac{1}{2}$ <i>vēli</i> , |
| for ten men (<i>uṇaiṇchar</i>) | $1\frac{1}{2}$ <i>vēli</i> , |
| for the <i>śrīkāryam</i> (for 4 <i>nāli</i> of rice per day) | $\frac{1}{2}$ <i>vēli</i> , |
| for the potter (<i>kuṣavaṇ</i>) | $\frac{1}{2}$ <i>vēli</i> , |
| for the firewood supplier (<i>viṇaiḍuvān</i>) | $\frac{1}{2}$ <i>vēli</i> , |
| for sweeping (<i>tirumelukkuppuram</i>) ¹ | $\frac{1}{2}$ <i>vēli</i> , |
| for the washerman (<i>iraṅgoli</i>) ² | $\frac{1}{2}$ <i>vēli</i> , |
| for festivals (<i>tiruvēlāppuram</i>) ³ | 1 <i>vēli</i> , |
| and for the architect Māṇābharapaṇ-Sēdan who erected (?) | |
| the temple, as <i>pudukkuppuram</i> ⁴ | $\frac{1}{2}$ <i>vēli</i> : |
| in all,—the extent of the land endowed was | 10 <i>vēli</i> . |

At the end it is stated that this arrangement was made by Chōlāntakadēvar.

Among the place-names mentioned in the record, *Ṇaṅḡōykkuḍi* was the ancient name of Ambāsamudram. It was a *brahmadēya* in Muḷli-nāḍu. Raṇasiṅga-maṅgalam, a village perhaps founded by or named after an unidentified Pāṇḍya king having the title of Raṇasiṅha, was situated in the sub-division called Maṇalūr-kkuḷakkil⁵, which was probably irrigated by the tank at Maṇalūr. Kuvalayaśiṅganallūr was in the sub-division called *Anḍa-nāḍu* which is represented by Periyakōṭṭai and its vicinity in the Madura District. The temple of Tirumūlanāthar referred to in this record is situated to the west of the Eriṇchāvuḍaiyār temple at Ambāsamudram.

TEXT.

- 1 Svasti Śrī [*] Sōlan-[ra]lai-konḍa Kō-Vira-Pāṇḍi[yadēvaṇku] yāṇḍu paṇṇiraṇḍu ivv-āṇḍu Mithuna-[ūā]ṇṇu Sūrya⁶.
- 2 Muḷlināṭṭu brahmadēyam Ṇaṅḡōykkuḍi Tiruppōttuḍaiya-Bhaṭāra[r*]kku i-ṇṇāṭṭu Vaḷudī-ūr
- 3 āru-pāchechal nilan paḍiṇṇu vēli pa[di]ṇṇu vēliūm kuḍigaliḍu kārā[u*]mai-āgavum Dēvaridu mī⁷

¹ *Tirumelukkuppuram*—this duty included sweeping, as well as smearing the temple premises with the purificatory cowdung.

² *Iraṅgoli* is an interesting name for a washerman, 'he who takes off the wet from clothes'.

³ *Tiruvēlāppuram* is the provision made for the conduct of festivals in the temple.

⁴ *Pudukku* means 'renovation'; but the architect is stated to have *śeyṣa* or erected (?) the shrine. As earlier records are found in the shrine, the shrine was perhaps begun earlier and completed only at the time of the record.

⁵ The expression 'Māḍakkulakkil Madurai' occurring elsewhere has been taken as 'Madurai to the east of Māḍakkulam'. But from similar expressions—Vēlūr-kulakkil Śrīkundaḍēvi-chaturvēdimāṅgalam (No. 740 of 1919), Māḍakkulakkil Kōḍimaṅgalam, and Viranārāyaṇa-kulakkil Puḷiṅṇur (No. 49 of 1890), we have to infer that no directional significance is indicated, but that the particular villages were included in the *ayacut* of the respective irrigation sources, which gave their name to the sub-divisions. In the *Śimpamaṇūr* plates also Rājasimha-kulakkil is mentioned as the name of a territorial sub-division (*Rājasimhakulakkil iṭyuktē rāṣṭrē*)—S. I. I., Vol. III, p. 453.

⁶ Probably *grahāṇṭi nāṇṇu*.

⁷ Probably *mīyāṇṭi nāṇṇu*.

- 4 tānamāga urubu[po]n¹ maṇṇavāri utpaḍa eñ-karmam ārāchchi mēl-eḷuttu-checheykiṇṇa
Ma[ha]
- 5 ṛattu Kāḍandaikuḍippādi=tTamiḷavēḷāṇ-āyi[ṇa]
- 6 nāḍum Maṇalūr-kkuḷakkīḷ Iraṇasiṅga-maṇḡalattu-p
- 7 ṇ Araiyaṇ Māṇābharaṇaṇ ēvi-[mu]dal-āgavum Idaiyāṇṇu-nāṭṭu
- 8 m [ōlai-eḷu]tt=āgavum Aṇḍa-nāṭṭu Kuvalaiyaṅganallūr āyiṇa Mēyūr Tiruppattūr
- 9 *lāmaṇi-kiḷavaṇ vā[y*]kēḷvi-āgavum Koḷuvūr-kkūṛṛattu Kīḷ-Kuṇḍāṇṇu Vēliyāṇṇūr Vik[kira]-
mapāṇḍiya-Mūvēnda-
- 10 [vē]ḷāṇ-āyiṇa Kaṭṭinakkaṇ Ira[ṇa]ṇ baṇḍāra-ppottagam=āgavum Iḷaṅḡykkuḍi Tiruppō-
ttuḍaiya [Pa]ramēṣu[ra]-Paḍārar kōyilil irundu
- 11 [pa]ṇṇiraṇḍām=āṇḍu Mithuṇa-āāyirru Sūrya-grahaṇatti[nāṇṇu]³ ivv=āṇḍiṇ edir=
āṇḍu-mudal kuḍiṇiṅgā-ttē[va]tāṇa[m*]-āga kuḍuttōm [i*] tāṅga-
- 12 [ḷum]⁴ idu kaṇḍu pārpaḍuttu-kkuḍukka [i*] Pullaṇ-Korṇaṇ eḷuttu [i*] eṇṇa i-ttirumugappaḍi
koṇḍu adikāraṇ-ṣeykiṇṇa Chōḷāntaka-[Bra]hmanmārāyar i-ppaḍiṇ-
- 13 ru vēliyaiy nivandam aḍaichchapaḍi kalmēḷ eḷuttu vēṭṭuga eṇṇu paḍiṇ-aṇjām yāṇḍiṇ
edir aṇjām yāṇḍu śrikārya[m*] perṇa Ba-
- 14 . . māṇaṇukku amachchu i-tTiruppōttuḍaiya-Dēvarkku śrikārya[m*] ṣeykiṇṇa Dēvaṇ-
Kiriṇaṇ śolla kalmē[l*] eḷuttu vēṭṭiṇapaḍi [i*] Tiru-
- 15 ppōttuḍaiya-Dēvarkku nāṅgu-pōḍaikkku ari[śi*] muppattiru-nāḷiūm aṇṇa-balikkku ariṣi aṇu-
nāḷiūm kaṇi-amidukku ari-
- 16 [śi] nāḷiūm Tiruvēṇkaṭaṇilai-tTēvarkku niṣadi ariṣi nā-nāḷiūm Tirumūlattāṇattu-
tTēvarkku niṣadi ariṣi nā-nā-
- 17 [ḷi]ūm Gaṇavatiyārkkku ariṣi iru-nāḷiūm ē[r]ri niṣadi ari[śi*] nāṇṇatt-onpaḍi-nāḷiūm āga
o⁵
- 18 kku nel=kkalanēy onbadin-kurṇi iru-nāḷiy=uri ōr-āṭṭaikkku nel a[ṇṇu]ṇṇu-
eṇbat-te⁶
- 19 *yēṭṭu mā-kkāṇiyum āchārchchiyaṇ Munṇūṇṇuvaṇ-Śēṇḍaṇukku niḷaṇ araiyum [i*] kaṇakka-
baṇḍāram ṣeykiṇṇa Śōlai-Viru periyāṇukku niḷaṇ araiyu [m i*] [mā]-
- 20 ṇ eṭṭiṇukku niḷaṇ oṇṇ=araiyē yiraṇḍu-mā [i*] ivarṇuḷ Munṇūṇṇuvaṇ-Śēṇḍaṇ-udaiya māṇ
mūṇṇum Munṇūṇṇuvaṇ-Periyāṇ māṇ=oṇṇum Kaṣanāk-⁷
- 21 kalaṇ-udaiya mā=nālum [i*] Dēvar paduvāram ēḷil-oṇṇu uvaichchagaḷukkum puḍavai-
mudal=āgavum [i*] aṇu-kūṇum eṭṭu-māṇukkuṇṇu puḍavai-mudal=āgavum [i*] uvaich[cha]-

¹ This expression is not understood. Can it be *ūriṭu poṇ*?

² The full name probably is Chōḷāmaṇi.

³ An alternative reading is **atti[n pōḍu]*.

⁴ This was read on the stone.

⁵ The missing letters are probably **ru nāḷiṭṭevai*.

⁶ There is some discrepancy in the calculation of the annual requirements.

⁷ Between lines 18 and 19 are visible the syllables *Śvasti śri* apparently belonging to another record, which apparently had been erased so as to make room for the present inscription.

⁸ This word is written over an erasure.

- 22 n Gaṇapati Kumāraḍi mudal pattāḷukku nilam onṇe-kāl [i*] śrikā[r*]chchiyam āraivāṇukku
niyadam ariśi nā-nāḷiyiṇāl nilam ēḷu-mā [i*] kuśavaṇukku ni-
- 23 lam iraṇḍu-mā [i*] viṇakiduvāṇukku nilam=iraṇḍu-mā [i*] tirumēḷukkuppura[m*] nilam=
iraṇḍu-mā [i*] iraṇ[ko]ḷlikku nilam=ira[ṇ]ḍu-mā [i*] tiruviḷāppuram ni-
- 24 laṇ vēli [i*] puḍukkuppura[m*] i-ttirukkaraḷai śeysa āchāriyaṇ Mānābharaṇaṇ-Śēṇḍaṇukku
nilaṇ kālum āga nilaṇ paḍiṇṇu-vē-
- 25 liyum chandir-ādittavalaṇ chelvadāga vaittār Chōḷāntakadēvar [i*] Idu paṇ-Māhēśvarar
rakshai [i*]

No. 7.—KANTERU PLATES OF SALANKAYANA VIJAYA-SKANDAVARMAN.

By R. S. PANCHAMUKHI, M.A., MADRAS.

In 1924-25, the Assistant Archæological Superintendent for Epigraphy, Madras, secured three sets of copper-plates belonging to the family of Śālaṅkāyana-Mahārājas, of which two were received from Mr. Challa Jagannatha Pantulu, Assistant Editor, *Āndhra-Patrikā*, Madras and the third from Mr. M. Somasekhara Sarma of the Telugu Encyclopedia office.¹ The first two are stated to have been found buried underground in the village called **Kantēru** in the Guntur taluk, Guntur District, while the third was discovered underground at Pedda-Vēgi near Ellore in the Kistna (now West Godavari) District. Of the two records discovered at Kantēru, one is a charter of *Mahārāja* Vijaya-Skandavarman and the other of *Mahārāja* Nandivarman. The Pedda-Vēgi copper-plates belong to the Śālaṅkāyana-Mahārāja Nandivarman and give the genealogy of the king for three generations before him. This last-mentioned charter has been published with plates in the *Journal of the Āndhra Historical Research Society*² as well as in the Telugu monthly *Bhārati* for Raktākshin, Śrāvaṇa (1924) in which the genealogy of the Śālaṅkāyanas is discussed at some length. The two Kantēru plates have been published by the late Mr. K. V. Lakshmana Rao in the *Journal of the Āndhra Historical Research Society*³ but without facsimiles of plates and seal. None of the seals of this family known so far contains a clear relief figure of the emblem, and the quadruped faintly seen on the seal of the Ellore Prākṛit Plates of Vijaya-Dēvavarman has been surmised to be a tiger. But the seal of the present grant is fairly well-preserved and shows distinctly the figure of the animal on it as a couchant bull. As the genealogical arrangement and to a certain extent also the text of the inscription given by Mr. Rao require revision, I re-edit the Kantēru plates of Vijaya-Skandavarman with the kind permission of the Superintendent for Epigraphy.

While editing the two sets of Kantēru plates in the *Journal of the Āndhra Historical Research Society* Mr. Lakshmana Rao who was the first to examine the plates, with seal, assigned the seal of the present grant to the set of king Vijaya-Nandivarman instead of to that of Vijaya-Skandavarman as noticed in the *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy* for 1924-25. This raised a doubt about the correctness of the description given in the *Annual Report* and to clear it and make a comparative study of the known seals of the family, I obtained on loan, through the kind

¹ Nos. 1-3 of Appendix A of the *Madras Epigraphical Report* for 1924-25.

² Vol. I, pp. 92 ff. An indistinct plate of the seal of the present record is published here. But see foot-note 1, p. 43, below.

³ Vol. V, pp. 21 ff.

No. 11.—TIRUPPUVANAM PLATES OF JATAVARMAN KULASEKHARA I.

By K. V. SUBRAHMANYA AIYER, B.A., COIMBATORE.

Tiruppūvanam, a village in the Śivaganga Zamindari of the Rāmnād District and a station on the Madura-Rāmnād section of the South-Indian Railway, is situated on the south bank of the river Vaigai, called Vāgavati in Sanskrit. It is 12 miles south-east of Madura and 16 miles west of Śivaganga.¹ The Pushpavanśvara temple of the village is an ancient one : it is celebrated in the hymns of the three Tamil Śaiva saints Tirujñānasambandha, Appar and Sundaramūrtti-Nāyanār.² Invited by Kulachchirai-Nāyanār, the Pāṇḍya minister, and Maṅgaiyarkkaraśi, a Chōla princess and queen of the Pāṇḍya king known in Tamil literature as Nēlvēli-pōrvenra-nipraśir-Neḷumāraṇ, saint Tirujñānasambandha is said to have gone to Madura, and to have overcome the Jainas under whose influence the king had become a staunch supporter of their cause. He brought the king back to the Śaiva faith, and on this occasion, after accomplishing the mission for which he was sent, the saint, accompanied by Neḷumāraṇ, his queen and minister, visited thirteen other places in the Pāṇḍya country which were held sacred by the Śaivas and sang hymns on them.³ From the hymns on Tiruppūvanam, it is gathered that it was, in those days, a flourishing city with palatial buildings, fine gardens and broad streets and contained residences of wealthy families of weavers.⁴ The Śiva temple of the place is stated in the hymns to have been worshipped by 'the three kings of the South', i.e., the Chōra, Chōla and Pāṇḍya.⁵ Sundaramūrtti-Nāyanār is also stated to have visited the place in company with the three contemporary sovereigns of the same three families.⁶ The Pāṇḍya king of his time, we are told, was a son-in-law of the Chōla. It was at a spot near the city of Tiruppūvanam that the Jainas had been impaled in the days of Māravarman, the victor of the Nēlvēli.⁷

The Tiruppūvanam temple is in possession of **twelve copper-plate⁸ leaves**. Having learnt through the kind offices of the Brahmin lady trustee of the Tiruppūvanam temple residing in Madura, that the plates in question are safely preserved in the *kurivēlam* of the temple, I went to the place and made a fruitless attempt to get the plates for comparing the published text and correcting it *in situ*. Frustrated in my endeavour I wrote to the Government Epigraphist for India to obtain the plates on loan and take their impressions and supply me with one set of them for editing the inscription in the *Epigraphia Indica*. He took prompt action on my

¹ Sewell's *List of Antiquities*, Vol. I, p. 298.

² Tirujñānasambandha has contributed 'Araiṇār punalum' 11 verses and 'Mādamar mēniyaṇāgi' 11 verses, while Appar has sung 'Vaṇḍirēru tirisūlam' 11 verses. Of Sundaramūrtti's decade of verses, two are lost; the first verse of his *paḍigam* commences with 'Tiruvudaiyār'.

³ These fourteen places are Tiruvālavāy, Tirupparaṅkunṇam, Tiru-Āppanūr, Tiruvēḍagam, Tirupputtūr, Tirukkoḷunkunṇam, Tirukkānappēr, Tiruppūvanam, Tiruchchuliyai, Tirukkurrālam, Tiru-Nēlvēli, Tiruvirā-mēśvaram, Tiruvāḷānai and Tiruppunavāśal.

⁴ 'Tērār vidi māda-nidu ten-Riruppūvanamē'.

⁵ 'Muraiyāṇ mudi-śēr Teṇṇar Śērar Sōḷarga-ḍām vananṇum tiraiyār-oli-śēr kemmai-ṅgu lep-Riruppūvanam'; 'Māra-ambir-Bennar Śērar Sōḷargaḷ pōrriśaippa'.

⁶ P. 1123 of *Periyapurānam*, 1934 edition.

⁷ 'Bāsurargaḷ panind-ēttum Pāraṇa-naṇṇar-marunḍi-kāśiṇimēl viḷaṇṇiyadu kaḷuvar-paḍaiṇḍeṇavē', (*Tiruvālavāyudaiyār-Tiruvilaiyāḍarpurānam*, 38, v. 50).

⁸ About them Sewell wrote as follows in his *List of Antiquities*, Vol. I, p. 298 :—

"A copper-plate grant of ten leaves belonging to the temple has been published by Bishop Caldwell in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. VI, p. 142, together with a supplementary plate of two leaves."

The writer must have meant 'sides' by 'leaves', for Burgess and Natesa Sastri correctly note "Five plates only of the *śāsanam* are there (i.e., in the *Indian Antiquary*) given in *fac-simile* from Sir Walter Elliot's impressions. The whole is here given translated from new impressions obtained with considerable difficulty owing to the ignorant stupidity of the Temple guardians" (*A.S.S.I.*, Vol. IV, p. 21).

suggestion and on 31st January 1939 placed at my disposal two excellent sets of impressions from which I now edit the plates. Dr. Chakravarti took the measurements of the plates and found that what was given in the *Archæological Survey of South India*, Vol. IV, was incorrect. His note is given below :—

“ Of the first set, the first ten plates measure approximately 16½” in length (the plates are not of exactly equal size) while their breadth is roughly 5½” except of the 4th and 10th which are 6” and 6½” respectively. The eleventh plate is 17½” long and 6½” broad. The plate of Kōnērīṇ-maikōṇḍāṇ (supplementary plate) is 17½” long and 6 ” broad.”

All the plates bear writing on both sides and the lines run from edge to edge in some of them without leaving any vacant margin.¹ There are 15 lines on each of the plates I, II, III, IVa, VIb, VIIb, VIIIb, and Xb; 16 lines on IVb, V, VIa, VIIa, VIIla, IXa, Xa, and XIa; and 17 lines on IXb and XIb. On the whole there are 343 lines of writing in the first set of eleven plates. A ring-hole is bored in the centre of the left side about an inch and a half from the left edge. Though the plates have not got raised rims to protect the writing, the inscription is fairly well preserved excepting some portions of the last four lines of the first face of the sixth plate. A few letters on Va, IVa and b and Xa are also damaged. The existence of the hole is an indication that the plates must have been strung on a ring bearing perhaps a seal also, though there is none at present. In all probability it must have been lost years ago.

The text and translation given in volume IV of the *Archæological Survey of South India* require revision. There are serious misreadings especially in proper names. To point only a few, the volume gives *punaratō* for *°s-tata mō* (l. 3), *grāmasy=ārādhik-āptim* for *grāmasy=āghāṭa-kṣiptim* (l. 4), *Kakaṇēri* for *Nakkaṇēri* (l. 33), *pāsakappaḍi* for *pāḍaṇappaḍi* (l. 38), *janamikaḷ* (*janamikaḷ* ?) for *jaṇmikaḷ* (l. 44), *Kakekudī* for *Kaḍukkudī* (l. 47), *Śimbāṇēri* for *Śeṭṭālēri* (l. 48), *Tiruppu* for *tiruppu* (l. 49), *irvūr-pārttaṇṇaṇ* for *irvūr-pār-ḥundaṇ* (l. 60), *Narimaṇṇam-āṇa* for *Narimaṇṇam-āṇa Varagunda-Nallūrum* (ll. 60f.), *irvūr Muḍār-Śilaiyaṇ* for *irvūrppār-ḥilaiyaṇ* (l. 61), *pāsalaipūr* for *Pālaiyūr* (l. 90), *tōḷarum* for *dēvarum* (ll. 91f.), *Mahā-vidhinallūr* for *Kāvidinallūr* (l. 112), *Puliśāṇi* for *Pullāṇi* (ll. 119f.), *Kēśaraṇum* for *Kōraṇum* (l. 128), *Kēśaraṇ* for *Āḍuvāṇ* (ll. 130f.), *Sidayil-araṇa-Battāṇ* for *Śi-Kaylāya-Battāṇ* (l. 135), *Valliyaṇ piḍittalai* for *Villiy-āṇa Muḍittalai* (l. 137), *marucāy-ikkārūḍē* for *marucāy-Idukkār-ūḍē* (l. 191), *vaḷakku varayum* for *vaḷavāyūm* (ll. 195f.), *Palaiṇḍiyai* for *paḷaiṇ-kōyilaiṇḍiyai* (ll. 197f.), *i-n* for *te* (l. 200), *maralāra* for *Mālār* (l. 219), *Śeyyai* for *śerrai* (l. 235), *kkāra* for *kūr* (l. 242), and *kavāyil* for *avarāyil* (l. 243).

As only the first five plates are numbered, it is not possible to say definitely whether the numbering was done when the plates were engraved or at a subsequent date. The caligraphy of the numerals seems to indicate that the numbers must have been incised at a somewhat later date. It behoves us therefore to see if the rest of the plates are in order and whether the set is complete.² On examination, we find that the face commencing with the line *nōkki* of the seventh plate is the second, for it reads well with the syllables at the end of the other face *karaiyē-te* which must therefore be the first face of that plate. And the first line of the first face has the syllables *i-karayē* which reads in continuation of the last syllables of the sixth plate, *viz., ikkālṇ-mē*. In volume IV of the *Archæological Survey of South India*, by reading the second face of the seventh

¹ [Like Leiden Plates the writing on these plates also seems to have been done by the process known as *à cire perdue*. (See above, Vol. XXII, p. 213).—Ed.]

² This is easily done by reading through the first and last lines of each face of the plates and marking out the second face by the fact of the first line reading in continuation of the syllables at the end of the other face. This done, we know the first face of each plate. Then we have only to see where the syllables at the end of the second face of one plate run on with the first syllable of the first face of another.

plate after the end of the sixth plate and then reading the first face after the second, a mistake has been committed.¹ The order of the rest of the plates as given there is correct and none of the plates is missing. Another defect in the published text is that it has omitted to give one full line found on the second side of the ninth plate. This mistake has occurred as two consecutive lines (ll. 272-3) commence with the same syllables *ku nōkki-chcheṇṇu Mīla-gaṇṇū-ku*. There are many instances where final consonants have been treated as the first combined consonant and *vice versa*. These defects and the summary treatment of the contents in the *Archæological Survey of South India*, Vol. IV, make the re-publication of the inscription a great desideratum.

Excepting the first five lines of the first plate, first side, which are in **Sanskrit** verse written in **Grantha** characters, the rest of the inscription is in **Tamiḻ** language and alphabet. Though the orthographical peculiarities found in the record are common to the epigraphs of this period, a few of them deserve to be noted here. There are numerous instances where the *sardhi* rules are not observed. In the Tamiḻ portion Grantha letters are used in many places where Sanskrit words occur. For instances see *Vēla. Śāstra* (l. 16) and *brahmadēya* (l. 19). The superscript *r* is marked by a short slanting stroke engraved on the top of the letter, e.g., *rhu* (l. 2), *mma* (l. 13). Punctuation is denoted by what is called single or double *pillaiyār-ṣuḻi* and *visarga*-like mark; see, for example, lines 3 and 5. Medial long *i* is well distinguished from the short by being given a closed loop on the right of the concave curve on the top of the letters (ll. 5, 6, 9, 12, 39, 40, 42). *Ṛk* and *ṛt* are often used for *rkk* and *rtt*; see, for example, *Mīlaganārku* (ll. 272-3), *Māraṅkīrti* (l. 270) and *Kaṇṇakīrti* (l. 269). The words *mūlaiyīr-tiru* (l. 288), *ellaigīr-tiru* (l. 284) and *ēmbaṇṇ* (l. 309) ought to be *mūlaiyīr-tiru*, *ellaigīr-tiru* and *ēmbaṇṇ*. There are instances of doubling of consonants where unnecessary and of omission to double them when necessary; e.g., *cheṇṇu-kKaṭṭi* (l. 281). Another noteworthy feature is the use of the accusative for the locative in words like *vāṅkkālay-iraṇḍu* and *kūlaiy-iraṇḍi*. In these cases, Tamiḻ would require **kāḍi*. Influence of Sanskrit has perhaps to account for the departure in these cases.

The inscription is in **two parts** of which the **first**, which is very brief, is in Sanskrit and covers only five lines. It gives the mythical genealogy of the Pāṇḍyas traced from Hari (Vishṇu) through Atri, Moon, Buddha and Purāṇavas, and states that Rājagambhīradēva, in the **25th year of his reign**, on the day of Svāti, corresponding to a Sunday and the eleventh *tithi* of the dark fortnight of the month in which the Sun was in Dhanush, ordered the determination of the boundaries of the village which was called after his name, by circumambulating it with a female elephant. It is to be noted that not even the king's immediate ancestors are mentioned in the record. The king is said to have been apprised of the formation of the new village by Sundarēsa. Who this person is it is not possible to say definitely, as the corresponding Tamiḻ portion omits this fact altogether. Since the formation of the kind is generally conveyed to kings by officials such as Secretaries and Ministers and sometimes even by princes who were in attendance on them, we may not be wrong in thinking that Sundarēsa was one such person of distinction. We know from a record of Jaṭavarman Kulaśēkhara I (with *Pāṇḍikūḷattī* introduction) found at Chaturvēdimaṅgalam² that the king had a brother-in-law by name Aḷagapperumāl, and our plates also enable us to gather that Pillaiyār Aḷagapperumāl held a high position, for a person under him bearing the official designation *adigāraṁ* acted as *kaṇṇāṇi* in the settlement of boundaries

¹ This defect was noticed by me when I arranged the plates in order and got them strung on a wire. It was independently noticed by Dr. Chakravarti also when he had the impressions taken of the inscription on the plates.

² No. 298 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1927-28.

of the new village. It is not unlikely that *machchunapār* Alagapperumāl and *Pellayār* Alagapperumāl indicate two different persons. Sundarēsa being a good Sanskrit rendering of the name Alagapperumāl, there is a possibility of one of the two persons of that name being referred to. But of this we cannot be certain. If a prince is meant, can it refer to Māgavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I who, at the time of the record, might be supposed to have been serving the king? The **second part** which is in Tamil, opens with the usual eulogy of king Jātavarman Kulasekhara commencing with the words *Pūṇḍikilatti* and runs to the end of the eleventh plate. It consists of two principal sentences, the first beginning from the end of line 5 (plate Ia) and ending with the beginning of line 139 (plate Vb) with *śūradu*, and the second commencing with the words *padan-māṇṇ-ārādūn-edu* in line 139 (plate Vb) and ending with the word *paṇṇadu* in line 338 (plate XIb). These two sentences are followed by the names of the writer of the document and the signatories who attested it and these cover up lines 338 to 343 in the last plate. The composing of this Tamil part of the inscription consisting of 338 lines of writing and covering nearly all the 22 sides of the plates, obscures the clear understanding of the various transactions involved and detailed in it. The main sentence, which gives the principal and **immediate object** of the inscription is *Kulasekharadēvaṅku yāṇḍu 13-ēdu nāl nāl-āyicattu muṇṇāru arupa-dipāl* (ll. 14f.) *paḍi-nuḍanda eḷaikkū* or **paḍikkū arar-ālar śeydu kuḍuttu paṇṇāradu* (l. 73 and l. 138) meaning "this is the deed drawn up and given in the thirteenth year and four thousand and three-hundred and sixtieth day of the reign of Kulasekharadēva (*embodying*) the boundaries as circumambulated by the female elephant". The noting down of the boundaries of the entire village from point to point is thus the main object of this set of eleven copper-plates; and it may be said that it is the last of a series of actions involved in the constitution and grant of the new village of Rājagambhīra-chaturvēdimaṅgalam as *brahmadēya*. The document was drawn up by the persons authorised in the royal order issued on the day specified in the Sanskrit portion as *vijē ratsarē pañcha-viṃśe Chaṇḍāmśār=ātta-chāpē Karakapattathan Kṛṣṇa-pakṣa-Ākṛāra-Svātī-yōgē* and repeated in the Tamil portion in the words *padan-māṇṇ-ārādūn-edu paṇṇāradūn-āṇḍu Iṭhanu-nāyarṛu nālān-tiyadiyūm apara-pakṣattu ikāḍaśayam Śaṇi-kkūlamaiyūm perṇa Śōḍi-nāl* (ll. 139ff.). This earlier **date** had been calculated by the late Professor Kielhorn and found to agree with **Saturday, 29th November A. D. 1214**. As such, the 13th year and 4360th day of the king's reign (=the 26th year, or more correctly 25 years and 40 days) which relates to the drawing up of the boundary deed, must be later than A. D. 1214. November 29, by such number of unexpired months and days as remained in the 25th year (*i.e.*, 12th current year after the 13th) of the king's reign *plus* 40 days of the 26th year (*i.e.*, 13th year opposite the 13th). The formation of the *brahmadēya* and the grant of it had already been effected when the order for the *kariṇi-bhramaya* was given on the 29th November A.D. 1214. This is plain by the statement *nikki uḷḷa nalam muṇṇuḍaiyārum paḷam pērum vellāṇ-vagaiyūm mudalan-tarittu oru-nāḍum or-ūrum oru paravum ākki Rājagambhīra-vaḷanāḍu Rājagambhīra-chaturvēdimaṅgalam=caṇṇun-tirunāmattāl brahmadēyañ=cheydaruḷi* (ll. 70-72) meaning 'the remaining lands had been constituted as the *brahmadēya* village of Rājagambhīra-chaturvēdimaṅgalam so called after the sacred name (of the king) and included in Rājagambhīra-vaḷanāḍu: the previous owners, old names, the classification as *vellāṇ-vagai*, cultivating ryots and *mudal* of the lands removed and classed under one *nāḍu*, one *paravu* and one village'. We shall refer to the significance of this in the sequel. With regard to the royal order issued on the 29th November A.D. 1214, it must be said that while the Sanskrit portion stops with mentioning the immediate circumambulation of the village which was called after the king's name (*sv-ābhidānasya grāmasy=āghāṭa-kṛiptim=prati sapadi karēṇum gamayitum=avadat Rājagambhīradēvaḥ*), the Tamil portion is more explicit and states what ought to be done further. It tells us that the circumambulation of the four boundaries of the said village must be effected in the presence of the superintendents (appointed for the purpose), and,

for the boundaries thus gone round, a deed also must be drawn up and given. This is clear from the passage *ivvūr nāṅ-ellaṭṭuṇ=kaṅkāṇigaḷōḍuṇ=kūḍa=ppiḍi-sūḷṇdu piḍi naḍanda ellaikku arav-ḍalai śeydu kuḍukkav-erū tiruvāy-moḷindarulinamaiyil* (ll. 72-74).

We have referred above to three dates that occur in the inscription and have shown that two of them are identical and relate to the day on which the boundaries of the new village were ordered to be determined by the king and that the third, which is expressed in years and days, and which is later than the other two was the day on which the document was drawn up. The identical nature of two of the dates being assured by the details, the mention of the year in two ways, viz., *pañcha-vimśē* (the 25th) and *paḍiṇ-mūṇṛāvaḍiṇ edir paṇṇiraṇḍu* (the 12th year opposite the 13th) shows that the number of years given after the word *edir* must be added to the number expressed before it. Two other dates occur in the inscription, viz., *paḍiṇ-mūṇṛāvaḍiṇ-edir paṭṭām-āṇḍu-vurai* (up to the 10th year opposite the 13th) and *paḍiṇ-mūṇṛāvaḍiṇ edir paḍiṇ-on-ṛām-āṇḍu-mudal* (from the 11th year opposite the 13th), in connection with the clubbing together of the villages and lands in the new village and the grant of it as a *brahmadēya*. The first refers to the state of the items of lands as they stood up to the 23rd year and the second refers to the fact that the *brahmadēya* had to take effect from the next year, i.e., the 24th year. Evidently the omission to recognise this particular fact, viz., that the 25th year of the king's reign is expressed by *paḍiṇ-mūṇṛāvaḍiṇ-edir paṇṇiraṇḍu*, though recognising the identical nature of the astronomical details given both in the Sanskrit and Tamil portions, has led the late Pandit Natesa Sastri, who seems to have taken all the years to be one and the same, to postulate the following theory :—

“ Nothing definite can be made out of this phrase (*paḍiṇ-mūṇṛāvaḍiṇ edir paḍiṇ-on-ṛām-āṇḍu*) for the present. Some are of opinion that one of them refers to the age of the king and the other to the number of years he had reigned, but this *Śāsanam* contradicts that theory ; for in IIa, l. 10, we have the 10th year opposite the 13th year, and in Vb, l. 2, the 12th year opposite the 13th year. The following theory may be suggested :—The description of the day of letting loose of the elephant in Ia and of the day in Va (correctly Vb) exactly coincides ; and fortunately in Va (Vb) instead of merely stating in the 13th year, it is said in the 12th year opposite the 13th year ; from these and bearing in mind that at the commencement of the *Śāsanam* it is stated “ in the 13th year, 4364th day ”, and that according to the rough Hindu calculation of 360 days for every year, 4364 days come to $\frac{4364}{360} = 12$ years and 44 days, I think that “ in the 12th year opposite the 13th year ”, may mean, after the completion of the 12th year in the 13th year of the reign. Similarly “ 11th year opposite the 13th year ” may mean after the completion of the 11th year, i.e., in the 12th year of the reign. Similarly 10th, in each case the present year of the reign is also added ”.¹

Against this, Burgess noted : “ This theory of the Pandit's is ingenuous, but will not do ; the 13th year cannot coincide with parts of three years. Can it be 1310, 1311, and 1312 Śaka that is meant by the dates ? If so, the number of days may refer to the reign ”.²

Except in showing the difficulties felt in explaining the double dates, these theories have no value whatsoever to us now, and we pass on with the remark that the singling out of a particular year—in this case the 13th year—still remains to be definitely and satisfactorily made out.

That the determination of the boundaries commenced on the very day the order was given might be inferred from line 140. I would consider that there is an omission of the words ‘ *piḍi naḍappittu* ’ after ‘ *sūḷṇdu* ’ in the extract given above for the reason that the document, while repeating the same in another place, has the phrase ‘ *piḍi naḍatta=ppiḍi naḍandapaḍikkū* ’ (l. 138). There are still other defects in this part of the document. It omits to state to whom the order

¹ A. S. I., Vol. IV, p. 30, n. 4.

² *Ibid.*

was issued and what formalities were observed by the recipients. Judging from other copper-plates it may be said that the order must have been addressed to the assembly of the district of Rājagambhīra-vaṇaṇḍu. It could not have been issued to the assembly of any of the sub-divisions in it, for the villages and lands that had been clubbed to form the new village of Rājagambhīra-chaturvēdimāṅalam, belonged to more than one sub-division. Then again, the inscription does not state to whom this document of boundaries was ordered to be given or was granted. The verb *kuḍukka* (shall be given) in the passage extracted above, has no object. But it may be reasonably presumed that it should have been directed to be given to the donees and must have been left in the possession of the *subhā* of Rājagambhīra-chaturvēdimāṅalam representing the vast number of one thousand and eighty donees. If this was the case, there arise the questions as to how the Tiruppuvanam temple has come to be in possession of it, whether it is the original document that was granted, or only a copy, and if a copy, whether such a copy could not be found elsewhere. The answer to these questions is given below in the introduction to the article on the supplementary plate.

The inscription tells us that eleven persons were appointed to superintend the settlement of boundaries. Their names (ll. 74-93) are given in Appendix A. I. Of these eleven persons, one (No. 4) was the agent of the *Tiruvāykkōḻi* officer Poṇṇan Sūriyadēvaṇ *alias* Jayadhara-Pallavaraiyaṇ, another (No. 5) was the *kaṇkāṇi* of Poyyāmolidēvar, a third (No. 6) was the *kaṇkāṇi* of Śrīrāmaṇ Tiruvudaiyaṇ *alias* Pottappichchōlar, the fourth (No. 7) was the *kaṇkāṇi* of the *māḷigaittaṇam* officer Śivalayaṇ Aḷaḷiyamaṇavāḷaṇ *alias* Kāḷingarāyaṇ, the fifth (No. 8) was the *kaṇkāṇi* of Maḷavarāyar, the sixth (No. 9) was the *adigūṇam* of Pillaiyār Aḷagapperumāl and the seventh (No. 11) was one of the *aṇṇakkar* of Aḷaḷiyapāṇḍiyanār, who was scrutinising the affairs of the District of Śōḷapāṇḍiya-vaṇaṇḍu. Along with the 11 *kaṇkāṇis*, 65 others representing the villages adjacent to Rājagambhīra-chaturvēdimāṅalam, most of them being connected with the formation of the new village, went with the elephant and fixed the boundaries. Their names and their native villages and *nādu* (Appendix A, II to XVI) are given in plates IVa (l. 93) to Vb (l. 138). The details of the boundaries from point to point commencing with a spot on the north-eastern corner and ending with the same spot are set forth in plates Vb (l. 140) to XIb (l. 338). This document mentioning the details of boundary of the village, *i.e.*, this inscription, was drawn up by one of the officials (No. 1 of App. A, I) and was attested by three others (Nos. 2 to 4 of the same Appendix) (ll. 338-343).

The duty of the eleven superintendents, who were mostly officials drawn from various parts of the country and were unconnected with the villages that were combined together to form the *brahmadēya*, must have been to see that the procedure was correctly observed. The actual work was left to be done by the local people. Of the sixty-five others, seven including one who was a resident of Tiruppuvanam, led the elephant, while the others showed the boundaries of their respective villages. The ceremony of circumambulation with seventy-six responsible persons going with an elephant and covering a large area, must have been an imposing one: and by the very nature of the troubles involved in the execution of the task, it must have been done in several stages and taken a long time to finish. The wide extent which was covered by the newly constituted village may, to some measure, be conceived by the fact that it included in it as many as one hundred and forty old villages and lands which lay not in one sub-division but in five separate divisions, *viz.*, Kīraṇūr-nāḍu, Panaṅgalūr-nāḍu, Tiyandaikkūḍi-nāḍu, Mērkūḍi-nāḍu and Puṇappaḷalai-nāḍu (Appendix B). The party for the settlement of boundaries had to pass through a number of roads, rivers, and canals on their way. From Śey-yakulattūr there passed three roads, one to Vēmbaṅguḍi (ll. 333f.), another to Kaḍambaṅguḍi

(l. 142), and the third to Mūvaraiyarkōṭṭai (l. 145). From Mānavīramadurai there were roads running to Vēmbaṅguḍi (ll. 143f.), Mūvaraiyarkōṭṭai (l. 147), Neṭṭūr (l. 154), and Piḍāvūr (ll. 149f.). Between Kaṇṇaṇūr and Dēda(va)kōṭṭai (l. 225), there was another road. From the village of Miḷaganūr there were roads leading to Iruñchirai (l. 258) and Kōṭṭakīrti in Kāñai-Irukkai (ll. 244f.). Two other roads connected Vēlāṇēri and Aravaṅkuḍi (ll. 205f.), and Iḍaikkāṭṭūr and Vēmbaṅguḍi (ll. 319 & 330).

The inscription may be said to express in action the abstract laws laid down by the ancient law-givers in the determination of boundaries of villages and lands. The number of villages that were directly concerned in this matter were as many as sixteen.¹ As I have already discussed the laws to be observed in such cases it is needless to reiterate them here.²

The early part of this inscription, which forms as it were the preamble of this document of boundaries, informs us how the new village of Rājagambhīra-chaturvēdimaṅgalam came to be formed and what old villages and lands were taken up to constitute it. On a date, which is not specified, while the king was sitting on the seat called Maḷavarājan in the hall of the bed-chamber of his palace at Madurai, situated in the sub-division of Maḍakkulam, he ordered that a village called Rājagambhīra-chaturvēdimaṅgalam after his name, should be formed consisting of one thousand and two hundred shares and be given as a *brahmudīya*, with effect from the eleventh year opposite the thirteenth of his reign, to one thousand and eighty Brāhmaṇas, who were versed in the *Vēdas* and *Śāstras* and were capable of expounding them, each being given one share, and the remaining one hundred and twenty shares being set apart for the temple and for those that had to do service. The date that is not specified here may be taken to be the tenth year opposite to the thirteenth of the king's reign, since it is stated that the grant had to take effect from the eleventh year opposite the thirteenth. The names of the lands and villages that had been taken up and included in Rājagambhīra-chaturvēdimaṅgalam as given in lines 19 to 69 are noticed in a separate appendix (B). This list of villages ends with the remark *ūga irrūgaḷir= paḷan-dēradāṇam paḷlichechundam kārāṇmai-āṇa nilam nīkki*, i.e., 'excluding from these villages such lands as are old *dēradāṇas*, *paḷlichechundas* and *kārāṇmai*'. This general remark applies to all villages other than the ones which, though being *dēradāṇas*, etc., had been specifically stated in the body of the list as having been taken up for inclusion in the new village. Such are the three *dēradāṇa* villages, Vāgaikuḍi (l. 20), Muttūranāroṭṭai (ll. 59f.), and Śirukilāṅkāṭṭūr (l. 68) which belonged to the temple of Tiruppūvaṇamuḍaiyār. Some of the villages and lands of this list find mention in the description of boundaries, being situated on the boundary line. We learn from the description of boundaries that Marudūr lay just to the west, and Saṅkaramaṅgalam just to the south of Mānavīramadurai, that Nirambaiyūr was to the east of Sōmāttūr, that Vēlāṇēri was to the south of Karuṅguḷam, that Miḷaganūr was to the north of both Kōṭṭakīrti and Kāñai-Irukkai, that Karpakīrti in Kāñai-Irukkai was situated just to the west of Mēṇ-Chelī, and to the south of Puvaṇinallūr, that Neṅkuṇam was immediately to the east of Kuvaḷaivēli, that Vāgaikuḍi was to the north of both Tirumāliruñjōlainallūr and Śirukuḍi *alias* Virakāmugamaṅgalam, and to the east of Vēllūrkuruchchi and to the south of Mānābharapa-chaturvēdimaṅgalam which lay to the north of Tiruvāvaṇam situated just to the east of Vēllūrkuruchchi, and lastly, that Kuḍaṇjāḍi was to the south of Sundankuruchchi. From the boundaries given, we also learn that Rājagambhīra-chaturvēdimaṅgalam had on its west Kiraṇūr-nāḍu,

¹ Mānavīramadurai, 2. Marudūr, 3. Mēṇ-Paśalai, 4. Kīṭ-Paśalai, 5. Poliyūr, 6. Kaḷḷikuḍi, 7. Iruñchirai in Kāñai-Irukkai, 8. Miḷaganūr, 9. Mālaṅguḍi, 10. Śirukulāṭṭūr, 11. Śūrakuḍi, 12. Viḍattal, 13. Vēllūrkuruchchi, 14. Perumpuliyūr, 15. Vēlūr and 16. Tiruppūvaṇam.

² Above, Vol. XXIV, pp. 30ff.

on the north Paṇṇāḷūr-nāḍu, on the east Tiyaṇḍaikūḍi-nāḍu, and on the south Purappaṇṇāḷai-nāḍu. The inscription mentions the rivers Vaigai *alias* Śrīvallabhappērāru (l. 161), Paraḷaiyāru (l. 198), Kaḷavaḷināḍapāru of Paṇṇāḷūr (l. 318) and Paraḷaikkāl (l. 193) and states that three of the *dēvadāna* lands of the temple of Tiruppuvaṇamudaiyār, named Muttūranāroṭṭai, Vāgaikūḍi and Śirukilāṅkāṭṭūr, had been added on to the new village of Rājagambhīra-chaturvēdimaṅgalam as well as certain specified lands which formed the *dēvadāna* of the temples of Paṣalaināthar and Śrī-Vaikunda-Viṇṇagar-Āḷvār of Mēṇ-Paṣalai *alias* Śrīvallabha-chaturvēdimaṅgalam (ll. 48—51).

Like the three *dēvadāna* villages of Vāgaikūḍi, Muttūranāroṭṭai and Śirukilāṅkāṭṭūr, the whole village of Mīlaganūr had been taken up and included in Rājagambhīra-chaturvēdimaṅgalam. In exchange for the last, the following other villages were given, *viz.*, Kuvaḷaiyēh, Pudukkuḷam, Māraṇkīrti, Kāvīdinallūr, Kaḷambamaṅgalam, Śāttiyār-ēmbal in Aechchāṅkāṭṭirukkai, and that part of Araiyakuḷam in Kāṇai-Irukkai which remained after removing the holding (*kāṇi*) of Mandari Rāman *alias* Pallavaraiyar (ll. 110—114). Care was taken to have the previous owners of these villages removed, their old names changed and the original constitution altered and the whole, like the lands and villages that were included in Rājagambhīra-chaturvēdimaṅgalam, grouped together and the newly formed village of Mīlaganūr was given the name Rājēndrasīṅganallūr. It was placed under the division Aechchāṅkāṭṭirukkai and entered as such in State accounts (ll. 114—116). The persons that were entrusted with the formation of this new village are given in group IX of Appendix A: they were among the party that accompanied the female elephant. It is worthy of note that in the constitution of this village also, which was not a Chaturvēdimaṅgalam, the same precaution was taken, as in the other, to bring the different units under one control and to make it homogeneous. The words used, *viz.*, *oru-nāḍum or-ūrum oru-paṇṇarum āḷḷa*, clearly indicate that it became a distinct constituency with single class of interest as Chaturvēdimaṅgalam was.

With the aid of this and a few other allied records, we propose to consider here firstly the constitution of the Chaturvēdimaṅgalam referred to in the preamble and what it implies, secondly whether the king represented in the plates had any other introduction than the one beginning with *Pūṇṇakūḷottu* and thirdly the geography of the districts and divisions of the Pāṇḍya country mentioned in the plates. On all these matters the existing notions seem to need correction.

Like the founding of temples, construction of tanks, provisions made for the requirements of various shrines, the opening of educational institutions with competent teachers in various branches, erection of feeding houses for the poor and the learned, and provisions made for doctors and hospitals to minister to the needs of the sick,—furthering the cause of the study of the *Vēdas* and *Śāstras* was considered a meritorious act by South Indian kings and chiefs and it found a tangible expression in the form of Chaturvēdimaṅgalams, *brahmādēyas*, *aṇḍaras* or *aṇḍahāras* and the like. One can easily pick out the names of hundreds of Chaturvēdimaṅgalams by running through the inscriptions contained in the volumes of *South Indian Inscriptions* ranging from the seventh century A.D. to the time of the Vijayanagara kings. If it is remembered that each one of this class of villages had been originally granted to a very large collection of eminent men who had studied the *Vēdas* and *Śāstras* and that each one of the villages had an administrative body called the *sabhā*, as we know from numerous instances, consisting of several committees and a general body of representative members, whose number in some cases was very large and who, by the qualifications insisted on, always kept up a high standard of Vedic learning, there could be no denying the fact that in South India, at any rate, there was a regular and systematic study of the *Vēdas* and the branches of subjects connected with them, and there were

hundreds of thousands of persons who carried the torch of Vedic learning in the way it used to be handed down. We would like to point out that the donees of the newly constituted *brahmadēya* village of Rājagambhīra-chaturvēdimaṅgalam numbered as many as one thousand and eighty and that they had not only studied the *Vēdas* and *Śāstras* but were capable of expounding them. The cumulative conjunction *um* in the phrase *Vēdamum śāstramum pōy* and the use of the adjectival phrase *ryākhyātākkaḷāy irukkum* qualifying *Chaturvēdi-Bhaṭṭargaḷ* leave no doubt that the subjects of the *Vēdas* and *Śāstras* were studied not only with a view to grasping their meaning but in such a thorough manner as to entitle the votaries to be styled *ryākhyātās*, i.e., exegetes. Though these phrases are sufficient in themselves, we would point out some further instances from inscriptions which more clearly explain that these subjects were thoroughly studied in those days. These inscriptions use the additional word ' *poruṭpaḍa* ', i.e., ' with meaning ' before the verb ' *pōy* ' ' had gone through '. One of the inscriptions of Tiruttāṅgāl,¹ dated in the 9th year and 216th day of the reign of Jaṭavarman Kulaśēkhara with *Pūriṅkiḷatti* introduction (the same king that figures in the large Tiruppūvaṇam plates), registers a royal order issued on the representation of the king's officer Kāliṅgarāyar for creating a *brahmadēya* village called Kulaśēkhara-chaturvēdimaṅgalam by joining together four *dēvadāna* villages about Tiruttāṅgāl with lands and house-sites allotted to 54 Brāhmaṇas who were versed in the *Vēdas* and *Śāstras* and were capable of expounding them. The village-site where the Brāhmaṇas had to reside was named ' *Pugalōgagaṇḍanallūr* '. We may refer to another inscription² dated in the 8th year and 215th day of the reign of Mājavarma Sundara-Pāṇḍya II with the introduction *Pā-malar-tiruvum* which tells us that the great-grandfather of Śrī-Rāma Aḷagaṇ *alias* Aḷaḷiyapāṇḍiya-Brahmādhiraṇ had originally established, in the name of Vēṇāḍudaiyār, a village called Ravivarman-chaturvēdimaṅgalam and settled in it forty-eight Chaturvēdi-Bhaṭṭas who had learnt with meaning (*poruṭpaḍa*) the *Vēdas* and *Śāstras* and were capable of expounding them (*ryākhyātākkaḷāy-irukkum*), and twelve Bhaṭṭas who had to recite the *Vēdas* in the temple of Uḍaiyār Tirunelvēli-Uḍaiyār, thus making in all sixty persons. On the representation of these sixty persons and on the recommendation of the officer Ayyaṇ Maḷavarāyar, the king granted all the lands situated in Kaṇṇaṇūr *alias* Mānābharaṇappāḍi, within certain specified boundaries, excluding from them the old *dēvadānas* and *paḷlichechundas*, to be included in Ravivarman-chaturvēdimaṅgalam in order that the sixty persons settled in the village may get sixty shares, the temple of Śrī-Rāma-Viṇṇagar-Ālvār may have two shares, Pāṇḍimādēviśvaramuḍaiyār may have two shares and Toṇḷaimāṇ-Viṇṇagar-Ālvār may have one share. It is expressly stated that in this case, as indeed in others, the prior owners of lands as well as the classification under other heads had been removed and the whole constituted as one village with one *puravu*, one classification, etc. The point for note is that the Chaturvēdimaṅgalam was entirely a Brāhmanical village. And as we know that the *sabhā* was the functioning body in such a village, there is no room for thinking that the members in it could be of any other class. The inscription clearly tells us that the interest in the constituency vested with one class of people, all others being expressly stated to have been removed and changed. One of the inscriptions of the time of the Chōla king Rājarāja I gives the names of as many as 144 Brāhmanical Villages (*brahmadēyas*), which had to supply persons for the post of treasurers, temple-servants and accountants to the Rājarājēśvara temple at Tanjore.³ Without even a single exception, each one of these villages is stated to have had a *sabhā*. Numerous transactions of the *sabhā* are

¹ No. 543 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1922.

² No. 446 of S. I. I., Vol. V.

³ S. I. I., Vol. II, No. 69

recorded in inscriptions giving the names of the members present in the meetings, numbering in some cases thirty and forty, and all of them are Brāhmaṇas¹ as the titles and the *yōtras* show.

Still another mediæval Pāṇḍya inscription² dated in the 13th year of the reign of Jaṭavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I, with the characteristic title Ellāntalaiyāṇa-Perumāl, gives very interesting details regarding the formation of another similar village called Vikramapāṇḍya-chaturvēdimāṅgalam to settle down 108 Brāhmaṇas, many of whom were well-versed in the *Vēdas* and *Sāstras* and were capable of expounding them. For the housing accommodation of these and their families, as well as the men who were in charge of the village library and the village servants, four *vēlis* of land were purchased and set apart as village-site and it included in it the temple premises also. In purchasing the lands, the rights and privileges of the old tenants and title holders were completely bought up. Land for grazing the cattle was also provided for. For the maintenance of the 108 Brāhmaṇa families and others, 147½ *vēlis* of land in the village of Rājaśikhāmaṇinallūr *alias* Puḥyaṅguḍi were acquired. The following *ṇṇittis* were also provided for:—three for teachers of the *Vēdas*, one for teachers of the *Sūtras*, one and three-fourths for two doctors, half for *ambañiyas*, half for the village accountant, one-fourth for a drummer, one-fourth for a blacksmith, half for carpenter, one-fourth for goldsmith, three-eighths for *īraṅkolli*, three-eighths for barber, one-fourth for a washerman, three-fourths for a village watchman, and one-eighth for *veṭṭiyāṇ*. Further, it is said that three-fourths of the *nattam* land outside the Brāhmaṇa quarter, was set apart for *Vellāṇ-kāṇṇiyālar* and the remainder for other professional people. All taxes were remitted and it was stipulated that from the 14th year of the king's reign, *i.e.*, from the first year of the constitution of the new *agrahāra* village of Vikramapāṇḍya-chaturvēdimāṅgalam, 500 *kulam* of superior paddy had to be measured out every year to the temple at Chidambaram.

The contents of this inscription, as well as those of others of this class, some of which we have noticed above, show clearly that the constituency of Chaturvēdimāṅgalam was purely one of Brāhmaṇas, self-sufficient in every way; and other classes of people were given separate accommodation in the *nattam* lands and were there for performing specific acts. In this limited constituency having a fixed extent of land, be it great or small, which had been completely bought up with all rights, and with their old names, prior holdings and different heads of classification entirely removed, and vested with and owned by one class of people as one unit under the different and distinguishing name Chaturvēdimāṅgalam, there is absolutely no room for thinking that in the *sabhā* which, as we know from numerous inscriptions, was the administrative body functioning in such a village, there could have been any member that belonged to any other class of people. Though from the qualifications laid down in the two Uttaramallūr inscriptions for membership in committees and from the actual names of persons that are mentioned as members of *sabhās* in numerous other epigraphs, we could gather that the *sabhā* was the administrative body functioning in Brāhmaṇical villages and that it had only Brāhmaṇa members. more direct evidence is afforded in No. 3 of *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. VIII. This inscription states that a royal order having been issued by the Chōḷa king Rājādhirāja I to the officer Śōḷa-Pāṇḍya-Mūvēndavēḷar to the effect that from the interest to be given in paddy by *Brāhmaṇa-ūṇṇaḷ* (Brāhmaṇical villages) on sums received by them on loan from the treasury of the temple at Conjeevaram provision may be made for two Śivabrāhmaṇas performing worship and four Śivabrāhmaṇas performing *parichāruka* work, he directed the person that was looking after the

¹ Nos. 986 of *S. I. I.*, Vol. V; No. 133 of Vol. IV; and 231 of Vol. VIII.

² Nos. 277 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1913; and the review in part II of the *Madras Epigraphical Report*, 1914, p. 92.

temple affairs (*Kōyil-Śrīkāryam*) to make the *nimandas*. In the *nimanda* that was actually made in pursuance of this order, instead of '*Brāhmaṇa-ūrgaḥ*' as at first mentioned, we find the '*sabhās*' of the five villages Śīrukachchippēḍu, Uttamaśōḷa-chaturvēdimāṅgalam, Parāntaka-chaturvēdimāṅgalam, Mīlalaīmaṅgalam and Aparāyita (Aparājita)-chaturvēdimāṅgalam. The substitution of the '*sabhās*' of these five villages for '*Brāhmaṇa-ūrgaḥ*' makes it plain that the *sabhā* was the functioning body in Brāhmanical villages. This class of constituency, as indeed any other such as *ūr*, *naḡara*, etc., was not a promiscuous jumbling of varied interests as one finds at present. Unless one confounds ancient institutions with modern ones, no different and contrary view could be validly put forth. The different appellations such as *ūr*, *naḡara*, *sabhā*, etc., by which the administrative bodies of villages were called, show the different nature of their constitution. If the village was one of Veḷḷāṇ landlords with the necessary families of farmers, artisans, barbers, potters, washermen, doctors, etc., it had the assembly of the *ūr*, the members of which body were Veḷḷāṇ landlords. If the village was one of merchantmen, traders and men engaged in manufacture and industry, it was subject to the assembly of the *naḡara*. And if it was a Brāhmanical village having in it mostly Brāhman landlords with such families of farmers, etc., as were necessary for the well-being of the village and the cultivation of the lands in it, it had the *sabhā* for its management. The very formation of the different kinds of villages and the different appellations by which the functioning bodies, viz., *ūr*, *naḡara* and *sabhā*, were chosen to be so termed sufficiently indicate that there was no admixture of all classes of men in any one of them. Some of the functions discharged by the various assemblies might be similar and even identical; but it cannot account for a medley of members in any one of them. To judge from the transactions that have come down to us it seems that each one of the functioning bodies known by the different names which they bore, was a pure and unadulterated assembly functioning for a particular group or constituency. It will be unreasonable to think that in the council of the *ūr* or the *sabhā*, the landlords were represented by the potter, barber, washerman and the *ryots* who cultivated their lands and did some kind of work or other receiving the *ṛitti* assigned therefor. Though in the generality of cases, a village is described as being situated in a sub-division of a district there were some which were directly under a district. These villages appear to have been considerably big towns having in them several large quarters and hamlets subject to the control of various constitutional bodies; they may be likened to Presidency towns like Madras, Bombay, etc. Even here, the different bodies functioned for different classes.

Though the inscription under publication does not throw light on the political history of the time to which it relates, the information which this and the allied records cited above furnish, viz., that the class of villages going by the name-ending Chaturvēdimāṅgalam consisted exclusively of Brāhman land-owners and had an administrative body known by the special term *sabhā*, has been shown above to be of great value. The further information contained in the inscription that the donees who numbered one thousand and eighty were reputed for knowing 'with meaning' the *Vēdas* and *Śāstras* and were capable of expounding them, and this especially in the century that preceded the advent of Sāyaṇa, is sure to be welcomed by scholars. We need hardly say that by *Śāstras* are meant the subjects forming the *Vēdāṅgas*.¹ Had the inscriptions cited above not stopped with mentioning the fact that the Chaturvēdimāṅgalams referred to therein were divided into shares and given to the number of Brāhmins specified, viz., 1080, 108 and 60 who had studied the *Vēdas* and *Śāstras* and were *vyākhyātās* of them, but had furnished also their names, we would be in a position to know their attainments. The Tāṇḍantōṭ-

¹ The author of the *Amarakōśa* (3, 3, 179) defines *Śāstras* as *Nidēśa* and *granthas*, and the commentary of Mahēsvara adds that by *granthas* are meant *Vyākaraṇādayab* (Nīṇṇayasāgar Edition, 1907, p. 327).

tam plates,¹ though incomplete, besides saying that the chief Dayā mukha after duly informing the Pallava king Nandivarman Pallavamalla² got the village which acquired the name Dayā mukhamāṅgalam granted to no less than 308 Brāhmaṇa scholars of *Vēdas* and *Smytas*, give us the names of the donees. The list of persons,³ though only partially preserved, gives the names of 108 *Chaturvēdins*, 28 *Trivēdins*, 24 *Shadāṅgarids* and about ten *Kramarids*, all of whom must have known the meaning of the hymns. It will be strange if a *Shadāṅgarid* did not know the import of the *mantras* for the very object of the *Niruktabhāṣya*, one of the *Shadāṅgas*, was to fit a student to easily grasp the sense of the hymns.⁴ As the first part of the name of each one of the villages of this class is a sure indicator of the name of the king or chief that founded the village and thus points also to the time when it came into being, and as the second part testifies to the attainment in the Vedic lore of the donees of the village, we are enabled to say from the names of Chaturvēdimāṅgalams preserved in inscriptions that in different parts of South India there were large numbers of Vedic scholars from the 7th century down to the 13th. The names Simhaviṣṇu-chaturvēdimāṅgalam,⁵ Mahēndravarma-chaturvēdimāṅgalam,⁶ Naraśiṅga-chaturvēdimāṅgalam,⁷ Paramēśvara-chaturvēdimāṅgalam,⁸ Śivachūḷāmaṇi-māṅgalam,⁹ Vijayānkura-chaturvēdimāṅgalam,¹⁰ Avaniārāyaṇa-chaturvēdimāṅgalam,¹¹ Ekadhīra-chaturvēdimāṅgalam,¹² Vayiramēga-chaturvēdimāṅgalam,¹³ Mārapiḍugudēvi-chaturvēdimāṅgalam,¹⁴ Vidyāvinīta-chaturvēdimāṅgalam,¹⁵ Pallavaṇmahādēvi-chaturvēdimāṅgalam,¹⁶ Aparājita-chaturvēdimāṅgalam¹⁷ and others establish the patronage extended by the Pallava kings to men of Vedic learning from the 7th to the 9th century A.D. That the same spirit animated the Chōḷas who were the political successors of the Pallavas, accounts for the foundation and grant of villages and cities going by the names Viśaiyālaya-chaturvēdimāṅgalam,¹⁸ Kōḍaṇḍarāma-chaturvēdimāṅgalam,¹⁹ Parāntaka-chaturvēdimāṅgalam,²⁰ Jananātha-chaturvēdimāṅgalam,²¹ Gaṇḍarāditya-chaturvēdimāṅgalam,²² Ariṇjigai-chaturvēdimāṅgalam,²³ Śōḷamīrttāṇḍa-chaturvēdimāṅgalam,²⁴ Rājāśraya-chaturvēdimāṅgalam²⁵ and those that were called after the Chālukya-Chōḷas that followed Adhirājendra, and for the continuance of the study of the *Vēdas* and *Vēdāṅgas* from the eighth century to the thirteenth, patronised as it was by the kings and chiefs who had high regard for it.

¹ *S. I. I.*, Vol. II, pp. 517 f.

² These plates were at first relegated to Nandivarman III (*S. I. I.*, Vol. II, pp. 517 f.), but while editing the *Paṭṭattālamāṅgalam* grant, I pointed out that they must correctly be assigned to Nandivarman Pallavamalla (above, Vol. XVIII, p. 117).

³ *S. I. I.*, Vol. II, pp. 531-535.

⁴ The selection of *riks* for comment is supposed to have been made with such care that with a perfect understanding of their significance and with a thorough grasp of the lucid etymological explanation of the words occurring in them as furnished by the author of the *Nirukta*, it was believed that the student of the *Vēdas* would be able to know the meaning of other *mantras* without difficulty. The hymns and words treated in the *Nirukta* and the comment offered on them were considered sufficient to form a ready reference for other *mantras*. *Ētēśhu pariṇāṭēśku śakyatē mantrārthaḥ pariṇāṭum tē eva jñāpakā bhavanti*. (Durga's commentary on the *Nirukta*: Introduction).

⁵ No. 265 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1907.

⁶ No. 9 of the same collection for 1930-31.

⁷ *S. I. I.*, Vol. II, pp. 402, 404, 405.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 229.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. [28].

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. [23].

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 325.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 529n.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. [27].

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 337.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. [28].

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. [23], 321.

¹⁷ *S. I. I.*, Vol. VIII, No. 3.

¹⁸ *S. I. I.*, Vol. II, p. 327.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 321.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 76.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 74.

²² *Ibid.*

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 103.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. [23]n. and No. 20 of 1928-29.

²⁵ *S. I. I.*, Vol. II, p. 228.

In some cases, the term Chaturvēdimaṅgalam seems to have been contracted into Maṅgalam and such are those that had for their functioning body the *sabhā*. As instances may be cited Varaguṇamaṅgalam, Triyambakamaṅgalam, Kaṭṭāraimaṅgalam, Paraiśumaṅgalam, Māramaṅgalam, Avanipaśēkaramaṅgalam and Kaḍuṅḍōmaṅgalam mentioned in a Pāṇḍya grant of the time of Varaguṇa II.¹ All these places were in the Tinnevely District and their foundation by Pāṇḍya kings takes us from the sixth to the ninth century A.D., when Kaḍuṅḍō, Māravarman, Varaguṇa and Śrīmāra flourished. The Pāṇḍya king Parāntaka Neḍuṅḍaiyaṇ (A.D. 770) is said in the Vēlvikuḍi plates to have founded Śrīvaramaṅgalam,² so termed after one of his surnames. Maṅgalam was further contracted into Maṅgai as in Varaguṇamaṅgai and Śrīvaramaṅgai.

If we carefully study the constitution of Dayāmukhamaṅgalam as detailed in the Taṇḍantōṭṭam plates of Nandivarman Pallavamalla³ of the 8th century A.D. and compare it with what is said about the constitution of the villages as described in the mediæval Pāṇḍya inscriptions cited above, we can clearly see that the principles followed were the same both in the 7th and 13th centuries A.D.

i. The newly constituted village was, in each case, divided into a number of shares, the number being some more than the number of donees intended to be provided for. In the Tiruppūvaṇam plates, the principal donees numbered 1,080 and the shares made were 1,200. In the grant of Ravivarman-chaturvēdimaṅgalam, the principal donees numbered 48 while the actual number of shares made were 65. In the case of Vikramapāṇḍya-chaturvēdimaṅgalam, the principal donees numbered 108 and the actual number of shares made were 147. In the earlier Taṇḍantōṭṭam plates it was intended to provide chiefly for 308 persons but extra shares are actually mentioned.

ii. The donees in all the grants of Chaturvēdimaṅgalams (or simply Maṅgalams in the earlier grants) were Brāhmins well versed in the *Vēdas* and *Sāstras*. While some of the mediæval Pāṇḍya records speak of the donees as *Vēdamum Sāstramum pōy vyākhyātākkaḷay irukkam*, others add the word *poruṭpaḍa* before *pōy*. In place of this description, we have in the earlier Taṇḍantōṭṭam plates: *Vēda-traya-smṛiti-pūshām viduśhām devjānām*.⁴ In the list of donees, we notice there were more persons styled *Chaturvēdi* than *Trivēdi* or *Shadāṅgarid*.

iii. All the records state that the villages had temples in them, or contemplate the construction of temples in them, meant for the use of the donees and make provision for them.

iv. In the Tiruppūvaṇam plates, the extra shares, numbering 120, are stated to be for *dēradāna-paṇīsey-rirutti-paṇṇu*. Here *dēradāna* may either be taken independently or as qualifying the next *paṇīsey*. The phrase may be construed in two ways, viz., (i) 'shares meant for the *dēradāna* and shares for the maintenance of those who had to render service or (ii) shares for the maintenance of those that had to render service pertaining to the *dēradāna*'. The former meaning is obtained by taking *dēradāna* and *paṇīsey-rirutti* as separately qualifying *paṇṇu*, and the latter is obtained by considering *dēradāna* as qualifying *paṇīsey-rirutti* which qualifies *paṇṇu*. As it is seen from the other records cited above that the extra shares were meant both for the temple and for the various kinds of servants, we think it better to adopt the former view. The grant of Ravivarman-chaturvēdimaṅgalam provides 12 shares for 12 Bhaṭṭas who had to recite the *Vēdas* in the temple of Uḍaiyār Tirunelvēli-uḍaiyār and two shares each for the

¹ Above, Vol. XXI, p. 114.

² K. V. Subrahmanya Aiyer's *Historical Sketches of Ancient Dekkan*, p. 132.

³ *S. I. I.*, Vol. II, pp. 517 ff.

⁴ *S. I. I.*, Vol. II, p. 520, V. 9.

temples of Śrī-Rāma-Viṇṇagar-Ālvār and Pāṇḍimādēviśvaramuḍaiyār and one share for Tōṇḍai-mān-Viṇṇagar-Ālvār. The earlier Dayāmukhamaṅgalam grant provides five shares for Tiruvaḍigal, i.e., Viṣṇu, and two shares for Mahādēva.

v. The grant of Vikramapāṇḍya-chaturvēdimaṅgalam provides three *ṇṇittis* for the teachers of the *Vēdas*, one for the teachers of the *Sūtras*, one and three-fourths for two doctors, half for *ambāḍiyas*, half for village accountants, one-fourth each for drummer, potter, blacksmith, goldsmith and washerman, half for carpenter, three-eighths each for *iraiṅkolli* and barber, three-fourths for village watchman and one-eighth for *veṭṭiyāṇ*. The earlier Tāṇḍantōṭṭam plates provide one share each for the reader of the *Mahābhārata* and the drummer, one share for each of the three *madhyasthas*, two shares for a doctor, three shares for the maintenance of the head-sluice and the village reservoir, besides some shares allotted to a number of persons who appear to be servants and performers of worship in temples.

vi. Other *ṇṇittis* such as those for doctors, watchmen (or police), library, etc., provided for in the constitution are of wider interest meeting as they do the requirements of health, education, police, etc.

To an earlier date belong the Kūram plates of the Pallava king Paramēśvaravarman I. The village of Kūram in the Chingalpet District bore the surname Vidyāvinīta-chaturvēdimaṅgalam¹ evidently so named after the donor Vidyāvinīta, a Pallava chief and subordinate of Paramēśvaravarman I. The same chief built the Śiva temple of Vidyāvinīta-Pallava-Paramēśvara in the centre of the village of Kūram and requested the king to make a grant to it. In compliance with this request, Paramēśvara I made the gift of the village of Paramēśvaramaṅgalam divided into 25 shares of which 20 shares were given to 20 Brāhmaṇas versed in the four *Vēdas*, 3 shares to two persons who had to perform the divine rights and look after the temple repairs, one share was set apart for supplying fire and water to a *maṇḍapa* and one share for the reading of the *Bhārata* in that *maṇḍapa*.² Though the grant relating to the constitution and gift of the village of Vidyāvinīta-chaturvēdimaṅgalam has not come down to us, yet a reference found in the Paramēśvaramaṅgalam grant, which was issued in the reign of the same king, i.e., Paramēśvaravarman I, indicates that it was bestowed on 108 families of Brāhmaṇas that were studying the four *Vēdas*.³ The Udayēndiram plates of Nandivarman register the grant of the village of Udayachandramaṅgalam to 108 Brāhmaṇas: In it provision is made for a physician and for one that had to perform worship (in temple).⁴

The foundation of the numerous Chaturvēdimaṅgalams and the grant of them as *brahma-dēyas*, or *agrahāras* by successive generations of kings of various dynasties that held sway in South India, as evidenced by the names of villages noticed above, though the grants relating to them have not yet come to light, are sure indications of the progress of the Vedic culture and testify to the increase in the numerical strength of the Vedic exegetes from the end of the sixth century to the end of the thirteenth,—the three Pāṇḍya grants of the reign of Jaṭavarman Kulasekhara I (A.D. 1190-1215), Maṇavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya II (A.D. 1235-1251) and Jaṭavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I (A.D. 1251-1271) taking us almost to the time of the advent of Śāyaṇāchārya, the prodigious commentator on all the *Vēdas*, and reflect on the mass of material that must have been available in his day and the number of scholars that must have existed then.

¹ S. I. I., Vol. VII, Nos. 32 and 33-A.

² S. I. I., Vol. I, p. 147 and text-lines 51-2. Provision for fire and water corresponds to 'hot and cold weather charges'.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 150, text-line 49 f.

⁴ S. I. I., Vol. II, pp. 372-3.

Besides the grant of *brahmadēya* villages of the description given above, the kings and chiefs also provided richly for colleges wherein the *Vēdas* were taught.¹ Rural administrative assemblies and even private individuals were not wanting in making contributions, according to their might, to the cause of Vedic learning.² The charities of the Vaiśya Dāmayaṇ Mādhavaṇ recorded in the Tirumukkūḍal inscription of Virarājendra included provision for the teaching of the *Vēdas*. One of the early epigraphs of Uttaramallūr,³ which is partially built in, makes provision for a *Bhaṭṭa-vṛitti* by a lady named Śaṇṇaichchāṇi also called Uttaramallūr-Naṅgai, stipulating that the holder of the *vṛitti* must be one that has no share in the village but is well versed in at least one of the *Vēdas*, in the *Vyākaraṇa* and the two *darśanas* of the *Mīmāṃsā* as well as the *Nṛīta* (*Nirukta*)-*bhāṣya* and is capable of expounding the *Vyākaraṇa*, *Nyāya-bhāṣya* with *vārttikas*, and *Vaiśeṣika* with *Tikā*, and that he must remain in the *maṭha* erected by that lady on the bank of a tank which she had caused to be dug. The inscription also speaks of an examination to be held at the end of a course of three years. There is thus room for thinking that all through the Hindu period of Indian history, the study of the *Vēdas* and *Vēdāṅgas* and their exposition must have been pursued zealously.

We have now to consider how many of the mediæval Pāṇḍya kings bore the name Jaṭāvarman Kulaśēkhara and settle also which one among them is the king represented in the larger Tirup-pūvaṇam plates. During the past several years, a large number of inscriptions belonging to this period have been collected and noticed in the *Annual Reports on South-Indian Epigraphy*. None of them gives any genealogy : most of them give only the regnal years and not the corresponding years of any known era. It is mainly due to the efforts of the late Professor Kielhorn, Swamikannu Pillai and Sewell in verifying the astronomical details found in some of them that epigraphists have been able to register the important facts and events revealed in inscriptions about these kings in some chronological order.⁴ The fact that several members of the family had been ruling at one and the same time and over the same tract, besides swelling the number of kings that could possibly cover a given period of years, has made it difficult to attribute particular achievements to particular kings. If we leave out the mere texts of some of the inscriptions of these mediæval Pāṇḍya kings published in the volumes of the *South-Indian Inscriptions* (Texts), the records of almost all of them remain still to be critically edited. The notices made in the *Annual Reports* on the Madras collections are our only guide. But these reports, however valuable they are, cannot be substitutes for full texts of inscriptions, as they could not furnish all the information the inscriptions contain.⁵ At present, two kings of the name Jaṭāvarman Kulaśēkhara are taken cognisance of and they are assigned the accession dates A.D. 1190 and A.D. 1237. To the first king of that name all records commencing with the introductions *Pūvṇkilatti*, *Pūṭalamadandai* and *Pūṭalavanitai* are being assigned. The second rests purely on the results of the astronomical calculations. The reasons for the assignment of the three different introductions to Jaṭāvarman Kulaśēkhara I are not known. We need not concern ourselves with ascertaining as to when this idea started and why all the three introductions were

¹ See above, Vol. XXI, pp. 222-3. The Bāhūr plates (*S. I. I.*, Vol. II, pp. 513ff.) provide for a *Vidyāsthāna*. See also *An. Rep. on Epigraphy, Madras*, for 1918, part II, pp. 145 ff.

² See Nos. 312 and 316 of *S. I. I.*, Vol. VI.

³ *Ibid.*, No. 322.

⁴ It was the late Mr. Swamikannu Pillai that took up all the dates and made a serious attempt at fixing the initial years of reign of several kings, of course having before him the results of the labours of Kielhorn.

⁵ For instance it is beyond the scope of the reports to give the names with other details of the numerous officials and chiefs figuring in the inscriptions and it is needless to say how such information would be of immense help in the critical publication of any single inscription of a particular king. The geographical items occurring in inscriptions are also too numerous to mention in such a publication.

attributed to the same sovereign. It is proposed first to examine the correctness or otherwise of such an assignment. For this purpose, it is highly necessary to have separate lists of inscriptions of the three different introductions, and we present underneath such lists. They are not exhaustive but are sufficient to serve our need. If the result of our examination prove that the introductions belong to more kings than one, a fresh endeavour will have to be made to separate the facts known about each king from the *Annual Reports on South Indian Epigraphy* which have been putting them under the single head of Jaṭavarman Kulasekhara I.

| A. Pūtalamaṇḍalai. | | B. Pūtalavaṇṭai—contd. | |
|--------------------|--------------------------|---------------------------------|--------------------------|
| No. | Date. | No. | Date. |
| 296/S. I. I., V | 2+1st year. | 507/16 | 3rd year and 2,766 days. |
| 437/29-30 | 3+1+1st year. | No. 506 is connected with this. | 3+7th year |
| 464/16 | 4th year and 50 days. | 672/16 | 3+7th year. |
| 707/16 | 4+1st year. | 673/16 | 3rd year and 2,593 days. |
| 614/26 | 4+1st year. | 674/16 | 3rd year+2,594 days. |
| 449/16 | 4+1+1st year. | 349-350/16 | 3+7th year. |
| 450/16 | 4+1+1st year. | | |
| 534/16 | 4+4th year. | C. Pūviṇṭiṭṭi. | |
| | 4th year+1,745 days. | No. | Date. |
| 297/27-28 | 9th year. | 607/26 | 2nd year. |
| 293/S. I. I., V | 9th year and 44 days. | 290/23 | 3rd year. |
| 438/29-30 | 9+1st year. | 540/16 | 3rd year and 291 days. |
| | | 31-32/24 | 3+1st year. |
| 459/09 | 14th year. | 33-34/34 | 3+2nd year. |
| 660/16 | 14th year and 345 days. | 27-28/24 | 3+3rd year. |
| 327/08 | 15th year. | 435/29-30 | 3+3rd year. |
| 333/16 | | 368/29-30 | 3+3rd year. |
| B. Pūtalavaṇṭai. | | 302/S. I. I., V. | 3rd year+1,002nd day. |
| No. | Date. | | 3+4th year. |
| 720/16 | 2nd year. | 337/16 | 3+4th year. |
| 301/S. I. I., V | 2nd year and 35 days. | 29/28-29 | 3+4th year. |
| 428/S. I. I., V | 3rd year+504 days. | 484/16 | 9th year. |
| 684-686/16 | 3+7th year. | 436/29-30 | 9th year. |
| | 3rd year and 2,638 days. | 543/22 | 9th year and 216 days. |
| | 3+7th year. | 302/29-30 | 9th year+925 days. |
| 370/16 | 3+7th year (2,690 days) | | |

| C. Pūvīṅkīlatti—contd. | | C. Pūvīṅkīlatti—concl. | |
|--|--------------------------------------|--|----------------------------------|
| No. | Date. | No. | Date. |
| 303/29-30 | 9+1+1st year. | 685/16 | 13th year+2,230 days. |
| 519/11 | 9+1+1st year. | 687/16 | 13th year+2,313 days. |
| 313/23 | 9+3rd year. | 78/28-29 | 13th+6th year (13th+2,140 days.) |
| 654/16 | *+3rd year. | 35/27 | 13th+7th year. |
| 655/16 | *+3rd year. | 613/26 | 13th+8th year. |
| 80/28-29 | 13th year. | 502/16 | 13th+8th year (13th+3,090 days). |
| 546, 549, 550/16 | 13th year and 148 days. 13+1st year. | 37/24 | 13th+9th year. |
| 412/S. I. I., V. | 13+1st year. | 40/24 | 13th+9th year. |
| 31/27 | 13+1st year. | 375/29-30 | 13+10th year. |
| 269/29-30 | 13+1st year. | 319/23 | 13+10th year. |
| 295/29-30 | 13th year +500 days. | 123/08 | 13+11th year |
| 275/29-30 | 13th year+902 days. | 616/26 | 13+12th year. |
| 431/29-30 | 13+3rd year. | 99/07 | 13+12th year. |
| 20/27 | 13+3rd year. | 415/S. I. I., V. | 13+13th year. |
| 581/15 | 13+4th year. | 322/23 | 13+13th year. |
| 378/29-30 | 13+5th year. | 54/27 | 13+13th year. |
| 684/16 This is connect- ed with No. 685/16 | 13+5th year. | 298/27-28 | 13+14th year. |
| 545/22 | 13+5th year. | 59/28-29 | 13+14th year. |
| 677/16 } These are con- 679/16 } nected with No. 678/16. | 13+5th year. | 60/28-29 | 13+15th year. |
| 509-510/16 | 13th year+1,445 days. | 279/29-30 | 13+47** days. |
| 678/16 | 13th year+2,230 days. | 466/16 | * 1st year. |
| 680/16 and 682/16 | 13th year+5th (13th+2,230 days). | 94/07, 555/16, 25/24. 29/28-29 and 268/ 27-28. | |
| 683/16 | 13th year+2,312 days. | | |

By a glance at list A. it will be observed that six of the inscriptions, which are dated after the 4th year and perhaps also another, single out the 4th year of reign and count fresh regnal years or days from that date. And in going through list B, it will be seen that the year 3 is singled out in almost all the inscriptions. Similarly a glance at the dates of the inscriptions in list C will show that the years 3, 9 and 13 are marked years. In the last list, all the inscriptions after the 3rd year up to the 9th year are marked as 3 *plus*, those after the 9th up to the 13th year are marked 9 *plus*, and the rest dated later than the 13th are marked as 13 *plus*. The special treatment, which these years get in the respective introductions, seems strongly to point out that the kings represented in them might be different. Secondly, there is not much in common in the three introductions. In fact, nothing of importance is recorded in any of them. It is further worthy of note that the latest regnal years in the three introductions are different. The first, *i.e.*, Pūtala-

maṇḍandai extends to 15 years, the second, i.e., *Pūṭalavaṇṭai* to 11 years, and the third, i.e., *Pūṛiṇkiḷatti* to 28 years. Again, these lists show that there is no room for considering that a single king employed one of the introductions up to a certain year of his reign, then adopted the second and lastly the third. Neither could it be said that in a particular locality preference was given to one or the other of the introductions, for we find that in the same place more than one of the introductions are used. All the reasons recorded above indicate clearly that the kings who used them must be different. Can palaeography be adduced as a ground for ascribing the three introductions to one sovereign? That ground is of little value in a case where there were more kings than one ruling at the same time and over the same tract: and after all it can at best show only a period of time and no fixed years. As far as I am able to judge, there is a gradual development in characters from the inscriptions with *Pūṭalamāṇḍandai* introduction through *Pūṛiṇkiḷatti* to *Pūṭalavaṇṭai*. The difference between the first and the last only is somewhat marked, but may be due to the skill of the scribes or other causes.

We shall now see whether the evidence of the astronomical details furnished in the above collection and their verification support or controvert the finding we have arrived at above or remain neutral. In the collection of 16 epigraphs with *Pūṭalamāṇḍandai* introduction there is but a single one that supplies us with details of date fit for calculation, while there are at least three in the *Pūṭalavaṇṭai* group and 6 in the *Pūṛiṇkiḷatti* epigraphs. All of them except one of the *Pūṭalavaṇṭai* group have been examined and their equivalents determined as noted under:—

No. 297/27-28 *Pūṭalamāṇḍandai*. 9th year, Mīna..... dvitīyā. Saturday, Rōhiṇī. This date was calculated for Jaṭavarman I of *Pūṛiṇkiḷatti* introduction with A.D. 1190 as the date of accession and equated to A.D. 1199, February, 27, Saturday, with the remark that Rōhiṇī was not current on the day. The date is irregular.

No. 370/16 *Pūṭalavaṇṭai*. 3+7th year, Mārgaḷi 20 tēdi. Sunday, saptamī. Uttara-Bhādra-padā. 7th Year is given in the inscription as 2,690 days. This date correctly works out to Sunday, 16th December, A.D. 1246 and it was 20 Mārgaḷi. The note of the late Mr. Swamikannu Pillai against this is "The Epigraphist says that the introduction is that of Jaṭavarman Kulasekhara I, but the day of solar month which is a characteristic indication points only to the later reign, that of Jaṭavarman Kulasekhara II of A. D. 1237".

No. 720/16 *Pūṭalavaṇṭai*. 2nd year. Mīna 22. śu. 19. Wednesday, Pushya. "On Wednesday, 16th March A.D. 1239 (=22 Mēsha). śu. daśamī ended at .53 and Pushya at .19 of day. This was the 2nd year of the same Jaṭavarman Kulasekhara as the above."

No. 301 of *S. I. I.*, Vol. V (*Pūṭalavaṇṭai*)—2nd year. Tulā, ba. 6, Thursday, Mrigaśīrṣhā. Not calculated. See below, p. 82 for equivalent.

No. 80/28-29. *Pūṛiṇkiḷatti*. 13th year. Āṇi 19. śu. trayōdaśī. Tuesday, Mūlam. "Probably A.D. 1250, June 14, Tuesday; f.d.n. .39. The tithi was, however, *chaturdaśī* which was current till .85 of the day."

No. 337/16. Do. 3+4th year, Karkaṭaka. 13 tēdi, śu. 12. Monday. Jyēsthā=A.D. 1196 (which was the 7th year of the reign of Jaṭavarman Kulasekhara who ascended the throne in A.D. 1190), Monday, 8th July (=13 Karkaṭaka) on which day śu. 12 ended at .89 and Nakshatra Jyēsthā at .44 of day.

No. 545/22. Do. 13+5th year, Kanni 9. śu. 14, Thursday, Śatabhishaj =A.D. 1207. September 6, Thursday; .97; .44.

No. 313/23. *Pūṛiṇkiḷatti*. 9+3rd year, Vṛiścika 27, Friday, dvādaśī, Śōdi =Friday, 23rd November. A.D. 1201. As pointed out by Swamikannu Pillai (*An. Rep. on S. I. Epigraphy for 1924*, p. 88), the solar month-date is Vṛiścika 27 according to the Sūrya-Siddhānta. The framer of the inscription must have obtained it from a *Pañchāṅga* calculated according to that system. There are instances of this kind.



No. 322/23. *Pūriṅkilatti*. 13+13th year, Karkāṭaka 25, ba. 10, Tuesday, Kārttigai=A.D. 1215, July 21, Tuesday. The *tithi* ba. 10 commenced at '97 of the day and the *Nakshatra* Kārttigai ended at '86 of day.

The Large Tiruppūvaṇam plates. *Pūriṅkilatti*. 13+12th year, Dhanuṣ 4, ba. 11, Saturday, Svāti. Saturday. 29th November. A.D. 1214. (Kielhorn's *Southern List*, No. 890.)

In the above, it will be noted (i) that the particulars of date furnished in the *Pūṭalamaṇḍalai* collection do not work out correctly for Jaṭavarman Kulaśekhara I whose reign commenced in A.D. 1190, (ii) that the two dated inscriptions of *Pūṭalavaṇitai* group examined so far work out correctly for Jaṭavarman Kulaśekhara II who began his reign in A.D. 1237, and are incorrect for Kulaśekhara I whose accession fell in A.D. 1190, and (iii) that all the dated inscriptions in the *Pūriṅkilatti* group have correct equivalents for the king with the initial year 1190. Apparently under the belief that the three different introductions belonged to one king, i.e., Jaṭavarman Kulaśekhara I, the Epigraphist informed the calculator that the introduction of No. 370 (*Pūṭalavaṇitai*) is that of Jaṭavarman Kulaśekhara I. Having considered this information also, the late Swamikannu Pillai noted that the day of the solar month—which is a characteristic indication—points only to the later reign, i.e., Jaṭavarman Kulaśekhara II of A.D. 1237. Thus, the evidence of the astronomical details leaves no doubt as to the introduction *Pūṭalavaṇitai* being one of Jaṭavarman Kulaśekhara II, and is positively against the earlier king whose accession fell in A.D. 1190 and who had the introduction *Pūriṅkilatti*. The late Swamikannu Pillai's calculations and our finding that the records of Jaṭavarman Kulaśekhara with the introduction *Pūṭalavaṇitai* belong to a later reign is still further supported by two other inscriptions as we shall presently show. In the latter part of a *Pūṭalavaṇitai* record of Tenkarai whose text is given in the *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Volume V, No. 301, are given the details 2nd year, Tulā, ba. 6, Thursday, Mṛigaśīrṣhā. For Jaṭavarman Kulaśekhara I, whose accession took place between 8th April and 29th November. A.D. 1190, we cannot find a suitable date answering to these details in A.D. 1191 or 1192 which were respectively the current and expired 2nd year of his reign. But for Jaṭavarman Kulaśekhara II, whose reign commenced between 24th July and 16th December, A.D. 1237, and whose 2nd year fell in A.D. 1238, the details work out correctly. In A.D. 1238, Tulā, ba. 6 ended at .90 and Nakshatra Mṛigaśīrṣhā at .35 of day on Thursday, September 30. Like the two records calculated by Swamikannu Pillai, this one also proves that the introduction *Pūṭalavaṇitai* belongs to Jaṭavarman Kulaśekhara II and not to the first of that name. The other inscription which supports our finding is part of a triple record with *Pūṭalavaṇitai* introduction and is dated in the 3—7th year of reign and mentions Vikrama-Chōla.¹ Vikrama-Chōla figuring herein could be no other than the Koṅgu Chōla prince, who, a few years later, ascended the throne in A.D. 1255. That princes of other dynasties who were related to the Pāṇḍyas were staying with and serving the Pāṇḍya kings before the time of their own accession is amply borne out by some of the inscriptions noticed in this paper.

It remains now to determine to which other Jaṭavarman Kulaśekhara the introduction *Pūṭalamaṇḍalai* belonged. An inscription from Tirupputtūr in the Ramnad District of Tribhuvana-chakravartin Kulaśekhara-dēva without the title Mājavarman or Jaṭavarman, is dated in the year opposite the fourth and furnishes astronomical details—Karkāṭaka 27, Rōhiṇī, Saturday. This date was calculated by the late Swamikannu Pillai and found to agree correctly with A.D. 1166, 23rd July, Saturday.² From the method of dating of the record alone, it may be said that it is one belonging to the reign of Jaṭavarman Kulaśekhara with *Pūṭalamaṇḍalai* introduction for, as had been observed by me already, the inscriptions of his reign had that characteristic

¹ Nos. 672 to 674 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1916.

² *Indian Ephemeris*, Part II of Vol. I, pp. 87-88.

feature, *viz.*, of counting fresh regnal years after the 4th. Thus, it is now clear that the three different introductions belong to three different kings who bore in common the title Jaṭāvarman and the name Kulasekhara. The earliest of these kings was the one that had the *Pūṭalamaḍandai* introduction, the middle one adopted the *Pūṇṇikūṭai* introduction, while the last used the *Pūṭalavarṇai* introduction. The first counted his regnal years from A.D. 1162 and had a reign of at least 15 years as at present known extending up to A.D. 1176-77, a special event in his career marking out the end of the fourth year of his reign (=A.D. 1166-7). This year the students of Pāṇḍya history know to be the year of commencement of the civil war in the Pāṇḍya country. There is thus no doubt that this must have been the Kulasekhara who killed Parākrama-Pāṇḍya and waged a prolonged war against his son Vira-Pāṇḍya and the allied forces of the Sinhalese generals sent by Parākrama-Bāhu of Ceylon. The importance of the year is brought out by the fact that the members of the assembly (*Mūlapariṣad*) of Tirupputtūr in the Ramnad District wished to pay their respects to His Majesty the Pāṇḍya sovereign and utilised the amount realised in making tax-free, a land given to the temple in order to meet the expenses of their journey to Madura, the capital of the empire.¹ It is not unlikely that other villages also sent in their representatives to the capital for the same purpose. Perhaps it was then that Kulasekhara launched on the momentous programme of war against Parākrama, laid siege to the city of Madura with a view to capture it, and forced Parākrama to sue for help to the king of Ceylon. We learn from the *Mahāvamsa* that the first event in this war was the siege of Madura by Kulasekhara-Pāṇḍya. There is an echo of the fact in a lithic record of the South Koṅgu king Rājakesarivarman Kulōttuṅga (A.D. 1149-83) who, it may be said, was interested in the welfare and success of Kulasekhara, that young king being his sister's son. This lithic record which comes from Neruvūr² states that the Koṅgu king, set out on an expedition against Madura with the express object of capturing it for his nephew (*marumagan*) Kulasekhara-Pāṇḍya, and that on the said occasion directed the *sabha* of the place to make a *brahmadēya* gift of some lands in Maṇimaṅgalam, which had been his camping ground, as a *yātrādāna* to his *purōhita* Ālvār Śrībalidēva. The year of this important record is specially worthy of note. It is dated in the 17th year of the reign of Rājakesarivarman Kulōttuṅgadēva corresponding to A.D. 1166-7, the very year of commencement of the Pāṇḍyan civil war and one that was marked 4+1st year of the reign of Kulasekhara. Thus, the evidence of all sources, *viz.*, those furnished by the *Mahāvamsa*, the Neruvūr and Tirupputtūr inscriptions and the computation of astronomical details with the solar day, which the calculator regards as a characteristic indication, occurring in an epigraph dated in the 4+1st year, which kind of dating, we note, is a characteristic feature of the inscriptions with *Pūṭalamaḍandai* introduction, bear out the particular importance of that year and single out the Kulasekhara of the Pāṇḍyan civil war. If more evidence is needed to further corroborate the identity of Jaṭāvarman Kulasekhara of *Pūṭalamaḍandai* introduction with Kulasekhara of the civil war, it is supplied by a Tenkarai inscription with that identical introduction, dated in the 3rd year of reign, telling us that the chief Śōḷaṅ Śilambaṅ alias Virachōḷa-Laṅkēśvaradēva, a *sāmanta* of prince (*Perumāḷ*) Virachōḷadēva of Ten-Koṅgu was already in the vicinity of Madura.³ Koṅgu-Chōḷa inscriptions leave no doubt as to Virachōḷa being a prince of that dynasty that eventually succeeded Rājakesarivarman Kulōttuṅga noticed above. And the year of the inscription, which is A.D. 1164, shows that the chief was there immediately prior to the commencement of the war and the purpose is evident : and the Neruvūr inscription explains it by telling us as to what followed. It speaks of the premeditated action of Kulasekhara.

¹ No. 101 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1908.

² No. 336 of the same collection for 1927-28.

³ S. I. I., Vol. V, No. 296.

Before proceeding further, it may be advantageous to consider here the relationship of some of the mediaeval Pāṇḍya kings found in inscriptions. Tamil epigraphs, when they intend to convey definite relationship, use appropriate and unambiguous terms to denote them. We meet with terms like *tiruttagappanār*¹ or *ayyar*² for father, *aṇṇālir*³ or *aṇṇar*⁴ for elder brother, *akkaṇ*⁵ for elder sister, *dēciyār*⁶ for queen, *maṇṇār*⁷ or *piḷḷaiyār*⁸ for son, *maṇḷār* or *peṇ-piḷḷai*⁹ for daughter, *maṇṇaṇṇār*¹⁰ for nephew or sister's son, *maṭṭi-ṇaṇṇār*¹¹ for brother-in-law, *amṇāṇ*¹² for uncle, *ap-pāṭṭai*¹³ for great grandfather, etc. To denote simply a predecessor, be he distant or near, or any elder or senior member, deceased or living, the terms *periyavar*, *periyadēvar* or *periyāṇṇaṇṇār* are employed. In dealing with the Tinnevely inscription of Māṇavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya II, I pointed out, by two telling instances, that *periyadēvar* or *periyāṇṇaṇṇār* cannot definitely indicate a father.¹⁴ One of the inscriptions found at Puravari near Nagarcoil, dated in the 16th year of the reign of the Pāṇḍya Māṇavarman Śrīvallabhadēva speaks of a son of the king by name Kulaśekhara¹⁵ and another inscription found at Kōṭṭaikkaruṅḷam in the Tinnevely District, dated in the 2nd year and 600th day of the same king's reign, states that the Vīrēśvaramuḍaiyār was re-named Kulaśekhara-Iśvaramuḍaiyār after the name of the king's father, thus letting us know that Māṇavarman Śrīvallabha's father was also called Kulaśekhara.¹⁶ Here, therefore, there are two Kulaśekharas, one being the grandfather of the other. Both of them may be tentatively assumed to have borne the title Jaṭavarman from the fact that the middle member Śrīvallabha was styled Māṇavarman. One other fact that is known is that Māṇavarman Śrīvallabha flourished about the middle of the 12th century A.D. being a contemporary of Vīraravivarman-Tiruvāḍi, in all probability a ruler of Vēṇāḍu, for whom a date Kollam 336 (A.D. 1161) has been discovered.¹⁷ There is thus every possibility of Māṇavarman Śrīvallabha's son being that Kulaśekhara in whose reign, in about A.D. 1166-7, the civil war in the Pāṇḍya country commenced. As we have already shown that the war must have been started in the reign of Jaṭavarman Kulaśekhara who had the introduction *Pūṭalamuḍandai*, our assumption that Māṇavarman Śrīvallabha's son Kulaśekhara might be a Jaṭavarman becomes strengthened and his ancestry also settled. With this information before us, we cannot but assign the Kalladakurichi inscription,¹⁸ dated in the 2nd year of the reign of Jaṭavarman Tribhuvanchakravartin Kulaśekhara¹⁹, which mentions *periyāṇṇaṇṇār* Śrīvallabhadēva, to Jaṭavarman Kulaśekhara²⁰ with *Pūṭalamuḍandai* introduction, and regard the Śrīvallabha referred to therein as being identical with Māṇavarman Śrīvallabha of A.D. 1161, the father and predecessor of king Jaṭavarman Kulaśekhara with *Pūṭalamuḍandai* introduction.

With the materials available to us from inscriptions and other sources we have shown the significance of the end of the 4th year of the reign of Jaṭavarman Kulaśekhara that started the civil war and noted that it marks the day of triumph of Kulaśekhara over his adversary Parākrama-Pāṇḍya, who, it is said, had been put to death even before the arrival of the forces from Ceylon.

¹ No. 271 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1927-28.

² Above, Vol. XXIV, p. 159.

³ Nos. 425, 426 and 448 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1913, and *S. I. I.*, Vol. IV, No. 529.

⁴ Above, Vol. XXIV, p. 159.

⁵ Nos. 314 and 315 of 1923.

⁶ *S. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 296.

⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸ No. 31 of *S. I. I.*, Vol. VI.

⁹ *S. I. I.*, Vol. VIII, No. 234.

¹⁰ No. 336 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1927-28.

¹¹ *S. I. I.*, Vol. V, Nos. 293 and 421.

¹² No. 327 of 1916.

¹³ *S. I. I.*, Vol. V, No. 446.

¹⁴ Above, Vol. XXIV, p. 159.

¹⁵ No. 50 of 1896.

¹⁶ No. 271 of 1927-28.

¹⁷ *An. Rep. on Epigraphy*, Madras, for 1896, p. 5, paragraph 15.

¹⁸ No. 110 of Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1907.

The year under consideration is thus the last year of the reign of Parākrama-Pāṇḍya. While Kulaśekhara is represented by inscriptions, there is every reason to expect the records of his adversary also. And I think there could not be any possible objection to say that the ill-fated Parākrama-Pāṇḍya is the Māṇavarman Parākrama-Pāṇḍya with the introduction *Tirumayāṇam*. In this connection, it may be noted that no other Parākrama-Pāṇḍya with a different introduction assignable to this period has at all come to light. So far as is known at present, his reign extends to 12 years, and if the year A.D. 1166 marks the end of his rule, his accession must be placed in A.D. 1154. The late Rao Bahadur Krishna Sastri expressed the view that Māṇavarman Parākrama-Pāṇḍya must have been a predecessor of or co-regent with either of the two Śrīvallabhas, and, judging from the position which the introduction of Māṇavarman Śrīvallabha occupied in a record belonging to the time of Māṇavarman Parākrama-Pāṇḍya found at Kuruvitturai,¹ he said it was evident that the latter was a predecessor of the former.² The conclusion we have arrived at above, viz., that Māṇavarman Parākrama-Pāṇḍya reigned from A.D. 1154 to 1166 well establishes this inference. The *Mahāvamsa* tells us that Parākrama had a son named Vira-Pāṇḍya who was set up on the Pāṇḍya throne by the Sinhalese generals according to the instructions given to them by their king Parākrama-Bāhu. Inscriptions of the reign of Kulōttuṅga III refer to an unnamed son of this Vira-Pāṇḍya and say that he fought along with his father against the Chōlas and shared his defeat more than once. It is a question if the setting up of Vira-Pāṇḍya on the Pāṇḍya throne by the Sinhalese generals could be taken seriously, and whether it was at all recognised by the people, even if it were a fact. For all that we see Vira-Pāṇḍya had not the usual coronation ceremony. Neither are there any inscriptions attributable to his reign. From the moment of his father's death he had been contesting with Kulaśekhara for kingdom and crown. And so long as the reign of Kulaśekhara lasted, Vira-Pāṇḍya's rule may be said not to have commenced. Since we know from the records with the introduction *Pātala-maṇḍalai* that Kulaśekhara held the reins of government till at least A.D. 1176, it may be said that Vira-Pāṇḍya commenced his rule in this year. To this end, the information furnished in two inscriptions of Rājādhirāja II, both dated in the 12th year and 157th day, i.e., the 13th year also leads us. The records under reference come from Tiruvālaṅgādu in the North Arcot District and Tirumayāṇam in the Pudukkōṭṭai State and are almost exact copies. Though the latter record is fragmentary, Mr. Venkatasubba Aiyar has, by carefully comparing it with the damaged portions of the former inscription, been able to fill in certain lacunae in it. He tells us that the Pāṇḍya king Kulaśekhara, ignoring the good deeds done to him, proved a traitor, made an alliance with the king of Ilam and conspired with him against the Chōlas. And some letters and presents despatched to the officers of Kulaśekhara, hunting that the Sinhalese king was an ally of their master, were intercepted by the Chōla king who directed the chief Pallavarāyan to reinstate on the Pāṇḍya throne Vira-Pāṇḍya, the son of Parākrama-Pāṇḍya, the former protégé of Ceylon.³ Vira-Pāṇḍya's reign which thus commenced in and synchronised with the fall of Kulaśekhara in A.D. 1176, did not last long, for we know from the Tirukkollambūdūr inscription that by A.D. 1182 he drove Māṇavarman Vikrama-Pāṇḍya to the necessity of suing for help to the Chōla king Kulōttuṅga and this cost him his own crown and kingdom.⁴ We have no direct information as to who this Māṇavarman Vikrama-Pāṇḍya was, but, as had been assumed, he might be the son of Kulaśekhara.

We now pass on to notice another clear relationship mentioned in the inscriptions of the mediaeval Pāṇḍya kings. Numerous epigraphs of Jaṭavarman Śrīvallabha with the introduction

¹ No. 328 of the Mad. Ep. Colln. for 1908.

² An. Rep. on Epigraphy, Madras, for 1909, p. 84, paragraph 29.

³ Above, Vol. XXI, pp. 187-8.

⁴ S. I. I., Vol. VI, No. 436.

Tirumadaṇḍaiyūm are registered in the *Annual Reports on South Indian Epigraphy*. Four of these mention Sundara-Pāṇḍya as the king's son, and the fifth states that a royal order was issued by Sundara-Pāṇḍya without specifying his relationship to the king.¹ They are dated in the 4th, 17th and 19th years, the last being of the 9th year of reign. Knowing the fact that Jaṭavarman Śrīvallabha had a son named Sundara-Pāṇḍya, there is a possibility of taking Māṇavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I, in whose 9th year record, a copy of a grant made in the 3rd year of the reign of Jaṭavarman Śrīvallabha is registered,² to be this prince. If this were the case, Jaṭavarman Śrīvallabha would have to be assigned to the period A.D. 1193 to 1216, as the highest regnal year furnished for him in inscriptions is 23.³ This is very unlikely to judge from the contents of some of the inscriptions of Jaṭavarman Śrīvallabha. That he was not far removed from the time of the Chōla king Kulōttuṅga I can be inferred from the fact that a chief of Adalaṇḍiūr-nāḍu⁴ by name Mummudiśōḷaṇ Virasēkharar figures both in a 4th year inscription of his and in a 49th year record of Kulōttuṅga.⁵ That he must have been quite near in point of time to Māṇavarman Parākrama-Pāṇḍya is made evident from the fact that a certain chief named Śēramāṇ Tōḷaṇ figures in the epigraphs of both these sovereigns. It is said that at the instance of this chief Parākrama-Pāṇḍya made a gift of the village of Śēnguḷam *alias* Viraiyaviṭaṅkanallūr to the Mūlasthānam-uḍaiyār temple at Kaṭṭikkallūr :⁶ and he figures as a signatory in a grant of Jaṭavarman Śrīvallabha.⁷ It is further worthy of note that a grant made by the same chief is mentioned as a past transaction in a record of the 9th year of Jaṭavarman Kulaśēkhara with *Pūṭalamaḍandai* introduction. Thus, Jaṭavarman Śrīvallabha appears to have ruled not long after Kulōttuṅga I, and immediately following Māṇavarman Parākrama, either as co-regent with or slightly before Kulaśēkhara of the civil war. Further, it is found that the chief Kāliṅgarāyaṇ was one of his principal advisers as well as of Jaṭavarman Kulaśēkhara I (*Pūvīṅkiḷatti*).

From what we have discussed above it will be clear that there were the following lines of Pāṇḍya kings in the mediaeval period :—

- (i) the line of Māṇavarman Śrīvallabha headed by Kulaśēkhara-Pāṇḍya. To it belonged Jaṭavarman Kulaśēkhara whose inscriptions have the *Pūṭalamaḍandai* introduction, the king that was principally concerned in the civil war. His accession took place in A.D. 1162. On his side were the kings of the two Koṅḡus and the Chōlas. Māṇavarman Vikrama-Pāṇḍya was probably his son and successor. The termination of Kulaśēkhara's rule was brought about by the Chōla Rājādhirāja II in A.D. 1176, on his proving a traitor to the cause of his benefactor ; and in the short period from this date and A.D. 1183, the date of accession of Māṇavarman Vikrama-Pāṇḍya, Virapāṇḍya, the son of Parākrama-Pāṇḍya, ruled.
- (ii) The line of Parākrama-Pāṇḍya which counted himself, his son Vira-Pāṇḍya and the latter's son whose name is not revealed in Chōla inscriptions. There are strong grounds for supposing that this unnamed son must be Māṇavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I.

¹ Madras Epigraphical Collection, No. 493 of 1909, Nos. 266 and 277 of 1927-28, No. 371 of 1929-30 and No. 326 of 1908.

² No. 683 of the same collection for 1905. The gift was made to the temple of Tiruvēdagamuḍaiya-Nāyaṇār at Tiruvēdagam in Pāganūr-kūṛram.

³ No. 555 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1922.

⁴ No. 30 of the same collection for 1909.

⁵ No. 32 of the same collection.

⁶ No. 130 of the same collection for 1910.

⁷ S. I. I., Vol. V, Nos. 294 and 295.

The attitude of this king, even at the very first year of his accession to throne, not only towards the Chōlas but also towards the kings of the two Kōngu countries, who had all along been the allies of Kulasēkhara and Vikrama and formed formidable obstacles in the way of Vira-Pāṇḍya and his supporters, presupposes a chapter of enmity between them; and his deeds are a rehearsal in the reverse order of what had passed in the past. He kept both the kings of Kōngu in prison and in chains and led them on to his capital to do honour to his triumphant return to the city. The humiliation which he caused to the Chōlas was no less.

- (iii) In the line of Jaṭavarman Śrīvallabha, there was his son Sundara-Pāṇḍya who was old enough to be associated with him in the government of the country. This prince perhaps never succeeded to the throne, and if he did, he must have had a very brief reign in which he did not leave any inscriptions. Who his successor was, it is not possible to determine at present. But it appears certain that there was another Jaṭavarman Śrīvallabha.

We cannot be sure if Jaṭavarman Kulasēkhara with *Pūriṅkilottu* introduction belonged to any one of the three lines noticed above or came of a different line. In dealing with the Tinnevely inscription of Māṇavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya II.¹ I pointed out that it is not absolutely certain that Jaṭavarman Kulasēkhara I and Māṇavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I had a common father in Māṇavarman Vikrama-Pāṇḍya.

The simultaneous existence of more than one king reigning over the Pāṇḍya country leads us to think that one among them must have held the chief power and that the rest were subordinate to him, though independent in their own spheres. What determined the claim for the prime position in the kingdom, we are yet to learn. All that we could gather from the account of the civil war is that there was some fixed principle followed in the choice of or claim for the position of honour. It has been shown above that when the civil war commenced, *i.e.*, in A.D. 1167, Kulasēkhara, one of the claimants to the throne at Madura, had completed four years of his reign and Parākrama-Pāṇḍya, the other claimant, had reigned for 12 years. The Sinhalese chronicle and the Chōla and Kōngu inscriptions lead us to think that the throne of the premier ruler at Madura fell vacant in A.D. 1167 and the succession to it was disputed by the rivals. For aught we see, most of the kings of the mainland supported the cause of Kulasēkhara while the other received succour from the neighbouring island. It still remains to be known who it was that ruled in Madura till A.D. 1167. If seniority among the rulers determined the succession to the throne, there could not have been rival claims. Though Parākrama had reigned for 12 years on the date in question, it was Kulasēkhara that was supported by most of the kings in the south. This suggests that the principle was different. Future researches alone can enlighten us on the issue.

Now about the length of the reign of Jaṭavarman Kulasēkhara I and about his successor. The highest regnal year² furnished for Jaṭavarman Kulasēkhara I in inscriptions is 30 which takes us to A.D. 1219-20. In about A.D. 1218-19, as will be shown presently, he seems to have fallen seriously ill and much concern was felt about his recovery. An inscription discovered at Kannaṇūr (in the Tirumeyyam Taluk of the Pudukkōṭṭai State) states that, on the representation of Pillaiyūr Alagapperumāl, king Māṇavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I issued an order in the 3rd year of his reign reducing the royal share of taxes due from two villages in

¹ Above, Vol. XXIV, p. 159.

² No. 246 of the Pudukkōṭṭai State collection.

Turumā-nāḍu in Kāṇa-nāḍu for the welfare and recovery from illness of Ulagudaiya-Nāyaṇār.¹ The question is who are meant by Alagapperumāl and Ulagudaiya-Nāyaṇār. At first sight it might appear that Alagapperumāl must have been the son of Māṇavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I and that by the term Ulagudaiya-Nāyaṇār, Māṇavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya himself must be meant. This is wrong. Since Alagapperumāl figures in the large Tiruppūvaṇam plates with the prefix *Pillaiyār*, there is reason to take him to be the son of Jaṭavarman Kulaśekhara I. He might have been continued to be called *Pillaiyār* in later days also. In the plates, his high status is indicated by his having had under him an official bearing the designation 'adigāram.' As Jaṭavarman Kulaśekhara I was living at the time of the Kaṇṇaṇūr inscription, we think the term Ulagudaiya-Nāyaṇār must refer to him and not to Māṇavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I. The concern of the prince about the father is natural. Another important fact that the inscription under reference reveals is that Māṇavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I, whose accession took place in A. D. 1216 and who appears to have been issuing records in his own name only from the 3rd year of his reign had been nominated already during the time of Kulaśekhara I and he might be said to have had a share in the government of the country even before his nomination. As we have no inscription dated later than the 29th year for Jaṭavarman Kulaśekhara I which, by the way, is the same as the third year of the reign of Māṇavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I, he must have succumbed to the disease referred to in the Kaṇṇaṇūr record. The Sanskrit verse at the beginning of the plates under publication tells us that the king was apprised of the fact of completion of the formation of the village of Rājagambhīra-chaturvēdimāṅgalam by Sundarēśa (*Sundarēśād-aragata*). From the facts just noticed, it seems likely that by Sundarēśa is meant here Māṇavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I. Sundara's war against Kulōttuṅga III must have been conducted under the standard of Jaṭavarman Kulaśekhara I or at least it must have been countenanced by him. In this connection, it may be noted that some of the persons that held offices under Kulaśekhara figure also in the records of Sundara. On the whole the reign of Jaṭavarman Kulaśekhara I appears to have been a prosperous one, undisturbed by any wars except in the closing years. The king seems to have had good regard for Vedic learning and patronised the scholars proficient in it by founding big villages and granting them as *brahmadēyas* provided with all facilities for good living. Rājagambhīra-chaturvēdimāṅgalam is one of the biggest villages that was ever founded. To some extent the peace in the reign of Jaṭavarman Kulaśekhara I must be attributed to the decline of the Chōla power which may be said to have commenced in the last decade of the 12th century A. D. not long after the interference of Kulōttuṅga III in Pāṇḍyan affairs ending in the accession of Vikrama-Pāṇḍya Māṇavarman, when the Chōlas lost their hold on Conjeeveram, the second great city of the empire. In the latter part of the reign of Kulōttuṅga III there were several factions in the Chōla country and though the heads of these factions recognised in a way the supreme authority of the Chōla emperor there is not much doubt that the peace of the country was greatly disturbed by the part played by the parties. The differences among them, which remained unremoved for a long time, contributed largely to the rapid weakening of the empire and gave the enemies of the Chōlas, who had suffered seriously before, an opportunity to wreak their vengeance. The time was favourable for the Pāṇḍyas to muster their strength and resources to try final issues with the Chōlas in order to wipe out their disgrace. Just three years before the

¹ No. 250 of the same collection. In another inscription of Māṇavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I (date lost), *Pillaiyār* Alagapperumāl figures as consecrating a God in the temple of Tiruvengavāśal in Pudukkōttai State and making a gift of land to it. It is added that the prince was in possession of the District at the time (No. 327).



end of the reign of Jaṭavarman Kulasekhara I. the Pāṇdyas under the lead of Māṇavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I. won laurels in the field against the Chōlas and the kings of the two Koṅgu countries, and this practically brought the civil war to a culmination.¹ That this war was directed against the Chōla and Koṅgu kings prevents any possibility of taking Jaṭavarman Kulasekhara I and Māṇavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I to be the descendants of Kulasekhara of the civil war with *Pūtalamāṇḍalai* introduction.

Now we come to the consideration of the **geographical names**. The inscription under edition mentions a good number of districts and sub-divisions. They are : (1) Miḷalai-kūṛṅgam, (2) Muttūṛṅgu-kūṛṅgam, (3) Kēraḷaśiṅga-vaḷanāḍu, (4) Madurōḍaya-vaḷanāḍu and (5) Śōḷapāṇḍiya-vaḷanāḍu among Districts ; and (6) Māḷakkulam, (7) Aḷagiyapāṇḍiyakkulam, (8) Rājaśiṅgaṅkulam, (9) Vaḷatalai-Śembi-nāḍu, (10) Poliyūr-nāḍu, (11) Karuṅguḍi-nāḍu, (12) Puṇapparaḷai-nāḍu, (13) Tiyaṇḍaikkūḍi-nāḍu, (14) Kīṭ-Śembi-nāḍu, (15) Paṇaṅgalūr-nāḍu, (16) Kāṇai-Irukkaḷ, (17) Kiraṇūr-nāḍu, (18) Tiruvāvaṇam, (19) Mēṛkuḍi-nāḍu and (20) Kaḷavaḷi-nāḍu among sub-divisions. The villages under No. 1 are Parāntakanallūr and Taṇḍalai. No. 2 had Kappalūr, No. 3 Veliyāṇṇūr, No. 4 Madurai, No. 5 Śīru-Paṣalai, No. 6 Madurai, No. 7 Mārapūr, Śīrukuḷattūr, Vellūrkuṇuchchi and Vellūr, No. 8 Rājēndiram and Tiruppūvaṇam, No. 9 Āyḱkuḍi, No. 10 Aruṅṅulam and Poliyūr, No. 11 Kīṭ-Neṭṭūr *alias* Kīrtiviśālaiyanallūr, No. 12 Puttūr, Kaḷḷikkūḍi and Miḷagaṇūr, No. 13 Kīṭ-Paṣalai *alias* Dāṇaviṇḍanallūr, Mēṛ-Paṣalai *alias* Śrīvalla-bha-chaturvēdimaṅgalam and Mānavīramaṅgalam, No. 14 Mālaṅguḍi, No. 15 Aḱikarai, No. 16 Iruṇchirai and Mittiravēli, No. 17 Viḱattal *alias* Mānābharāṇa-chaturvēdimaṅgalam, Vēḷūr, Nakkamaṅgalam, Vāgaikūḍi, Tiruvāvaṇam, Tuttīyūr and Kīruṅgākkōṭṭai, No. 18 Maruḱūr and No. 19 Mēṛkuḍi and Appalvāy.

Of the Districts, **Miḷalai-kūṛṅgam** and **Muttūṛṅgu-kūṛṅgam** have a separate history which is worth noting and which, owing to the formation of modern districts, has been badly misconceived. As regards the position of these two ancient territorial divisions, whether they were in the Chōla country or not, we have to know the southern limit of the Chōla country which would determine at once the northern boundary of the Pāṇḍyan kingdom.² It is stated in the Tamil *Śōḷamaṇḍalaśatakam*³ that the boundaries of the Chōla country were the river Vellāru in the north and south, Kōṭṭaikkarai in the west and the sea in the east. A verse attributed to the Tamil poet Kambar calls the northern boundary Ēṇāṭṭu-Vellāru⁴ and thus distinguishes it from the

¹ A later record of the time of Māṇavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I dated in the 21st year of his reign (=A.D. 1237) tells us that owing to the imposition of taxes on *dēvadāna* lands during the time of the Kannaḱiyar there was no money in the treasury of the temple at Kōṭṭaiyūr in Kāna-nāḍu and that the temple authorities had to sell away some of the temple lands (No. 310 of the Pudukkōṭṭai State collection). About the same time, we have an inscription at Tirugōkarnam, dated in the 20th year of Rājarāja III which registers gifts made for the merit of the sons of Sōmaladēviyār the queen of Narasiṁha and the mother of Sōmēśvara of Dōrasamudram (No. 183 of the Pudukkōṭṭai State collection). These two inscriptions testify to the fact that the Hoysaḷas aided the Chōlas against the Pāṇdyas.

² For the present we leave out of consideration the minor principalities : they will be dealt with separately.

³ The verse runs as follows : it is given here for easy reference :—

Śelluṇ-kuṇapār-rirai-vēlai tenpār-chelitta Vellāru
Velluṇ-Kōṭṭaikkarai viḷangu mēlpāl vaḍapāl Vellārē
Ellaiy-oru-nāṅgiṇuṇ=kādam=irupā-nāṅguṇ=iḱam peridā
Mallal vāḷvu taḷait-tōṅguṇ vaḷai-chēr Śōḷa-maṇḍalamē |

⁴ The following is the stanza :—

Kaḍal kīlakku=tterku=kkarai-puraḷ-Vellāru
Kuḍa-tisaiyir-Kōṭṭaikkaraiyām vaḍa-tisaiyil
Ēṇāṭṭu Vellār=irupattu-nār-kādam
Śōṇāṭṭukk-ellaiyeṇa-chchol |

other Vellāru which formed the southern boundary of the country. Students unacquainted with the ancient Indian morality of warfare, which in most cases left the territories unaffected by the results of war, might think that the boundaries given above only represent what they were at the time when the author of the *Śōlamanḍalaśatakam* and Kambar flourished, and as such, cannot be taken as true for earlier times. This notion is not correct. One can indeed see positive proof afforded by the statements of the two authorities, who were removed from each other in point of time and yet described in identical terms the boundaries, thus showing that the limits given were those in the past ages, not of their own. Annexation of territories did occur but they were rare. Whether rare or frequent, it must be further noted that such instances did not affect the geography of the place; and this will be made clear as we proceed. Another fact that is likely to mislead the student is the ancient practice of naming conquered territories after the names or surnames of the victor. It might be said that the fresh names given to places did not wipe out the older ones but were added on to them as later surnames to indicate, by the mere mention of the name with its surname, to whom or to which country the places originally belonged and who acquired it or re-named it in later times. Thus, in the double names such as *Koṅg-āṇa Virasōla-maṇḍalam*, *Gaṅga-maṇḍalam-āṇa Nigarilīsōla-maṇḍalam*, *Toṇḍai-nāḍ-āṇa Jayaṅ-gonḍasōla-maṇḍalam*, *Rājarāja-Pāṇḍināḍu*, etc., one is clearly enabled to know what the ancient name of the district or province was in spite of its passing into other hands in later days. Here it might be added that it is the original name that survives in each case at the present day and not the later ones. For example, though the Pallavas ceased to be a ruling power after the Chōla Āditya I conquered their country in the 9th century A.D. and Rājarāja I gave that country the new name *Jayaṅgonḍasōla-maṇḍalam*, it is the ancient name *Toṇḍai-nāḍu* or *Toṇḍai-maṇḍalam* that persists. Similarly, in the case of the Pāṇḍya country, which was first conquered by Parāntaka I in the 10th century A.D. and was re-named *Rājarāja-Pāṇḍināḍu* in the 11th century, the name *Pāṇḍi-nāḍu* or *Pāṇḍi-maṇḍalam* exists even today. The conquerors themselves carefully minded preserving the original names. Thus in the stamp of double names impressed on the places in inscriptions, there is sure indication as to what ancient dominion the places at first belonged.

Vellāru being the southern limit of the ancient Chōla dominions, the territory lying to the south of it must have belonged to any other kingdom than *Śōnāḍu* or *Śōla-maṇḍalam*. That it was actually so is proved both by inscriptions and by the Tamil literature as will be seen in the sequel. Now we shall take up that portion of the Arantāṅgi Taluk which lies to the south of the Vellāru river, and therefore clearly outside the Chōla dominion, and see to what country it belonged. Roughly, this tract is something like a triangle with one of its points turned southwards ending in Tiruppunavāsal and having its base in the north running from west to east along the course of the river Vellāru as it flows into the sea just at the north of Maṇamēlkuḍi and east of Taṇḍalai. Out of this triangle, a portion on the north-western side falls in the Pudukkōṭṭai State. It will be observed that the line $79^{\circ} 5'$ cuts this triangle almost into two halves, one in the east and the other in the west. The portion on the eastern side forms the seaboard and extends from the mouth of the Vellāru in the north to the mouth of the Pāmbāru in the south. The western portion adjoins the Pudukkōṭṭai State and the Rāmnād and Śivaganga Zamindaries and in this region the river Pāmbāru is seen to mark the western boundary of a portion of the southern part of the modern Arantāṅgi Taluk. Almost the whole of this tract of land was included in *Milalai-kūṟram*. This *Milalai-kūṟram* is a natural division, an island formed by the rivers Vellāru and Pāmbāru and the sea. Over it there reigned in early times a chieftain named *Vēl-Evvi*, of ancient

stock, and famous for the munificence of gifts which he made.¹ He was the immediate ancestor or a near relation of Vēl-Pāri who, like him, had earned a similar renown which made the Śaiva saint Sundaramūrti-Nāyaṇār celebrate him in one of the Tēvāram hymns.² Vēl-Evvi is said to have been defeated by the Pāṇḍya king Talaiyālaṅgāpattu-ṣeruvenra-Nedūñjeliyan.³ Vēl-Pāri's liberality was such that he is said to have presented away all the 300 villages over which he was lord.⁴ If there is truth in these statements, the family of Evvi and Pāri should have ceased to exist as a ruling power in or immediately after the time of the Pāṇḍya Nedūñjeliyan and the tract of country formerly subject to them, of which the principal one was Mīlalai-kūrṇam, should have passed into the hands of the Pāṇḍyas and included in their dominion, i.e., Pāṇḍimaṇḍalam. It is quite in agreement with this that the inscriptions refer to Mīlalai-kūrṇam as a district of the Pāṇḍya country. This ancient district of Pāṇḍimaṇḍalam had three divisions named after the directions in which they lay, viz., Kūl-kūrṇu, the eastern division which adjoined the sea, Mēl-kūrṇu, the western division which included in it the villages adjoining the river Pāmbāru, and Naḍuvir-kūrṇu, which lay between these two. There are enough geographical references to the various divisions of this ancient district and the villages situated in them; but they lie scattered and unrecognised in the vast number of South Indian epigraphs. A mere collection of the references found in lithic records of past ages, arranged and classified under the three divisions named above, followed by the identification of the places mentioned therein and spotting them in a map is sure to remove much of our ignorance and misconception relating to this district and prove to be of value in locating easily fresh places that future discoveries might bring to light. The popular idea that all places included in the modern District of Tanjore must have belonged to the Chōlas or, in other words, that the Tanjore District represents the ancient Chōla dominion is wrong and must account for the misconception that Mīlalai-kūrṇam with its sister district of Muttūrṇu-kūrṇam should have been in the possession of the ancient Chōlas and included in their dominion. From what has been said above, it will be clear that excepting perhaps a small portion to the north of the Veļlāru river, the rest of the Arantangi Taluk lay outside the Chōla dominion and that this tract was first subject to the rule of Vēl-Evvi and subsequently passed into the hands of the Pāṇḍyas and was ever afterwards geographically included in Pāṇḍimaṇḍalam and formed a major portion of two of the divisions of the ancient district of Mīlalai-kūrṇam. The following is almost an exhaustive list of the villages in Mīlalai-kūrṇam found in the inscriptions of the South Indian epigraphical collection.⁵ They are noted under the respective divisions to which they belonged and in such an order as would admit of easy identification.

¹ "Ōmbār-igai mā-Vēl-Evvi" and "Ton-mudir Vēlir" are the expressions used in describing him in *Puram* 24.

² Verse 2 of Sundaramūrti-Nāyaṇār's hymn on Tiruppugalūr.

³ *Puram* 24. The words used are "Mīlalaiyoḍu * * * * Muttūrṇu tanda korra-nīl-kudai-kkoḍi-ttēr-
chCheliyan."

⁴ *Puram* 110. The relevant portion runs thus:—

Kaḍand-aḍu-tāṇai mūvirun-kūḍiy-
uḍaṇṇarirāyiṇum Paṇambu kolaṅk-aridē
Munnōr-ūrttē taṇ-Paṇambu-naṇ-pāḍu
Munnōr-ūrum pariśilar perṇaṇar.

In an inscription, Tiruvāḍavūr is said to have been situated in Teṇ-Paṇambu-nāḍu, a subdivision of Pāṇḍimaṇḍalam. (No. 423 of *S. I. I.*, Vol. VIII.)

⁵ There is a valuable contribution in the *Koṅṇumalar* (Vol. IV, pp. 80f.) by Mr. K. S. Vaidyanathan on 'Vēl-Evvi and his country' where he has collected together most of the references to Mīlalai-kūrṇam and Muttūrṇu-kūrṇam found in inscriptions and Tamil classical works and has successfully established that these two Districts originally belonged only to Vēl-Evvi.

Mīlalai-kūrram.¹

| Kīl-kūrru. | Naḍuvir-kūrru. | Mēl-kūrru (Vaḍa-Pāmbārru-nāḍu) |
|--|--|---------------------------------------|
| Taṇḍalai. ² | Āvuḍaiyārkōyil ³ or Tirupperundu- | Aśvatavattūr. ²¹ |
| Maṇamēlkuḍi <i>alias</i> | rai <i>alias</i> Pavitramāṇikka-chatur- | Ālappirandān-Būmīyūr. ²² |
| Kulōttuṅgaśōlapattiṇam. ³ | vēḍimaṅgalam. | Mājavār-māṇikkam. ²³ |
| Mañjakkūḍi. ⁴ | Tachchanenmali. ¹³ | Śēndamaṅgalam. ²⁴ |
| Embal <i>alias</i> Kaliyugarāmanallūr. ⁵ | Tuñjalūr. ¹⁴ | Ēnāngaḷūr. ²⁵ |
| Ponparri. ⁶ | Amarāḍi (or 'ḍakki) maṅgalam. ¹⁵ | Mūmmōr. |
| Vaṅganagar. ⁷ | Paravilimaṅgalam. ¹⁶ | Tannūr-Āṇḍakkūḍi <i>alias</i> Darāṇi- |
| Śeyyāṇam <i>alias</i> Parākramapāṇḍiya- | Viṭāṅkāṭṭūr <i>alias</i> Vikramaśōlanal- | vichchādiranallūr. ²⁶ |
| nallūr. ⁸ | lūr. ¹⁷ | Sundarapāṇḍiya nallūr. ²⁷ |
| Koluvanūr. ⁹ | Pullūrkkūḍi. ¹⁸ | |
| Veṭchiyūr <i>alias</i> Mummaḍiśōlanal- | Parāntakanallūr <i>alias</i> Kulōt- | Vaikundanallūr. ²⁸ |
| lūr. ¹⁰ | tuṅgaśōlanallūr. ²⁹ | Nuḷambūr. ²⁹ |
| Viḷattūr <i>alias</i> Jayaṅgaṇḍaśōlanal- ¹¹ | Pudukkūḍi. ²⁰ | |
| lūr. | | |

The villages are arranged from north to south in the above list to dispense with the necessity of a map.

If the southern portion of the modern Arantangi Taluk is divided into two halves by drawing a vertical line north-south one can find without any exception all the places of the Kīl-kūrru in the eastern half which adjoins the Bay of Bengal, and all the places of the Naḍuvir-kūrru on the western half, with the exception of Parāntakanallūr *alias* Kulōttuṅgaśōlanallūr. The last men-

¹ This District was sometimes called Gēyavinōda-vaḷanāḍu (No. 442 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1929-30), which was one of its Divisions (551 of 1926). Besides the villages noted under each of the three Divisions, a few more are mentioned as being in Mīlalai-kūrram without specifying the Division to which they belonged. These are Munpālai (No. 230 of 1926), Karuvili (No. 125 of 1912), Okkūr (No. 247 of *S. I. I.*, Vol. VIII), Veḷlūr (No. 393 of *S. I. I.*, Vol. VIII), Vittūrparru and Āḍūṇi (No. 211 of the same Volume), Pārūr (No. 67 of Mad. Ep. Colln. for 1910), Tiruvindaḷūr (No. 547 of 1916), Perunāvalūr (No. 406 of *S. I. I.*, Vol. V), Irumbāli (No. 265 of 1928-29), and Aḍumbār (No. 66 of 1927).

² Below, text-line 78.

³ No. 448 of *S. I. I.*, Vol. VIII.

⁴ *Ibid.*, No. 210.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ No. 372 of *S. I. I.*, Vol. IV.

⁷ No. 380 of the Mad. Ep. Colln. for 1929-30.

⁸ No. 462 of the same collection and No. 301 of *S. I. I.*, Vol. V.

⁹ No. 460 of the Mad. Ep. Colln. for 1909.

¹⁰ *S. I. I.*, Vol. IV, No. 372; Vol. V, Nos. 301, 446; and *A. S. S. I.*, pp. 48 and 52.

¹¹ *S. I. I.*, Vol. IV, No. 372; *A. S. S. I.*, pp. 48, 52; and Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1909, No. 461.

¹² Nos. 502 and 503 of the same colln. for 1925.

¹³ No. 372 of *S. I. I.*, Vol. IV.

¹⁴ *S. I. I.*, Vol. V, No. 301 and No. 425 of Mad. Ep. Colln. for 1911.

¹⁵ Mad. Ep. Colln. No. 15 of 1924 and No. 694 of 1916.

¹⁶ *S. I. I.*, Vol. V, No. 301.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, No. 432.

¹⁸ Mad. Ep. Colln. No. 270 of 1929-30, No. 30 of 1908, No. 2 of 1931-32 and *S. I. I.*, Vol. IV, No. 372 and Vol. V, No. 301.

¹⁹ *S. I. I.*, Vol. V, Nos. 301 and 987 and Pudukkōṭṭai State collection, Nos. 126 and 376.

²⁰ Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1929-30, No. 457.

²¹ Mad. Ep. Colln. for 1926, No. 551.

²² Same collection for 1929-30, No. 240.

²³ Nos. 324, 492 and 591 of Pudukkōṭṭai State collection.

²⁴ No. 411 of the same collection.

²⁵ No. 372 of the same collection.

²⁶ *S. I. I.*, Vol. V, No. 301.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, No. 987.

²⁸ *S. I. I.*, Vol. V, No. 301.

²⁹ No. 519 of 1925 and Pudukkōṭṭai State collection No. 124.

tioned place is now changed in name and is called Irumbānāḍu. It is in the Pudukkōṭṭai State and the inscriptions of the place show that it bore the name Parāntakanallūr. The places noted above under Mēl-kūrū, also called Vaḍa-Pāmbāru-nāḍu, do not fall in the Arantangi Taluk. Three of them, viz., Mājavarmāpikkam, Śēndamaṅgalam and Ēpāṅgaḷūr are in the Pudukkōṭṭai State. The finding of so many of the villages of Miḷalai-kūrū in South Arantangi Taluk and the adjacent part of Pudukkōṭṭai State convincingly proves that this was the region subject to the rule of the Vēl chieftain Evvi in the first instance. That this Kūrū is invariably stated in inscriptions from the time of Parāntaka I, i.e., from the beginning of the tenth century¹ downwards as being situated in Pāṇḍimaṅgalam shows that it was acquired by the Pāṇḍyas from Vēl-Evvi and included in that territory. It is particularly worthy of note that even though the Chōlas obtained possession of the Pāṇḍya territory later in the days of Parāntaka I as is clearly indicated by the existence of the Chōla inscriptions, traces of the inclusion of the Kūrū originally in the Pāṇḍya country did not disappear but were on the other hand preserved and there is every reason to hold that the Vēl chieftain must have been subordinate to the Pāṇḍya king. Else the district would not have been termed as one in Pāṇḍimaṅgalam. It would simply have been called Miḷalai-kūrū just like Urattūr-kūrū. All that the Chōla conquest meant was that the Chōla suzerainty was acknowledged by the Pāṇḍya king and his subjects. Some of the places of Miḷalai-kūrū have a history of their own which every student of Tamil literature must be aware of even though he may not know where the places themselves are. This history affords another strong proof that the region comprising the South-Arantangi Taluk was in early days included in the Pāṇḍya country. Maṇamēlkuḷi is the place of nativity of Kulachchirai-Nāyanār, the prime-minister of the Pāṇḍya king Nelvēli-pōr-veṅga-ṇiṇṇāśir-Neḷumārū (i. e., Neḷumārū who acquired lasting fame by the conquest in the battle of Nelvēli), the king that was converted to the Śaiva faith by the efforts of Saint Jñānasambha, the contemporary of Śiṅguttōṇḍa who was the general of the Pallava king that conquered Vātāpi which event we know as having taken place in the first half of the 7th century A.D. There is no room for thinking that the minister might have come from any other country than the Pāṇḍya. Speaking of him, Śēkkiḷār, the author of the Tamil *Periyapurāṇam* and the minister of the Chōla king of his day, distinctly states that Maṇamēlkuḷi was in the Pāṇḍya country and the minister hailed from there.² Inscriptions testify to the correctness of his geographical description.³ Similarly, Āvudaiyārkoṇḍi is connected with the history of Māṇikkavāchaka, another Pāṇḍya minister.

Now about Muttūrū-kūrū, which like Miḷalai-kūrū was subject to the rule of the Vēl chief Evvi and was included in the Pāṇḍya country. The very fact that the two districts were subject to the sway of one ruler suggests at once that Muttūrū-kūrū must lie adjacent to Miḷalai-kūrū, which, as shown above, occupied South-Arantangi Taluk and parts of Pudukkōṭṭai State and Rāmnād District. In determining the region in which this district lay and for knowing to which kingdom it belonged in early days, nothing will be so valuable as a collection of the epigraphs which refer to this district and identifying the places mentioned therein. The inscriptions which mention Muttūrū-kūrū are not many, but even the few that we have, are sufficient for

¹ No. 230 of 1926 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection, dated 37th year of Parāntaka I mentions Muṇṇālai in Miḷalai-kūrū in Pāṇḍi-nāḍu.

² *Periyapurāṇam* (Kulachchirai-Nāyanār, vv. 1 and 8). The following are the verses:—Pāṇṇu tol-puḷai-pPāṇḍi-naṇ-nāttiḍai-chen-nelār-vayal-tin-karumpin-ayal-punnu pūga-ppurambanai sūḷṇadadu maṇṇu vaṇmaiyaṇ-ār Maṇamēlkuḷi. || Inṇa nall-olukkattināl irilā-tTeṇṇavan Neḷumārarku śir-tigaḷ maṇṇu mandirikatku mēl-āgiyār oṇṇalar-cheṇṇ-urudikkaṇ ninṇūlār. ||

³ See foot-note 5, page 91 above.

locating it, since we know that it was contiguous to Milalai-kūrṇam. The earliest inscription which mentions the district as being in the Pāṇḍya country is a record of the Chōla king Parāntaka I.¹ A few others call the province, in which Muttūrṇu-kūrṇam was situated, by the names Pāṇḍi-maṇḍalam² and Rājarāja-Pāṇḍi-nūḷu.³ The villages mentioned in the inscriptions as being in Muttūrṇu-kūrṇam are Kaṭṭivayal,⁴ Añjukōṭṭai,⁵ Kappalūr⁶ *alias* Ulagaḷandaśōlanallūr, Adaṅgārimaṅgalam,⁷ Muttūr⁸ *alias* Uyyakkonḍasōlanallūr, Arayattūr,⁹ Sundarapāṇḍiya-chaturvēdimāṅgalam,¹⁰ Māvalūr,¹¹ Kuruvaḍimidi¹² *alias* Jinēndramaṅgalam. Tittāṇam,¹³ Tenralai,¹⁴ Tiruppuṇavāyil,¹⁵ and Andanūr-Śirukambūr.¹⁶ The Taluk that adjoins the southern portion of Arantangi, in which we have traced most of the places of the various divisions of Milalai-kūrṇam, is Tiruvāḍānai of the Rāmnād District. On the north-eastern side of the Tiruvāḍānai Taluk runs the river Pāmbāru which separates Rāmnād District from Arantangi Taluk of the Tanore District. Just as expected, we actually find almost on the western bank of this river, the villages Kaṭṭivayal, Añjukōṭṭai, Kappalūr, Muttūr, Adaṅgāri and Andanūr-Śirukambūr.¹⁷ Tiruppuṇavāyil (Tiruppuṇavāśal) is in the extreme south of Arantangi Taluk itself and adjoins the sea.¹⁸ We have also the testimony of the Chōla minister Śēkkilār to the fact that Tiruppuṇavāśal was included in the Pāṇḍya country.¹⁹ If there was room for misconception in the case of Milalai-kūrṇam on account of its inclusion in the Tanjore District, there is none in the case of Muttūrṇu-kūrṇam. Tiruvāḍānai Taluk of the Rāmnād District could never have come under the early Chōla dominion. It is in this Taluk and in the Tirupattūr Taluk that the river Pāmbāru flows, on whose banks we have traced most of the places included in Muttūrṇu-kūrṇam.

Muttūrṇu-kūrṇam is believed by some to have been taken by the Pāṇḍya king Neḍuñjeliyan from Iruṅḍōvēḷ. We shall now consider the question if this District could ever have been included in the territory of Iruṅḍōvēḷ, who, like Vēḷ-Evvi and Pāri flourished in early days and was one among the chieftains defeated by the said Pāṇḍya. Tamil literature and inscriptions both bear

¹ No. 266 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1907.

² Nos. 425 and 429 of the same collection for 1913.

³ No. 46 of the same for 1930-31.

⁴ Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1907, No. 266.

⁵ *Ibid.*, No. 408.

⁶ The same collection for 1913, Nos. 425 and 429, *S. I. I.*, Vol. IV, No. 373 and *S. I. I.*, Vol. VIII, No. 313.

⁷ Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1918, No. 76.

⁸ *S. I. I.*, Vol. IV, No. 426.

⁹ *S. I. I.*, Vol. VIII, No. 212.

¹⁰ Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1916, Nos. 17 and 33.

¹¹ No. 60 of the Pudukkōṭṭai State Collection.

¹² Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1907, No. 408.

¹³ Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1926, No. 599.

¹⁴ Same collection for 1930-31, No. 46.

¹⁵ *S. I. I.*, Vol. VIII, No. 213.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, No. 436, and Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1929-30, No. 295.

¹⁷ Añjukōṭṭai is to the north-east of Tiruvāḍānai, Kaṭṭivayal is east by north of Añjukōṭṭai and about three miles to the west of the Pāmbāru river and Śirukambūr is to the west of the Pāmbāru river and north of Kaṭṭivayal. Kappalūr lies to the west of the Pāmbāru river and in the centre of the northern part of Tiruvāḍānai Taluk.

¹⁸ Jñānasambandha and Sundaramūrti-Nāyanār describe it in these words:—

“Peruñ-kadar-kānalvāy=ppuṇḍarigam malar-ppoṟgai śūḷnda Puṇavāyilē”

“Kaḍar-kānalvāy-ppurkenru tōṇḍiḍum=emperumān Puṇavāyilē.”

¹⁹ Verses 884 to 893 mention the places in the Pāṇḍya country visited by Jñānasambandha before returning to his place. Among these Puṇavāyil is one (v. 891).



evidence to the fact that the territory over which Irungōvēl-chiefs ruled was called Kōṇāḍu¹ and that its capital was Koḍumbālūr.² The question reduces itself to this 'Could Muttūrru-kūrnam have been included in or was even adjacent to Kōṇāḍu?'. Kōṇāḍu is situated in the modern Pudukkōṭṭai State. A geographical analysis of the inscriptions of that State will show that Kōṇāḍu and its several divisions and sub-divisions occupied the whole of the Kuḷattūr Taluk and the northern portion of the Tirumeyyam Taluk. The southern part of the Tirumeyyam Taluk which is the southernmost part of the Pudukkōṭṭai State, had in it another ancient district called Kāṇa-nāḍu and this Kāṇa-nāḍu³ is stated to be a division of Pāṇḍimaṇḍalam. It was contiguous to Kēraḷaśiṅga-vaḷanāḍu. So then, between Kōṇāḍu which is reputed to be the territory of Irungōvēl chiefs and Muttūrru-kūrnam, there lay the two ancient districts of Kēraḷaśiṅga-vaḷanāḍu and Kāṇa-nāḍu, both belonging to Pāṇḍimaṇḍalam. This analysis will convincingly establish that the distant Muttūrru-kūrnam which we have located in the north-eastern part of the Tiruvāḍupai Taluk of the Rāmpaḍ District could never have been included in or was contiguous to Kōṇāḍu, the territory over which Irungōvēl held sway, intercepted as it was by two other districts of the Pāṇḍya country.

Geographical analysis of the inscriptions of the Pudukkōṭṭai State.

Kōṇāḍu—

- (a) Aṇṇalvāyil-kūrnam :—Irumbālī, Madinūr, Telūṅgakulakālapuram (in Teṇ-Kōṇāḍu) *alias* Kulōttuṅgaśōlapaṭṭiṇam and Viśālūr.—all in Kuḷattūr Taluk.
- (b) Kūḍalūr-nāḍu :—Paṇaiyūrkuḷam, Śēvalūr, Siṅṇaiyūr.—all in Tirumeyyam Taluk.
- (c) Kuṇṇiyūr or Kunriśōl-nāḍu :—Kaḷanivāsal, Mēl-Manālūr, Parambaiyūr, Punnanguḍi, Śikhānallūr, Tirunalakkuṇṇam.—all in the Kuḷattūr Taluk.
- (d) Ollaiyūr-kūrnam :—Āṇkuḍi *alias* Āmanallūr, Idaiyāṇṇūr, Kāraiṇūr, Kūḷa-Taṇṇai, Korrayūr, *alias* Uttamaśōlapuram, Nerūjikkūḍi, Ollaiyūr *alias* Madurai, Ollaiyūmaṅgalam (Oliyamaṅgalam), Rājēndrasōlapuram, Śāttanūr, Sundarasōlapuram *alias* Dēśiyugandapaṭṭiṇam (Sundaram), and Viṇṭūkki *alias* Rājēndrasōlapuram,—all in Tirumeyyam Taluk.
- (e) Uṇṇattūr-kūrnam (Vaḍa-Kōṇāḍu) :—Ālattūr, Koḍumbālūr, Kūḷai-kuḷattūr, Mōnelvēli, Nīrpaḷani, Payyūr, Pudukkūḍi, Śārapaṭṭaṇam *alias* Vikramaśōlapperunderu and Tiruviraiyāṇkuḍi (Tiruvilāṇṇuḍi).—all in the Kuḷattūr Taluk.
- (f) Vaḍa Śiruvāyil-nāḍu in (e) :—Ilaiyāyūr, Kīraṇūr, Kumāramaṅgalam,—all in the Kuḷattūr Taluk.
- (g) Vayalaga-nāḍu :—Pulvayal and Vayalagam. Both are in Kuḷattūr Taluk.

Kāṇa-nāḍu—

- (a) Kāṇa-nāḍu :—Ādanūr, Andanūr, Kōṭṭaiyūr, Malayakōyil, Mēlūr, Muniyandai, Pēraiṇūr, Perundurai, Perunkaraikkūḍi, *alias* Tiruvarambaṅḷanallūr, Pulivalam, Śōlapaṇḍi-yapuram, Teṇ-Kāṭṭūr, Tirumeyyam, Tulaiyānilai, Viraiyāchchilai. These villages are in Tirumeyyam Taluk.

¹ One of the earliest sovereigns of Kōṇāḍu celebrated in Tamil literature is the renowned Śaiva devotee Idanḡali-Nāyanār, of whom it is said that he was the head of the Vēḷ family, ruled from Koḍumbālūr and was a lineal descendant of Āditya (v. 2 of *Idanḡali-Nāyanār Purāṇam*). The Mūvarkōyil inscription of Koḍumbālūr, besides testifying to the antiquity of this Vēḷ family, records the part played by some of the members in the history of South India (*Annual Report on Epigraphy, Madras, for 1908, p. 87*).

² Kodumbai (Koḍumbālūr) lay on the way to the Pāṇḍya country from the Chōḷa territory (*Śīlapadikāram, Kāḍukāṇkūḍai, l. 71*).

³ Tirumeyyam in Kāṇa-nāḍu has one of the eighteen famous Vaiṣṇava temples of the Pāṇḍya country. This also shows that Kāṇa-nāḍu was in the Pāṇḍya territory.

(b) Sengunra-nāḍu :—Ālaṅguḍi, Ānguḍi, and Mēlanilai.

(c) Turumā-nāḍu :—Ānamandai, Kaṇṇanūr, Tirunāvalūr and Turumā,—all in Tirumeyyam Taluk.

Kēraśaśiṅga-vaḷanāḍu¹ and **Madurōdaya-vaḷanāḍu**² mentioned in the plates are two other districts of the Pāṇḍya country. The former covered a very large portion of the Tirupattūr Taluk of the Rāmnād District, a part of the Pudukkōṭṭai State and seems to have extended also into the Śivaganga Zamindari. It had several sub-divisions of which six are known, viz., (1) Kalvāyil-nāḍu, (2) Śōlapāṇḍya-vaḷanāḍu,³ (3) Kīl-Kunḍāru, (4) Tēṇāruppōkku, (5) Tiruttiyūr-Muṭṭam, and (6) Adaḷaiyūr-nāḍu. Of the villages of (1) Kalvāyil-nāḍu, viz., Nelvāyil⁴, Pullamaṅgalam⁵, Kulaśēkharapuram,⁶ and Sundarapāṇḍiyapuram,⁷ are in the Pudukkōṭṭai State while Ilaiyāttakuḍi *alias* (or near) Kulaśēkharapuram,⁸ Iraṇiyūr,⁹ Korraṁaṅgalam¹⁰ and Kunṇattūr¹¹ are in the Tirupattūr Taluk. The villages in (2) are Kāraiyyūr,¹² Tirukkōṭṭiyūr,¹³ Śōlamārttāṇḍa-chaturvēdimaṅgalam,¹⁴ i.e., Śivapuri, Kaṇṇamaṅgalam,¹⁵ Karuṅḷattūr,¹⁶ Mēlūr,¹⁷ Pūḍikkūḍi,¹⁸ Śīrudaiyūr¹⁹ and Śīrudai.²⁰ The village Aḷagūpuri²¹ was situated in (3). In the sub-division of Tēṇāruppōkku was the village Niyamam²² (Nēmam). Tiruttiyūr-Muṭṭam had two divisions; in the eastern division (Kīlai-Tiruttiyūr-Muṭṭam) were the villages Śīruvayal,²³ Anṇiyūr,²⁴ Dēsaṅḷam,²⁵ Koḷuṅḷam,²⁶ Vēppaṅḷam,²⁷ and Verriyūr,²⁸ while Mēlai-Tiruttiyūr-Muṭṭam had Pāṇḍēri²⁹ in it. The village of Tirukkunṇakkuḍi³⁰ (Kunṇakkuḍi) was in Adaḷaiyūr-nāḍu in which passed the river Tēṇāru³¹. The villages of Ilai-Kaḍambaṅḷam³² (modern Śaṇṇavaram), Piḷar³³ and Korraṁaṅgalam³⁴ were in Tiruttiyūr-Muṭṭam; but it is not known whether they belonged to the eastern or western division.

¹ No. 617 of 1905 states that this is a district of Pāṇḍimaṇḍalam.

² No. 319 of Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1927-28.

³ Though the term *vaḷanāḍu* is usually employed to denote a district, it indicates a sub-division here. Owing to the large size of Kēraśaśiṅga-vaḷanāḍu, it seems to have been split up into two parts in later days.

⁴ Nos. 252 and 258 of the Pudukkōṭṭai State Collection.

⁵ No. 267 of the same collection.

⁶ No. 491 of the same collection.

⁷ No. 346 of the same.

⁸ No. 38 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1926 and No. 182 of *S. I. I.*, Vol. VIII.

⁹ No. 4 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1926.

¹⁰ No. 80 of 1916 of the same collection.

¹¹ No. 85 of 1916.

¹² No. 133 of the same for 1907.

¹³ No. 284 of the same for 1923, Nos. 291-2 for 1929-30 and *S. I. I.*, Vol. IV, p. 529.

¹⁴ Nos. 16 and 20 of Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1928-29.

¹⁵ No. 36 of the same collection for 1916.

¹⁶ No. 64 of the same for 1928-29.

¹⁷ No. 201 of the same for 1924.

¹⁸ No. 200 of the same for 1924.

¹⁹ No. 304 of the same for 1929-30.

²⁰ No. 224 of the same for 1924.

²¹ No. 101 of the same for 1924.

²² Nos. 1, 77 and 83 of the same for 1924.

²³ No. 55 of the same for 1924.

²⁴ *S. I. I.*, Vol. VIII, No. 180.

²⁵ No. 58 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1924.

²⁶ No. 25 of the same for 1909.

²⁷ No. 263 of Pudukkōṭṭai State Collection.

²⁸ No. 14 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1916.

²⁹ No. 12 of the same.

³⁰ No. 50 of the same collection for 1924.



The sub-divisions of Madurōdaya-vaṇāḍu and the villages situated in them are noted below :—

- (1) Kāñai-Irukkai which had in it Uḷakkuḍi,¹ Iruñchirai,² Kottakīrti,³ Vēḷānēri,⁴ Karpakīrti⁵ and Irāśiṅganallūr.⁶
- (2) Māḍakkuḷakkil which had in it Koḍimaṅgalam,⁷ Madurai,⁸ Śīruveṅkunṇam.⁹
- (3) Vēlūrkuḷakkil, with Kundadēvi-chaturvēdimaṅgalam.¹⁰
- (4) Rājaśiṅgaṅkuḷakkil which had in it Rājēndīram,¹¹ Tiruppūvaṇam,¹² Ambalattāḍi-chaturvēdimaṅgalam.¹³
- (5) Karuṇilakkuḍi-nāḍu which had in it Tiruttaṅgāl.¹⁴
- (6) Iḍaikkūḍi-nāḍu which had in it Mēlai-Śeḷuvaṇūr¹⁵ *alias* Śātrubhayaṅkaranallūr.
- (7) Veṇbuḷa or Veṇbil-nāḍu which had in it Kumārapavitra-chaturvēdimaṅgalam¹⁶ and Śēṅkāṭṭirukkai-Iḍattuvali.¹⁷
- (8) Puṇappaṇalai-nāḍu which had in it Puttūr,¹⁸ Kaḷḷikuḍi,¹⁹ Miḷagaṇūr²⁰ and Nirmaḍaiyūr.²¹
- (9) Kallaga-nāḍu which must have had at least two sub-divisions as the name Ten Kallaga-nāḍu is applied to one of them which contained the villages Dēśipaṭṭanam *alias* Vikramaśōḷapuram²² (Vikramaṅgalam), Śēṇḍaṇēri-Kaṭṭikaḷḷūr (Tenkarai)²³ and Parākramapāṇḍiyapuram.²⁴

It will be noted that four of the sub-divisions given in the Tiruppūvaṇam plates without mentioning the district to which they belonged were actually in Madurōdaya-vaṇāḍu. These are Māḍakkuḷakkil, Rājaśiṅgaṅkuḷakkil, Puṇappaṇalai-nāḍu and Kāñai-Irukkai.

A word of explanation is necessary for treating as sub-divisions geographical terms ending in 'kuḷakkil'. of which we have as many as four instances. In mentioning villages, inscriptions usually give first the district, then the sub-division and lastly the village. Districts generally have the suffix *vaṇāḍu* and the sub-divisions end in *nāḍu*. Sometimes in place of *vaṇāḍu*, the term *kūrram* is employed; and if it had not any sub-divisions with distinct and different names, it is itself divided into two or more divisions according to the directions in which they lay, such as east, middle and west, north and south, etc. This is also the case even with regard to some

¹ S. I. I., Vol. IV, No. 372.

² Below, text-lines 108, 245, 246 and 250.

³ S. I. I., Vol. V, No. 446.

⁴ S. I. I., Vol. IV, No. 370.

⁵ Below, text-line 16.

⁶ No. 66 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1916.

⁷ No. 447 of the same collection for 1906.

⁸ Below, text-line, 92.

⁹ Below, text-line, 133.

¹⁰ S. I. I., Vol. VIII, No. 423.

¹¹ No. 574 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1922.

¹² No. 317 of the same for 1927-28. Taṅgāl occurs as a village in the Pāṇḍya country in the *Śilappadigāram* Canto XXIII, l. 75.

¹³ No. 331 of the same collection for 1918.

¹⁴ Nos. 403 and 414 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1914.

¹⁵ S. I. I., Vol. V, No. 302 and Vol. IV, No. 372.

¹⁶ Below, text-lines 106 and 111.

¹⁷ S. I. I., Vol. V, Nos. 302 and 431.

¹⁸ Nos. 613, 614 and 616 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1926.

¹⁹ S. I. I., Vol. V, Nos. 294 and 298.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, No. 295.

sub-divisions which are large enough to be so apportioned. For instance the district of Mīlalai-kūrṇam had no separate sub-divisions: in the place of the latter, we have Kīl-kūrṇu, Naḍuvīr-kūrṇu and Mēl-kūrṇu, i.e., the eastern, middle and western portions. Similarly, the sub-division Śembi-nāḍu had. Vaḍatalai-Śembi-nāḍu, Kīl-Śembi-nāḍu, etc., i.e., the northern and eastern portions of Śembi-nāḍu. Districts are sometimes omitted in inscriptions and villages are mentioned with the sub-divisions to which they belonged. From the fact that the geographical items Māḍakkulakkīl, Rājendraśiṅgaṅkulakkīl, etc., immediately follow a *vaḷanāḍu* or district and are followed in turn by villages, they have to be treated as sub-divisions. It will not be right to take the terms ending in “*kuḷakkīl*” to mean “to the east of any particular tank”. In these items the particle *kīl* does not mean ‘east’ as opposed to ‘*mēl*’ ‘west’ but stands for “under or in”. Hence we have inserted the four items ending in *kuḷakkīl* as sub-divisions and assigned them their places under the districts to which they belonged. In this connection, it is worthy of note that we have not come across even a single instance where a village is stated to be situated to the west, north or south of Māḍakkulām, Rājendraśiṅgaṅkulām, etc.

Of the other sub-divisions mentioned in the plates, Vaḍatalai-Śembi-nāḍu in which Āykkūḍi *alias* Aḷagiyapāṇḍiyanallūr was situated, is seen from other inscriptions to have had the villages Iyamaṇśvaram,¹ Mēlai-Koḍumalūr² or Koḍumalūr *alias* Uttamapāṇḍiyanallūr, Kīlai-Koḍumalūr³ *alias* Madurōdayanallūr, Māvilaṅgai,⁴ Nallūrkuṇuchchi,⁵ Peruṅgirinallūr⁶ and Deyvachčilainallūr otherwise called Pāṇṇaṅkulām. Except Iyamaṇśvaram (Emaṇśvaram) which is in the Paramakūḍi Taluk, the rest are found in the Mudukulaṭṭūr Taluk of the Rāmnād District. The name of the division shows that Śembi-nāḍu had other divisions. In fact, inscriptions refer to Kīl-Śembi-nāḍu in which were the villages Āṇaikūḍi,⁷ Kaḷarī *alias* Kaidavanallūr,⁸ Kaḍambaṅguḍi,⁹ Nallāṅkuḍi,¹⁰ Maruvāy *alias* Śrīvallaḅḅanallūr,¹¹ Pavittirāmaṅkikaṭṭiṇam,¹² Nallirukkai *alias* Virapāṇḍiyanallūr,¹³ Tiruppullāṇi¹⁴ and Śembiyāṅ-Pērāmbūr;¹⁵ Śrīdēśam which had in it Tiru-Uttarakōśamaṅgai, as other divisions of Śembi-nāḍu. Most of these villages are in the Rāmnād Taluk.

Kaḷavaḷi-nāḍu was divided into two parts North and South. In Vaḍa-Kaḷavaḷi-nāḍu were Aḷagaimānagar,¹⁶ Kōḍaipirāṭṭinallūr,¹⁷ Kuṇṇattūr¹⁸ and Puṇḍuḷi.¹⁹ Ten-Kaḷavaḷi-nāḍu had in it Muḍikonḍapāṇḍiyanapuram²⁰ and Pullūrri²¹ *alias* Śrīvallaḅḅanallūr. That Kaḍambaṅguḍi was a village in Kaḷavaḷi-nāḍu and bore the name *Malayarāyaṅkōṭṭai* is learnt from two inscriptions.²² Ārāḷaiyūr was another village in the same division.²³

¹ S. I. I., Vol. VIII, No. 395.

² Madras Epigraphical Collection, Nos. 399 of 1907 and 531 of 1926.

³ S. I. I., Vol. V, Nos. 440 and 441; and Nos. 469 of Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1909 and 304 of 1922.

⁴ No. 392 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1914.

⁵ S. I. I., Vol. V, No. 301.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Vol. VIII, No. 399.

⁷ *Ibid.*, No. 398.

⁸ *Ibid.*, No. 402.

⁹ Madras Epigraphical Collection, No. 283 of 1923, No. 5 of 1924 and No. 276 of 1929-30.

¹⁰ No. 316 of the same collection for 1923.

¹¹ Nos. 11, 23, 27 of the same for 1924.

¹² No. 291 of the same for 1923 and No. 18 of 1924.

¹³ No. 47 of the same for 1926.

¹⁴ No. 229 of the same for 1924.

¹⁵ Nos. 1 and 3 of the same for 1924.

¹⁶ No. 306 of the same collection for 1923.

APPENDIX A.

Names of persons that conducted the settlement of boundaries.

| Serial No. | Names of persons. | Village. | Sub-division. | District or Province. |
|------------|--|--|---|---|
| | <i>I. Kaṅkānis (ll. 74-93).</i> | | | |
| 1 | Araiyāṇ Nārāyaṇaṇ of Kaṭṭikuṇchchi. | Parāntakanallūr . | Naduviṭ-kūṇṇu . | Mīlalai-kūṇṇam. |
| 2 | Parāntakaṇ Tiruppuvaṇamudaiyāṇ | Taṇḍalai . . | Kiḷ-kūṇṇu . . | Ditto. |
| 3 | Karuṇākaradēvaṇ Purpavaṇamu-daiyāṇ. | Māraṇūr <i>alias</i> Palamaṇḍa- lādittanallūr. | Alagiyaṇḍiyakku- lakkiḷ. | .... |
| 4 | Pillai Aḷvāṇ <i>alias</i> Ponnambalak- kūṭṭaṇ who was the <i>kaṅkāni</i> of Tiruvāykkēṭṭi Ponnaṇ Sūriya- dēvaṇ <i>alias</i> Jayadhara-Pallava- raiyaṇ. | Karuṇpūr . . Puttūr . . . | Tirumuṇaiṇḍi-nāḍu . Puṇḍarāḷai-nāḍu . | Sōḷamaṇḍalam. |
| 5 | Vēḷāṇ Sāṭṭaṇ, the <i>kaṅkāni</i> of Poyyā- moḷidēvaṇ. | Kiḷ-Nettūr ¹ <i>alias</i> Kīrtivīśālāi- yaṇallūr. | Karuṇḍi-nāḍu . | .... |
| 6 | Nārāyaṇaṇ Sāṭṭaṇ who was the <i>kaṅkāni</i> of Sāṇudāyam Śrāmaṇ Tiruvudaiyāṇ <i>alias</i> Pottappich- chōḷaṇ. | Vēḷiārtūr ² Kappalūr ³ <i>alias</i> Uḷaḷaṇḍaśō- ḷaṇallūr. | .... | Kēraḷaśiṅga- vaḷaṇḍu Muttūṇṇu-kūṇṇam. |
| 7 | Araiyāṇ Tirumalai-udaiyāṇ who was the <i>kaṅkāni</i> of Māḷigaṭṭaṇam Śivalavaṇ Alagiyaṇḍavāḷaṇ <i>alias</i> Kāḷiṅgarāyaṇ. | Aruṇkāḷam Aykkuḍi ⁴ <i>alias</i> Alagiyaṇḍi- yaṇallūr. | Pōḷiyūr-nāḍu Vadatalai-Śembi- nāḍu. | .... |
| 8 | Araiyāṇ Karuṇānikkam who was the <i>kaṅkāni</i> of Maḷavarāyaṇ. | Kiṭ-Paśalai <i>alias</i> Dānaviṇḍanallūr. | Tiyandaikkuḍi-nāḍu . | .... |
| 9 | Uyyavandāṇ Pōṇṇaṇ <i>alias</i> Mānā- bharāṇa-Mūvēṇḍavēḷār who was the <i>adigaṇam</i> of Pillaiyār Alaga- perumāḷ. | Kappalūr <i>alias</i> Uḷaḷaṇ- ḍaśōḷaṇallūr. | .... | Muttūṇṇu-kūṇṇam. |
| 10 | Nambi Pōṇṇambalakkūṭṭaṇ <i>alias</i> Virāśiṅgaḍēvaṇ. | Śirupālaiyūr <i>alias</i> Kāvēri- vaḷaṇallūr. | .... | Sōḷapaṇḍiya-vaḷa- nāḍu. |
| 11 | Malaikiṇiyaṇṇrāṇ Alagaṇ <i>alias</i> Vijaiya Viṇchādiradēvaṇ who was one of the <i>aṇṇuḷkar</i> of <i>Sōḷapaṇḍiya-vaḷaṇḍu-kāṇṇam</i> Śeyyaṇ Alagiyaṇḍiyaṇār. | Rājēndiram . . | Irāśiṅgaṇḍuḷakkiḷ . | .... .... |

¹ Nettūr is in the Śivaganga Taluk.² This is in the Tiruppattur Taluk.³ This is a (Z) village in Tiruvāḍānai Taluk.⁴ Paramakudi Taluk.

| Serial No. | Names of persons. | Village. | Sub-division. | District or Province. |
|-----------------|-------------------------------------|-----------------|--------------------|-----------------------|
| II (ll. 93-96). | | | | |
| 12 | Mādavaṇ Divākara-Bhaṭṭaṇ | Māpavīramadurai | Tiyandaikuṇḍi-nāḍu | .... |
| 13 | Nārāyaṇaṇ Nārāyaṇa-Bhaṭṭaṇ | Ditto | Ditto | .... |
| 14 | Śī-(Śrī) Mādavaṇ Nārasimha-Bhaṭṭaṇ. | Ditto | Ditto | .... |
| 15 | Gōvindaṇ Tirunḷakanta-Bhaṭṭaṇ | Ditto | Ditto | .... |
| 16 | Jātavēdaṇ Subrahmaṇya-Bhaṭṭaṇ | Ditto | Ditto | .... |

Note.—Inclusive of the five persons of Māpavīramadurai named above (in Section II), the following others that are mentioned in the next six sections (III to VIII) who were concerned in the formation of the new *brahma-dēya* also went with the elephant.

| | | | | |
|------------------|--|--|------|------|
| III (ll. 96-98). | | | | |
| 17 | Ādityaṇ Śēndapirāṇ-Bhaṭṭaṇ of Tirukkuṇḍandai. | Marudūr <i>alias</i> Madurōḍaya-chaturvēdimāṅgalam. | .... | .... |
| 18 | Śrī-Kriṣṇaṇ Alagiyaṛāghava-Bhaṭṭaṇ. | Ditto | .... | .... |
| 19 | Kāliyāyaṇ Vennaikkūta-Bhaṭṭaṇ | Ditto | .... | .... |
| IV (ll. 98-100). | | | | |
| 20 | Āhitāgni Śrīraṅgaṇātha-Bhaṭṭa-Sōma-Kāṭhakaṇḍiyyār. | Mēṇ-Paśalai ¹ <i>alias</i> Śrīvallaḅha-chaturvēdi-māṅgalam. | .... | .... |
| 21 | Nārāyaṇaṇ Nārāyaṇa-Bhaṭṭaṇ | Ditto | .... | .... |
| 22 | Śrī-Vāsudēvaṇ Nagnapirāṇ-Bhaṭṭaṇ | Ditto | .... | .... |
| 23 | Śrī-Rāmaṇ Paramātma-Bhaṭṭaṇ | Ditto | .... | .... |
| V (ll. 100-103). | | | | |
| 24 | Arayaṇ Uyyanirāḍuvāṇ <i>alias</i> Śēmbiyadaraiyaṇ. | Kiṭ-Paśalai ¹ <i>alias</i> Dāṇaviṇōdanallūr. | .... | .... |
| 25 | Kēśavaṇ Nārāyaṇaṇ | Ditto | .... | .... |
| 26 | Karumāṇikkam-Korṇaṇ | Ditto | .... | .... |
| 27 | Kalvāyū Kēśavaṇ | Ditto | .... | .... |
| 28 | Periyāṇ Perrāṇ | Ditto | .... | .... |
| 29 | Naṅgaṇ Alāzan | Ditto | .... | .... |
| 30 | Vāsudēvaṇ Sūriyadēvaṇ | Ditto | .... | .... |

¹ Melappaśalai and Kiṭappasalai are (I) villages in the Śivaganga Taluk.

| Serial No. | Names of persons. | Village. | Sub-division. | District or Province. |
|---------------------|--|--|-------------------|-----------------------|
| VI (ll. 103-106). | | | | |
| 31 | Appan Sūriyadēvan | Pohyūr <i>alias</i> Pārthivakēsari- nallūr. | .... | .... |
| 32 | Udayan Varagunadēvan <i>alias</i> Alagiyaṇḍiṇi-Vilupparaiyan. | Ditto | .... | .... |
| 33 | Sūriyan Varantaruvān <i>alias</i> Sangirāmaṅga-Pallavaraiyan. | Ditto | .... | .... |
| 34 | Sundarattōḷudaiyān Sōmadēvan | Ditto | .... | .... |
| VII (ll. 106-108). | | | | |
| 35 | Dayānilai Uyyavandān <i>alias</i> Chēḥṛaiyan. | Kallikkudī ¹ <i>alias</i> Puravuvarinallūr. | Purappagaḷai-nāḍu | .... |
| 36 | Aṇukkan Ariyān | Ditto | Ditto | .... |
| 37 | Appan Arumolidēvan <i>alias</i> Šembiyan- Vilupparaiyan. | Ditto | Ditto | .... |
| 38 | Puttūr-kilavan Battan <i>alias</i> Purap- paraḷanāḍu-kilavaṇ. | Ditto | Ditto | .... |
| VIII (ll. 108-110). | | | | |
| 39 | Paliyānilai Sūriyadēvan <i>alias</i> Tamiṇāḍukilavaṇ. | Iruñchirai ² <i>alias</i> Indirasamāna- nallūr. | Kāḍai-Irukkai | .... |
| 40 | Vēlān Irattai <i>alias</i> Rājakuṅjara- Pallavaraiyan. | Ditto | Ditto | .... |
| IX (ll. 110-120). | | | | |
| 41 | Šadīran Šelvan | Mūḷaganūr ³ | .... | .... |
| 42 | Rāman Aḷagan | Ditto | .... | .... |
| 43 | Šōṇ Mūkkan | Ditto | .... | .... |
| 44 | Nāgadēvan Rāman <i>alias</i> Rājanārū- yaṇa-Mōvēndavēlān. | Ditto | .... | .... |
| 45 | Araśuriyān | Ditto | .... | .... |

¹ This is a (Z) village in the Śivaganga Taluk.

² Tradition has it that an early Pāṇḍya king bound with chains and imprisoned the clouds at this place which is on that account also known as Kattunallūr-Iruñchirai. See V. 38 of Tiruvālavāyudaiyār *Tiruvāḷpāḍal* 44, p. 162. "Tudhippara viluṇṇu pāṭti-ttunind-iruñchirai vaṭṭān=aru-śṭappeyar=Kattunallūr-Iruñchiraiy=enbar-inrum". The place is near Mānāmadurai. A later inscription (No. 399 of S. I. I., Vol. VIII) mentions Iruñchirai-vaḷanāḍu and locates Maṇṇaiyūrkōṭṭai in it.

³ This is an (I) village in Śivaganga.

| Serial No. | Names of persons. | Village. | Sub-division. | District or Province. |
|---|--|---|---------------------------|-----------------------|
| 46 | Araiyaṇ Pullāṇi who had the <i>kāṇipparra</i> of Pullāṇi Mādēyaṇ <i>alias</i> Nuḷambā-darāyar. | Achchankāṭṭi-rukkaṭi Tirumāli-ruṇjōlai Mālaṅguḍi. ¹ | Kiṭ-Śembi-nāḍu. | .... |
| <p><i>Note.</i>—The persons mentioned in this group were concerned in the formation of the new village of Miḷagaṇūr surnamed Rājēndranallūr by clubbing together the villages and lands given in exchange for the old village of Miḷagaṇūr that was taken up and included in Rājagambhira-chaturvēdimaṅgalaṃ.</p> | | | | |
| X (ll. 120-123). | | | | |
| 47 | Śāttāṇ Kaṇavadi | Śirukulattūr ² <i>alias</i> Parākrama-pāṇḍiyanallūr. | Aḷagiya-pāṇḍiya-kulakkiḷ. | .... |
| 48 | Sundarattōḷuḍaiyaṇ Dēvaṇ | Ditto | Ditto | .... |
| 49 | Śāttāṇ Kaṇḍaṇ <i>alias</i> Tirumāli-ruṇjōlai Dāsaṇ. | Ditto | Ditto | .... |
| 50 | Vēḷāṇ Sundarattōḷuḍaiyaṇ | Ditto | Ditto | .... |
| 51 | Śivallavaṇ Pērāyiramūḍaiyaṇ <i>alias</i> Māraṇūrnāṭṭu-Vēḷāṇ. | Ditto | Ditto | .... |
| 52 | Dēvaṇ Śivallavaṇ Aratṭamikkidāsaṇ | Ditto | Ditto | .... |
| XI (ll. 123-124). | | | | |
| 53 | Uḍaiyadivākaṇaṇ Śrī-Kārimāra-Bhaṭṭaṇ of Iḷavimaṅgalaṃ. | Śirakuḍi ³ <i>alias</i> Virakāmu-gamaṅgalaṃ. | .... | .... |
| 54 | Nārāyaṇaṇ Subrahmaṇya-Bhaṭṭaṇ | Ditto | .... | .... |
| XII (ll. 125-127). | | | | |
| 55 | Uyyaninrāḍi Periyālvāṇ | Viḍattal ⁴ <i>alias</i> Mānā-bharaṇa-chaturvēdimaṅgalaṃ. | Kiraṇūr-nāḍu | .... |
| 56 | Śēndapirāṇ Karumāmugil-Bhaṭṭaṇ | Ditto | Ditto | .... |
| 57 | Gōvindaṇ Māṇēdukaṇiṇ | Ditto | Ditto | .... |
| 58 | Āḍityaṇ Bhāskara-Bhaṭṭaṇ | Ditto | Ditto | .... |
| XIII (ll. 127-128). | | | | |
| 59 | Vēḷāṇ Kōvaṇ | Vēḷḷurkuruchchi ⁵ | Aḷagiya-pāṇḍiya-kulakkiḷ. | .... |
| 60 | Āḍi Perrāṇ | Ditto | Ditto | .... |

¹ Most of the places in Kiṭ-Śembi-nāḍu are, like Mālaṅguḍi, situated in the Ramnad Taluk of the Ramnad District.

² There is a village called Śirakulam in the Śivaganga Taluk.

³ This place is in Śivaganga.

⁴ There is a Viḍattakulam in the Śivaganga Taluk.

⁵ This is perhaps Vēḷḷikuruchchi in the Śivaganga Taluk.

| Serial No. | Names of persons. | Village. | Sub-division. | District or Province. |
|--------------------|--|--|------------------------|-----------------------|
| 61 | Vēlāṇ Alagaṇ <i>alias</i> Sundarapāṇḍiya-Mūvēṇḍavēlāṇ. | Veḷḷūrkuṇṇuṇchechi | Alagiyaṇḍiya-kuḷakkil. | .... |
| 62 | Vēlāṇ Śīrilāṇkō | Ditto | Ditto | .... |
| XIV (ll. 129-131). | | | | |
| 63 | Ālvāṇ Upādhyāyar | Marudūr | Tiruvāvaṇam | .... |
| 64 | Karumāṇikkam Ulagamuṇḍāṇ Bhaṭṭaṇ. | Perumpuliyūr | .... | .... |
| 65 | Mayūravāhaṇaṇ Āḍuvāṇ-Bhaṭṭaṇ | Marudūr | .... | .... |
| XV (ll. 131-132). | | | | |
| 66 | Rāmaṇ Uyyavandāṇ | Vēlūr <i>alias</i> Alagiyaṇḍiyaṇallūr. | Kiraṇūr-nāḍu | .... |
| 67 | Peṇṇāṇ Pāṭṭaṇ | Ditto | Ditto | .... |
| 68 | Dēvaṇ Nambi | Ditto | Ditto | .... |
| 69 | Śōraṇ Nāṭṭaṇ | Ditto | Ditto | .... |

Note.—The persons mentioned in sections X to XV were all concerned in clubbing the villages in the *brahma-dēya* of Rājagambhīra-chaturvēdimāṅalam.

| | | | | |
|--------------------|--|--------------|-------------------|------|
| XVI (ll. 133-138). | | | | |
| 70 | Āṇaittaṇam Pammaṇ Āḍiyārkunallaperumāṇ <i>alias</i> Pallavadaraiyaṇ. | Tiruppūvaṇam | Irāśiṅgankuḷakkil | .... |
| 71 | Meyppu Malaiyaṇ Śōraṇ <i>alias</i> Viṇjattaraiyaṇ. | .... | .... | .... |
| 72 | Dēvaṇ Tillai <i>alias</i> Madurōḍaya-Pallavaraiyaṇ. | .... | .... | .... |
| 73 | Śikayilāya-Bhaṭṭaṇ <i>alias</i> Śivallava-Pallavaraiyaṇ. | .... | .... | .... |
| 74 | Kaṇavadi Śīrāmaṇ <i>alias</i> Sundarapāṇḍiya-Pallavaraiyaṇ. | .... | .... | .... |
| 75 | Ēraṇ Periyāṇ <i>alias</i> Pāṇḍiyaṇ Pallavaraiyaṇ. | .... | .... | .... |
| 76 | Pōrru Aravamudaiyaṇ Villi <i>alias</i> Mudittalaiṇḍa-Pallavaraiyaṇ. | .... | .... | .... |

Note.—The seven persons of group XVI conducted the female elephant.

APPENDIX B.

List of villages and lands included in Rājagambhīra-chaturvēdimaṅgalam in Rājagambhīra-vaḷaṇāḍu.

(Lines 19 to 69.)

Kīraṇūr-nāḍu.

Nakkamaṅgalam.—The village of Kīraṇūr in the Śivaganga Taluk was perhaps the chief place in the division.

Vāgaikuḍi.—This was a *dēvadāna* of Tiruppūvaṇamuḍaiyār.

Tiruvāvaṇam.

Tuttiyūr.—There is a village called Tuttikulam in the Śivaganga Taluk.

Kirungākkōttai.—This village is in the Śivaganga Taluk.

Kāḍuvetti, Muttam, Korraṇēri, Taḍaiyili-Tiyāgi-ēmbal, Veḷḷattaivenṇāṅ-ēmbal, Naḍuvirkōttai and Kāḷaṅ-Eṭṭi-kuruchchi are lands in Kirungākkōttai.

Paṇaṅgalūr-nāḍu.

Adikarai.—A village in the Śivaganga Taluk.

Mittiravāli.

Vēlaṅgulam.—A village in the Śivaganga Taluk.

Omaḷagiyāṅ-ēmbal.—A land in Vēlaṅgulam.

Śōlaiyēri.—Now called Śōlaiśēri in Śivaganga Taluk.

Kuḍaṇḍādi.—This village is in the Śivaganga Taluk.

Aruvarai-Puḍukkulam.

Kit-Chūrai.

Mēr-Chūrai.

Pulārikulam.

Panaṅgalūr *alias* Paṇḍitapaṇḍaranallūr.

Śeyyakulattūr.—Its present name is Śeykulattūr (in Śivaganga).

Śiṅgaṇēriyuḍaiyāṅ-kāṇipparru.—A land in Śeyyakulattūr.

Vaṇḍiyūr.

Karkuruchchi.—This village in Śivaganga is now spelt Kalkuruchchi.

Ariyānkuruchchi.—This is also in the Śivaganga Taluk.

Āraikkulam.

Arugaśādi, Viragaṅgappērayan-ēmbal, Virapāṇḍiyappērayan-ēmbal, Moliyaṅ-ēmbal, Ambalakkōttai-ēmbal, Śittanēmbal and Pannirāyira-ppērayan-ēmbal, are lands in Āraikkulam.

Uvaṇiyamaṅgalam.

Pudaichehāṅkuḷi.—This is a land in Uvaṇiyamaṅgalam.

Tiyandaikkuḍi-nāḍu.

Ugaray.

Kōttai.

Śivagaiyāṅkuḷi, and Uḍumbandai are lands in the above village.

Ulagaraṅ.—Still bears the same name. It is in the Śivaganga Taluk.

Karaiyūr.

Kunṇēḷi.

Mattadakkīyēri.

Śaṅgappērayan-ēmbal.

Puttēmbal.—This may be Puttēndal in Śivaganga Taluk.

Kalaiyapēri.—This may be Kaiyapēndal in Śivaganga Taluk.

Śenkuḷi.

Orukkorraṇēri.

Kalvāyilmangalam.

Pullanēri.

Śēdanṇēri.

Nakkanēri.
 Pāṇkuḷam.—This is a (Z) village in Śivaganga Taluk.
 Uyyān-Sūriyaṇ-ēmbal.
 Marudaṇkuḍi.—This is in the Śivaganga Taluk.
 Nāvarkuḍi.
 Kaṇḍiyūrnāḍālvāṇ-ēmbal.
 Śiru-Nakkanēri.
 Sūlāmaṇi.—Now called Sūḍāmaṇi in the Śivaganga Taluk.
 Purrukkuḷam.—Now called Puttukkuḷam in the Śivaganga Taluk.
 Śiruvayal.
 Konraikkuḷam.—Now called Konṇakuḷam in the Śivaganga Taluk.
 Pullamaṅgalam.
 Kaṇkuḷam.—Now called Kalkuḷam (in Śivaganga).
 Karuṇākuḷam.—There is one Karuṇkuḷam in Śivaganga Taluk.
 Eyili.
 Paḍaichebaṇkuḷam.
 Puḷiyāṇkuḷam.—Still so called. In Śivaganga Taluk.
 Pūḍikuḷam.
 Vēḷārkuṛuḇchi.
 Vāyttalainallūr.
 Kāḍuvetti.—This is the name of a land in Vāyttalainallūr.
 Māṇavtramadurai.—This is Māṇāmadurai.
 Marudūr.
 Saṅgaṇ-ēmbal.
 Saṅkamaṅgalam.—Now called Saṅgamaṅgalam in Śivaganga.
 Tiyaṇūr-Sōlaiyēri.—There is a Tiyaṇūr in Śivaganga Taluk.
 Kīlāṇkāṭṭūr *alias* Puravari-chaturvēdimāṅgalam.—In Śivaganga Taluk.
 Mēṇ-Paśalai *alias* Śrīvallaḅha-chaturvēdimāṅgalam.—In Śivaganga Taluk.
 Pīraṇḍiyēri.—There is a Pīraṇḍaikuḷam in Śivaganga Taluk.
 Kaḍukkuḍi.—There is a Kakuḍi in Śivaganga Taluk.
 Seṭṭalēri.—A *dēvadāna* of Tiruppaśalainādar of Mēṇ-Paśalai *alias* Śrīvallaḅha-chaturvēdimāṅgalam.
 Tirappu-Ṣoṇḍaṇ-ēmbal.—This may be Sundaṇ-ēmbal in Paramakuḍi Taluk.
 Tattan-ēmbal.—Now called Tattanēndal in Paramakuḍi Taluk.
 Vēmbōḍ-ēmbal.
 Pāppān-ēmbal.—There are villages called Pappanēndal in Paramakuḍi Taluk as well as in Sivaganga Taluk.
 Edirilōḷappēraṇ-ēmbal.
 Vēlaṅkāḷ.—A *dēvadāna* of Śrī-Vaikunda-Viṇṇagar-Ālvār of Mēṇ-Paśalai *alias* Śrīvallaḅha-chaturvēdimāṅgalam.
 Kaṇichechi-ēmbal.
 Tirappu Paṇaiyaṇēri.—There is a Paṇaiyaṇēndal in Śivaganga.
 Kīḷ-Vēḷiyārrūr.
 Mēḷ-Vēḷiyārrūr.
 Maṇḍaiyūṛkuḷam.
 Nēlvēli.—This may be Nemmēli in Paramakuḍi Taluk.
 Taṇṇilattaraiyaṇ-ēmbal.
 Sōmāṭṭūr.—This is in Paramakuḍi Taluk.
 Aravaṇkuḍi.
 Karuṇkuḷam.—This is in Paramakuḍi Taluk.
 Ēṇāṭṭūr.
 Taḍāppirai.
 Kāñchirakuḷam.—This is in Śivaganga Taluk.

Mēṇkuḍi-nāḍu.

Mēṇkuḍi *alias* Kalijayamaṅgalam.
 Mēṇ-Mēṇkuḍi.—Kīḷa-Mēḷkuḍi and Mēḷa-Mēḷkuḍi are villages in the Sivaganga Taluk.
 Maṇjaḷūr.

Korrapēri.—There is a village named Kottañkulam in Śivaganga and Paramakudi Taluk.

Muttāranāroṭṭai.—A *dēvadāna* of Tiruppāvanamudaiyār.

Aṇṇalvāy.—Now called Annavasal in Śivaganga Taluk.

Śundaṇ-ēmbal.—Now called Sundanēndal in Śivaganga Taluk.

Narimaṇṇam *alias* Varagaṇḍanallūr.—There is a village named Nariyēndal in Śivaganga Taluk.

Śilaiyaṇēri.—Śilaiyaṇ is a village in Śivaganga Taluk.

Uriyappi, Tāji-ēmbal, Korrapēri, Śūriyaṇ-ēmbal and Sōmaṇēri are lands and tanks in Varagaṇḍanallūr.

Pūrapparaṇai-nāḍu.

Pullapēri.

Kaṇṇapūr, Lands in—Kaṇṇapūr is a village in Śivaganga Taluk.

Madalaikuruchchi.

Kiṭ-Śeli: *Purkarai* in it.

Achchaṅkāṭṭirukkai-Miḷagaṇūr *alias* Rājēndraśiṅganallūr.—Miḷagaṇūr is a village in Śivaganga Taluk.

Miṇṇēri, Kaṇṇikuḍi, Araiyaṇēri, and Naḍuvir-Śelikuḷattu-uḷvāy.—These are near Miḷagaṇūr.

Mār-Śeli.

Kuruchchātti.

Śirukkilātti.

Puvaṇinallūr.

Ārikuḍi.

Sōmaṇēri.

Tāyaṇ-Pūdi-ēmbal.

Śirukilāṅkāṭṭūr, a *dēvadāna* of Tiruppāvanamudaiyār.—There is a village called Kilāṅkāṭṭūr in Śivaganga Taluk.

Śirumilagi.

Nerkunṇam (*tirappu*).

Kattikkulam.—There is an (I) and (Z) village of this name in Śivaganga.

Perrāṇ-ēmbal.—There is a village called Pettāṇēndal in Paramakudi Taluk.

In the lists given above, some official designations are prefixed to a few names of persons. These are: *Tiruvāykkēlvi*, *Sāmudāyam*, *Māligaittaṇam*, *Adigāram*, *Valanāṭṭu-kāryam-śeygiṇa*, *Āṇaittaṇam* and *Meyppu*. Their connotation may easily be determined from the terms themselves. The compound word *Tiruvāykkēlvi* consists of *tiru* 'sacred', *vāy* 'mouth' and *kēlvi* 'hearing' and means 'what is heard from the sacred mouth (of the king)', i.e., 'any royal oral order'. As an official designation applied to persons it means 'one who hears the royal oral order'. In ancient times, among the king's retinue there were some who bore this designation. And it seems that the duty of this class of officials was to put in writing the oral orders of the king and communicate the same to the Department of the State concerned for being given effect to. In the case of almost all royal orders this becomes the first original document; and on this are based the subsequent orders issued in pursuance of it. Very often we meet with the statement '*nam kēlvi tara-chchoṇṇōm*' meaning 'we directed the issue of our *kēlvi* (oral order put in writing)'. The word '*kēlvi*' is seen sometimes substituted by '*ōlai*' (written palm leaf). The receiving officers out of regard for the king termed it *tirumandiravōlai* where *tiru* (Skt. श्री) denotes 'His Majesty's', *mandira* 'council' and *ōlai* 'document or order'. Thus, its equivalent is 'the order of His Majesty in Council'. It is exactly the same as *tiruvāykkēlvi*. The word *sāmudāya* means 'gathering, crowd or a body of people'. From it comes *Sāmudāya* 'one of the members of the *sāmudāya*'. This body may consist of one class of people or be of different classes. In temples also there existed such a body. Probably it was composed of different kinds of servants employed in it. The term *Māligaittaṇam* may have been used to denote the official in charge of the management of the king's household. It may be rendered into 'Palace-Manager'. *Adigāram* may be taken to mean 'one who exercises power, a maintainer of law'. '*Prakriyā te-adhikāraḥ*' and the explanation '*vyavasthā-sthāpanīyasya*' well bring out the sense. *Valanāṭṭu-kāryam-śeygiṇa* means 'the administrative head of a district'. The sense of the term *Āṇaittaṇam* is well brought

out in lines 207-210 of the larger Leiden plates. It denotes the person who, when the boundaries of a village or villages are being circumambulated by the assemblies of the *nādu* (district or sub-division) in company with the *kanṭāṇi* (Superintendents), had to go with them mounted on the elephant (*āṇai*) and to point out the boundaries. *Meypu* is somewhat difficult to explain definitely. It is not known whether the first letter *me* is long or short. If long it may indicate that the person who bore this designation was in charge of the feeding of the elephant; and if short, it may denote a police officer. In the name *Pōrru Aravamudaiyāṇ Villi* (No. 76 of Appendix A), the word *Pōrru* may denote some duty or office which is not possible to be definitely defined now.

TEXT.

First Plate; First Side.

- 1 Svasti śrī 3¹ Ambhaḥ² pūrvam³=abhūd=idan=tad-udarē⁴ śētē sma Śēshē Haris=tan-nābhēr=ajanishta patmam⁵=abhavat
- 2 tasmāt⁶ svayam Viśvasṛiṭ [1*] tasmād=Atrir=amushya-lōchana-putād=Indur=Budhas=tat-sutas=tasmād=āsa Purūravā-
- 3 s=tata imē⁷ Pāṇḍyēśvarā jajñirē ௨ Svasti śrī- Sundarēśād=avagata-samaya[s*]-sv=ābhi-dhān-āśrayasya grāma-
- 4 sy=āghāṭa-kliptim⁸prati sapadi⁹ niḷē vatsarē pañcha-virṇē¹⁰ [1*] Chaṇḍāmsāv=atta¹¹. Chāpē Kanaka-pati-tithau
- 5 kṛishṇa-paksh-Ārkivāra-Svāti-yōgē karēṇum gamayitum=avadad-Rājagambhīradēvaḥ ௩ Pūvū-kilatti mē-
- 6 vi viriruppa Mēḍini-mādu nīdiyir-puṇara vaya-pPōr-maḍandai jaya-ppuyatt=iruppa mā-kKalai-maḍandai
- 7 vākkiṇil viḷaṅga=ttiśaiy-iru-nāṅgum¹²=īśai-nilāv=erippa Maṇai-neri vaḷara Maṇu-neri tigaḷa aṇa-ne-
- 8 ri-chchamaiyaṅgaḷ=ārun-taḷaiippa=kkāṇa-vēṅgaiyai villuḍaṇ turanḍu mīṇaṇ-Kaṇakā-chalattu
- 9 viriruppa eṇ-giri śūḷinda eḷu-kaḍal=eḷu¹³. polil veṇ-kuḍai-nīḷaṇ¹⁴-cheṇkō=ṇaḍappa=¹⁵ kkoḍuṇ-

¹ This sign is used here for punctuation mark. See also line 316. *The Archaeological Survey of South India*, Volume IV, which will hereafter be indicated by *A. S. S. I.*, actually takes it for *viarga* from which it is hardly distinguishable.

² Read *ambhaḥ*.

³ In this inscription, wherever *rva* occurs, *v* is doubled.

⁴ The letter *da* of *darē* seems to have been inserted in the space between *du* and *rē*. It looks like the length sign of *ū*.

⁵ Read *padmam*.

⁶ There is a marked preference for the final consonant in this inscription. See also *abhavat* (l. 1), *tat-suta* (l. 2) and *vatsarē* (l. 4).

⁷ In place of *s=tata imē*, *A. S. S. I.* reads *punarātō* (?).

⁸ The syllables *sy=āghāṭa-kliptim* have been read as *syā(vadhi)kāptim* in *A. S. S. I.* There is no doubt about the reading given in our text. The letter *kā* is rare and looks like *kara* as it must; but it cannot be taken for *kā*, for the length sign is clearly distinguished in this inscription from *ra* by the latter being given a tube at the bottom.

⁹ The letter *di* is corrected from *ti*.

¹⁰ *Vanta* is the reading in *A. S. S. I.* The bottom letter *i* is slightly damaged.

¹¹ *Mīśai* is the reading in most inscriptions, but in No. 417 of *S. I. I.* (Texts), Vol. V, it is replaced by *mīgai*.

¹² The reading in *S. I. I.*, Vol. V, Nos. 412 and 417 is *ē*. In this inscription, the letter *ḷu* is clear.

¹³ Though *nīḷaṇ* is the reading found in Nos. 412 and 417 of *S. I. I.*, Vol. V, our inscription uses *nīḷaṇ* both here and in line 12: the short and long *i* are clearly distinguished. In No. 302 of *S. I. I.*, Vol. V, *nīḷaṇ* is followed by *irukō* instead of *śeṇkō*.

- 10 Kali naḍuṅgi neḍum-pilatt=olippa Villavar¹ Šembiyar Virāṭar Varāṭar¹ Pallavar
tiraiyuḍaṅ muṛai muṛai
11 paṇiya iru-nēmiy-aḷavum=oru-nēmiy=ōṅga inn-amud=āgiya iyal-isai-nāḍaga[m*] manṇi
vaḷara maṇi-muḍi
12 sūḍi verpenav=ōṅgiya² virasimhāṣaṇattu³=kkarṇpaga-nīḷar=kalai-valōr pugala maṇṇavar-
dēviyar vaṇa-
13 ōgi-niṇṇr=ēttum=aṇṇa-men-ṇaḍaiy=Avanimuḷuḍuḍaiyāroḍum viṇṇirund-arulīya śrī-kō-
chChadaivarmma-
14 r-āṇa Tribhuvanachchakravartigaḷ śrī-Kulaśēkaradēvaṇku yāṇḍu 13-vadu nāl nāl-
āyirattu munnūr-
15 r-aṇupadiṇāl⁴ Madurōḍaya-vaḷanāṭṭu Māḍakkuḷa-kkīl Madurai-kkōyir-palliy-arai-
kkūḍat-

First Plate; Second Side.

- 16 tu=ppalli-ppidam Maḷavarājaṇil=eḷundaruḷiy-irundu [Vēdamu]m Śāstramu[m] pōy
vyākhyātākkaḷāy=i-
17 rukkuṇ=chaturvēdi-Bhaṭṭargaḷ pēr=āyiratt-eṇpadinmaṇku⁵ =ppaṇḡ āyiratt-eṇpadum
dēvadāṇa-p-
18 paṇi-sey-virutti paṇḡ nūr-irupadum āga=ppaṇḡ āyiratt-iru-nūṛukku=ppadiṇ-
mūṇṇāvadi-
19 *ṇ-edir paḍiṇ-onṇām-āṇḍu-mudal brahmadēyam-āga=kKīraṇūr-nāṭṭu⁷ Nakkamaṇḡala-
mum Uḍaiyā-
20 r Tiruppūvaṇam-uḍaiyār dēvadāṇam Vāgaikuḍiyum uṭpaḍu⁹ brahmadēyam-āga=kkūṭṭiṇa
Tiruvāva-
21 ṇamun=Tuttiyūrum¹⁰ Kīrūṅākkōṭṭaiyum=ivv-ūr¹¹ Kāḍuvēṭṭiyum Mutṭamuṇ= Korra-
ṇēriyu-
22 n-Taḍaiyili-Tiyāgiy-ēmbalum Vēḷattaiṇṇrān-ēmbalum Pagavadiy-ēmbalum Na-
23 ḍuvir-kōṭṭaiyuṇ=Kāḍaṇ-Eṭṭi-kuṛuchchiyum Paṇaṅgalūr¹²-nāṭṭu Adikaraiyum Mitti-
24 ravāliyum Vēlaṅḡulamum Ōmaḷagiyaṇ-ēmbaluṇ=Chōlaiyēriyuṇ=Kuḍaiṇṇāḍiyum=Aru-
25 varai-Pudukkuḷamuṇ=Kiṭ¹³-Chūraiyeum Mēr-Chūraiyeum Piḍārikuḷamum Paṇaṅgalūr-āṇa
Paṇḍita-
26 paṇḡjaranallūrum Šeyyakulattūrum Śiṅgaṇēriyuḍaiyāṇ kāṇippaṇṇum Vaṇṇiyūruṇ=Kaṇku-
27 riḇchchiyum¹⁴=Ariyāṇkuṛuchchiyum=Āraikuḷamum=Aṇḡasāḍiyum Vīraṅga-¹⁵ppērayaṇ-
ēmbalum Vi-

¹ Marāṭar is a variant found in No. 302 of *S. I. I.*, Vol. V.

² Instead of this phrase, *viḷaṅgiya kadir-oḷi* occurs in No. 302 and *viḷaṅgiya* alone in Nos. 412 and 417 of *S. I. I.*, Vol. V.

³ The *sa* of *saṇattu* is an interlineation. It is entered below the line.

⁴ The reading *nālu* in *A. S. S. I.*, is wrong. The mistake increases the number of days by four.

⁵ Read *rkku*.

⁶ The *e* sign of *ne* is engraved at the end of the previous line.

⁷ Over the letter *Na*, the *i* sign is entered and erased.

⁸ The length of *yā* is entered at the beginning of the next line.

⁹ Read *uṭpaḍa*.

¹⁰ The reading *Širūṅā* given in *A. S. S. I.* is wrong.

¹¹ Read *-ūr*.

¹² The length of *lū* is here separated from the letter, whereas it is connected with it in line 25.

¹³ Read *Kiṭ*.

¹⁴ The word *kuṛuchchi* is in some cases spelt *kuṛichchi*. See lines 77, 166, 236.

¹⁵ This word may also be read *ppēriyaṇ*. As there is no *i* sign over the letter *r*, the reading *ppēriyaṇ* given in *A. S. S. I.* must be considered wrong.

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28 rapāṇḍiyappērayaṇ¹-ēmbalum Molīyaṇ-ēmbalum Ambalakkūṭṭaṇ-ēmbalum Śitta-
29 ²n-ēmbalum ³Pannirāyirappērayaṇ¹-ēmbalum=Uvaṇiyamaṅgalamum ⁴Pudaichchāṇ
kuli[y-ē]ba-
30 lum **Tiyandaikuḍi⁵-nāṭṭu⁶** Ugaray-ōḍu Kōṭṭaiyuṇ-Chivigaiyāṇ-kuliyum=Uḍum[ba]ndai-⁷

Second Plate; First Side.

31 ⁸yum=Ulagaraṇiyuṇ=Karaiyūruṇ=Kuṇṇēliyum Maṭṭaḍakkiyēriyuṇ= Chaṅgappērayaṇ⁹-
ēmba-
32 lum Puttēmbalum Kalaiyaṇēriyum Śēṅkūliyum=Orukkorrāṇēriyuṇ=Kalvāyilmaṇ-
33 galamum Pullaṇēriyuṇ=Chēṇḍaṇēriyu[m*] ¹⁰Nakkaṇēriyum Pārkuḷamum Uyyāṇ Śūri-
yaṇ-ēmbalu-
34 m Marudaṇkuḍiyum Nāvaṇkuḍiyum Kaṇḍiyūr-nālālvāṇ-ēmbaluṇ=Chiru-Nakkaṇ- ēriyuṇ=
Cbūlāma-
35 [pi]yum Puṇṇukkuḷamum Śiruvayaluṇ=Konraikkuḷamum Pullamaṅgalamuṇ=Kaṇkuḷamuṇ=
Karumākuḷa-
36 mum Eyiliyum Paḍaichchāṇkuḷamum Puḷiyaṇkuḷamum Pūḍikuḷamum Vēlārkoṇch-
cheyum Vāy[t*]talainallū-
37 rum ivv-ū¹¹ Kāḍuveṭṭiyum Mēṇavīramaduraikkuḷatt=u|vāyil Marudūr¹²-kāluku= kkiḷak-
[ku-pp]ā-
38 ¹³ḍagappaḍi nila[m*] mūṇru-vēliyum uṭpaḍu¹³ brahmadēyam-āga=kkūṭṭina Marudūr- āṇa
Madurōḍaya-chchatu-
39 rvvēdimaṅgalamuṇ=Chaṅgaṇ-ēmbaluṇ=Chaṇkaramaṅgalamum Tiyaṇūr- Śōlaiyēriyuṇ=
Kiḷāṇkāṭṭū[r-ā]ṇa
40 Puravari-chchaturvvēdimaṅgalam paḍiṇ-mūṇrāvaḍiṇ-edir pattām-āṇḍuvarai kuḍip-
parrāy vanda nīr-nīlamuṇ=ka-
41 ruṇchey puṇṇeyum nattamun=tōṭṭamum tiḍalum=ūraṇiyuṇ=kōyil-aḍiyum tiru[na*]-
ndavaṇa[mu]m
42 ēmbalum uṭpatta nilam eṭṭē āru-mā i-ṇṇilam eṭṭē āru-māvum Virapāṇḍiyaṇ- kō-
43 lāl nīkki nīkki-ppakkattār parrāy-ulla nilamum Mēṇ-Paśalaiy-āṇa Śivallabha-chchatur-
vvēdimaṅgala-
44 m paḍiṇ-mūṇrāvaḍiṇ edir pattām-āṇḍuvarai kuḍiy-irunda jaṇmiga! parrāy vanda nīr-
nilamu-
45 ṇ-karuṇche[y*] puṇṇeyum=nattamun=tōṭṭamun=tiḍalum Śrīkōyilgaḷum tirunaṇḍava-
ṇamum

¹ This word may also be read *ppōyaṇ*. As there is no *i* sign over *r* the reading *pperiyaṇ* given in *A. S. S. I.* must be considered wrong. ² The *ē* sign of *nē* is entered at the end of the previous line.

³ In *nīrd*, there is a correction. The engraver seems to have at first written *nī* and inserted the length mark afterwards between *nī* and *rd*. ⁴ *Pukai* given in *A. S. S. I.* is incorrect.

⁵ *Kuḍa*, the reading in *A. S. S. I.*, is not right. The word occurs again with the spelling *kuḍi*.

⁶ Here and in many more places the letter *tu* is shaped exactly as the *e* sign. It is due to the indifference of the scribe.

⁷ This word has been read *Uḍumavandai* in *A. S. S. I.*

⁸ At the beginning of this line, the *A. S. S. I.* has *kuḍi* of which there are no traces. The first letter is certainly *yu*.

⁹ The reading *periyaṇ* given in *A. S. S. I.* is inadmissible. There is no *i* sign over *r*. An alternative reading would be *pōyaṇ* which does not give good sense.

¹⁰ By mistaking *na* for *ā*, *Kakaṇēri* has been made out in *A. S. S. I.*

¹¹ Read *ūr*. Perhaps the writer uses *r* in place of *rk*.

¹² There is nothing to suspect the letter to be *śa* as has been done in *A. S. S. I.*

¹³ Read *uṭpaḍa*.

Second Plate ; Second Side.

- 46 utpaḍa Virapāṇḍiyaṅ-kōlāl nilan=nāl-araiyē mukkāpi i-nnūla[m*] nāl-araiyē mu-kkāpi-
yun=
47 nīkki nīkki-ppakkattārum Maṇavarum paṇṇāy=ulla nilamum Pirāṇḍiyēriyūn=Kaḍukku-
ḍiyum¹
48 *Mēṇ-Pasalaiy-āṇa Śrivalabha-chaturvēdimāṅgalattu=tTiruppa[śa]ṇaiṇādar dēvada[ṇa]ḍ=
Chēṭṭā.²
49 lēriyūn=tirappu³=chChoṇḍaṅ-ēmbalum=Tattāṅ-ēmbalum Vēmbōḍ-ē[mbalum] Pāppā-
50 ṇ-ēmbalum Ediriliśōḷappērayaṅ⁴-ēmbalum-Mēṇ-Pasalaiy-āṇa Śriva[ī*]labha-[chaturvē]-
dimāṅ-
51 galattu Śrī-Vaikunda-Viṇṇagar-Ālvārku=kkārāṇmai=utpaḍa=ddēvadāṇa irai[yili vē]ru-
muda-
52 l Vēlaṅkāluṇ=Kaṇichechiy-ēmbalum=kuḍikkāṇikku=ttalaimāru viṭṭa nilamum tira[p]pu
Paṇai.⁵
53 yaṇēriyūn=Kīl⁷-Vēliyāṇṇūrum *(Mē)l-Vēliyāṇṇūrum Maṇḍaiyār-kuḷamun=Nel-
54 vēliyun=Tāṇṇilattaraiyaṅ-ēmbalum Sōmāttūrum Aṇavaṅkuḍiyūn=Karu[ū*]kuḷamum E-
55 ṇāttūrun=Tadāppiraiyūn=Kāṇchiraṅkuḷamum Mēṇkuḍi-nāṭṭu Mēṇkuḍiy-āṇa Kalijaya-
56 maṅalam paḍiṇ-mūṇṇāvadiṇ-edir pattām-āṇḍuvarai kuḍippaṇṇāy vanda nīr-nilamun-ka-
57 ruṇche[y*] puṇṇeyu[m*] nattamum=utpaḍa Virapāṇḍiyaṅ-kōlāl nilam=iraṇḍē nālu-
mā i-
58 nnilam=iraṇḍē nālu-māvu[m*] nīkki nīkki-ppakkattār paṇṇāy-ulla nilamum Mēṇ-Mēṇkuḍi-
59 yūm Maṇjaḷūruṇ=Koṇṇaṇēriyūm Udaiyār Tiruppuvaṇam-uḍaiyār dēvadāṇa[m*] Mut-
60 tūraṇrōṭṭaiyūm Aṇṇalvā[yu]m⁸=ivv-ūr[p*]pā¹⁰. Chuandaṅ-ēmbalum Narimaṇṇamāṇa Va[ra]-¹¹

Third Plate ; First Side.

- 61 gaṇḍanallūrum ivv-ūrppā¹²-Chilaiyaṇēriyūm=Uṇiyappiyūm Tāliy-ēmbalum Ko-
62 ṇṇāṇēriyūm Sūriyaṅ-ēmbalum Sōmaṇēriyūm tiraṇṇu Puṇṇapparaḷai-nāṭṭu=pPulla.¹³
63 *ṇēriyūm Kaṇṇaṇūr=karuṇcheypaṇṇāy=kūṭṭiṇa nilamum Maḍalaikuṇichechi-kkaruṇchey-
64 yūm Kīl-Cheli=ppurkaraiyūm Achchāṅkāṭṭirukkai Mūḷagaṇūr-āṇa Irāśēndiraśiṅgana-
65 llūrum ivv-ūrppāl Miṇṇēriyūm Kaṇṇikuḍiyūm Araiyaṇēriyūm Naḍuvir-Cheli-

¹ *Kakakuḍi* is the reading in *A. S. S. I.* This is due to the resemblance of *ḍu* to *e* sign.

² The *ē* sign of *Mē* is entered at the end of the previous line.

³ The reading *ṇam Śembāṇṇēri* given in *A. S. S. I.* is hardly possible. At the end of the line, the letter *ḷā* is very clear. Owing to scratches over the penultimate *t*, it seems to have been mistaken for *m*. As the loops of *ṇ* are fully developed in this inscription, there is no doubt about the first letter of the next line being *lē* and not *ṇē*. I have accordingly taken the word to be *Śēṭṭāḷēri*.

⁴ This word has been wrongly read as *tira* in *A. S. S. I.* *Tirappu* occurs again in lines 52 and 68 where it has been correctly read.

⁵ Here again, we have *pērayaṅ-ē*. The engraver appears to have incised the *i* sign over *r* and erased it.

⁶ The last syllable is *ṇai* and not *ṇai* as given in *A. S. S. I.*

⁷ Here the loop for long *ī* is wanting.

⁸ For *Mē* the engraver has written *pē*.

⁹ The letter *yu* of *vāyūm* resembles *pa*. The middle vertical stroke does not seem to have been cut.

¹⁰ The reading *pārtiṇṇāṇ-ē* of *A. S. S. I.* is not admissible.

¹¹ The last letter *ra* is missing, the plate being broken at the corner.

¹² In place of *ppār*, the *A. S. S. I.* has *Maḍār*.

¹³ Instead of *paraḷai* and *Pulla*, we have *Pirāṇa* and *Yulla* in *A. S. S. I.* The engraver has written *ppu* as a group and the group symbol actually resembles *yu*.

¹⁴ The *ē* sign of *ṇē* is at the end of the previous line.

66 kkuḷatt-uḷvāyūm Mēṇ-Cheliyūm Kuṇuchchāttiyūm Śīrukkiḷāttiyūm Puvaṇinallūrum Ā-
 67 rikudiyūm Sōmaṇēriyūm Tāyaṇ-Pūdi-embalum Uḍaiyār Tiruppūvaṇam-uḍaiyār
 68 dēvadāṇaṇ-Chirukilāṇkāttūrum Śīru-Miḷagiyūm tīrappu Neṇkuṇramum Kaṭṭikkula-
 69 mum Peṇṇāṇ-ēmbalum āga ivv-ūrgaliṇ-paḷaṇ-dēvadāṇam paḷlichchandum ¹karāṇmai-
 70 yāṇa nilam nikki nikkiy-uḷḷa nilam muṇṇ-uḍaiyārum paḷam-pērum Vellāṇ-vagaiy[u]-
 71 m mudalun=tavirttu oru-nāḍum or-ūrum oru-puravum=ākki **Rājagambhīra-vaḷanāṭṭu**
Rājagambhīra-
 72 **chaturvēdimāṅgalam**=eṇṇun=tirunāmattāl brahmadēyaṇ-cheydaruḷi ivv-ūr nāṇ[g]-el-
 73 laiyūṇ-kaṇkāṇiḷaḍuṇ=kūḍa=ppiḍi sūḷudu piḍi naḍanda ellaikku aṇav-ōlai śeydu
 74 kuḍukkaveṇṇu tiruvāymolindaruḷiṇamaiyil Puravu[va]ri²-kkaṇkāṇi Miḷalai-kkū-
 75 rṛattu Naḍuviṇ-kūrru Śrī-Parāntakanallūr-Kaṭṭikurichchi-uḍaiyāṇ Araiya[u*] Nārāya-³

Third Plate ; Second Side.

76 ṇaṇum Miḷalai-kkūrrattu K[i*]⁴-kūrru Taṇḍalaiuḍaiyāṇ Pirāntakaṇ Tiruppūvaṇamuḍai-⁵
 77 yāṇum Aḷagiyapāṇḍiyakkuḷakkīl Māraṇūr-āṇa Palamaṇḍalāḍittanallūr⁶ Māraṇū-
 78 r-uḍaiyāṇ Karuṇākaradēvaṇ Purpavaṇamuḍaiyāṇum Tiruvāykkē[vi-p]Purappaṇa-
 79 lai-nāṭṭu=pPuttūr-uḍaiyāṇ Poṇṇaṇ Sūriyadēvaṇ-āṇa Jeyadara-pPallavaraiyar ka-
 80 ṇkāṇi Śōḷa-maṇḍalattu Tirumupaippādi-nāṭṭu=kKaruppūr-uḍaiyāṇ ⁷Piḷlai-Āḷvāṇ-āṇa
 81 Poṇṇambalakkūttanum Poyyāmolidēvar-kaṇkāṇi Karuṇḡuḍi-nāṭṭu Kīl-Ne-
 82 tṭūr-āṇa Kīrtiviśāliyanallūr Vēḷāṇ Śāttanum sāmudāyam Muttūrru-kūrrattu-kKa-
 83 ppaḷūr⁸-āṇa Ulaḷaṇḍasōḷanallūr Kappaḷūr-uḍaiyāṇ ⁹Sirāmaṇ Tiruvuḍaiyāṇ-āṇa⁹
 84 Pottappichchōḷar kaṇkāṇi Kēraḷaśiṅga-vaḷanāṭṭu Veliyārrū[r-u*]ḍaiyāṇ Nārāyaṇaṇ Śātta-
 85 num Māḷigaittaṇam Vāḍatalai-chChembi-nāṭṭu Āykkuḍiy-āṇa Aḷagiyapāṇḍiyanallūr¹⁰ Śiva-
 86 llavaṇ Aḷagiyamaṇavāḷaṇ-āṇa Kāliṅgarāyar kaṇkāṇi Poḷiyūr-nāṭṭu Aruṇkaḷam-uḍaiyāṇ
 87 Arayaṇ Tirumalai-uḍaiyāṇum Maḷavarāyar kaṇkāṇi ¹¹Tiyaṇḍaikudī-nāṭṭu Kiṭ-Paśalaiy-
 āṇa Dā¹²
 88 ṇaviṇḍanallūr-uḍaiyāṇ Arayaṇ Karuṇānikkamum Piḷlaiyār Aḷagapperumāl=adikāra-
 89 m=Muttūrru-kkūrrattu=kKappaḷūr-āṇa Ulaḷaṇḍasōḷanallūr¹⁰-Kappaḷūr-uḍaiyāṇ Uyyava-
 90 ndāṇ Poṇṇaṇ-āṇa Māṇābarāṇa-Mūvēṇḍavēḷārum Śōḷapāṇḍiya-vaḷanāṭṭu-chChirupā-

¹ Read *kārāṇmai*.

² The damage in the syllables *vuva* seems to have led to the wrong reading *ścha* in *A. S. S. I.*

³ A bit of the plate at the right bottom corner, enough to cover a letter is broken off. Still no letter is actually missing as is clear from the fact that *Nārāya* at the end of this face of the plate reads without break with *ṇaṇum* at the beginning of the next face. But at the end of that line where the bit is lost, the letter *ṭ* seems to have been written and lost and had to be crammed in just to the right of, but below, the *ai* sign. Had the bit been broken before, *ṭ* would have found place at the beginning of the second line.

⁴ The *i* sign of *kī* has not been engraved and the *A. S. S. I.* has the letter *ka* correctly.

⁵ There is an extra length sign in *lā*.

⁶ The passage after *Karuppūruḍai* seems to have been written over an erasure. The letters at the end clearly retain traces of the prior writing. In the previous line also the damaged condition and the size of the letters from *Sūriya* to the end suggest the same fact though traces of the old letters are not seen.

⁷ What looks like *ya* at the commencement of this line is the group symbol for *ppa*.

⁸ Read *Śi*.

⁹ The last letter *ṇa* is a correction.

¹⁰ Read *lūr*.

¹¹ This word has been wrongly read in *A. S. S. I.* as *Tiyaṇakai*.

¹² The length of *Dā* is engraved at the beginning of the next line.

Fourth Plate ; First Side.

- 91 laiyūr¹-āṇa Kāvērivalavanallūr-udaiyāṇ Nambi Poṇṇambalakkūṭṭa-āṇa Virāśiṅgadēva.²
 92 rum i-nnāṭṭukku=kkāri[ya*]ṇ=cheygiṇ Irāśiṅgaṇkūlakkiḷ Irāśēndirattu Alagiya-pāṇḍi-
 93 yaṇ aṇukkaril Malaikiṇiyaninṇāṇ Alagaṇ-āṇa Viśaiya-Vichchādiradēvarum kaṇkāniyāga
 Ti.
 94 yandaikuḍi-nāṭṭu Mānavīramadurai Mādavaṇ Divākara-Baṭṭaṇu³=Nārāyaṇa Nārāyaṇa-
 Baṭṭa-
 95 num śi(śri)-Mādavaṇ Nārasimha-Bhaṭṭaṇum Gōvindaṇ Tirunilakaṇḍa-Baṭṭaṇum Jātavēdaṇ
 96 Subrahmaṇya-Bhaṭṭaṇum utpaḍu⁴ brahmadēyamāga=kkūṭṭiṇa Marudūr-āṇa Madurōdaya-
 chehatu-
 97 rrvēdimaṅgalattu=tTirukkudandai Ādityaṇ Śēndapirāṇ-Baṭṭaṇum śri-Kṛṣṇaṇ=Alagi-
 98 ya-Rāghava-Bhaṭṭaṇum Kāliyaṇ Venṇaikkūṭṭa-Bhaṭṭaṇum Mē-Pasalaiy-āṇa Śrīvallaḥḥa-
 chaturvēdi-
 99 maṅgalattu Āhitāgni śri-Raṅganātha-Bhaṭṭa-Sōma-Kāthaka-yājiyārum Nārāyaṇa Nārāya-
 100 ṇa-Bhaṭṭaṇum śri-Vāsudēvaṇ Nagnapirāṇ-Bhaṭṭaṇum śri-Rāmaṇ Paramāṭma-Bhaṭṭaṇum
 Kīṭ-Pasalai-
 101 y-āṇa Dāvaṇiōdanallūr=⁵Āyaṇ Uyyaniṇṇāduvāṇ-āṇa Śēmbiyadaraiyaṇum Kēsavaṇ Nārāya-
 102 ṇaṇum Karumāṇikkaṇ=Korṇaṇum Kalvāyil Kēsavaṇum Periyāṇ Perṇaṇum Naṅga-
 103 ṇ=Alagaṇum Vāsudēvaṇ Sūriyadēvaṇum Poliyūr-nāṭṭu=pPoliyūr-āṇa Pāṭti(rthi)vakēśa-
 104 rinallūr=Appaṇ Sūriyadēvaṇum Udayaṇ Varaguṇadēvaṇ-āṇa Alagiya-pāṇḍiya-Viḷupparai-
 105 yaṇum Sūriyaṇ Varantaruvāṇ-āṇa Saṅgirāmaśiṅga-pPallavaraiyaṇum Sundarattōḷudaiyā-

Fourth Plate ; Second Side.

- 106 ṇ Sōmadēvaṇum Puṇṇapparaḷai-nāṭṭu=kKaḷikkudiy-āṇa Puravuvarinallūr⁷-Dayānilai Uyya-
 107 vandāṇ-āṇa Chēdarāyaṇum⁸ Aṇukkaṇ=Ariyaṇum Appaṇ-Arumolidēvaṇ-āṇa Śēmbiyaṇ-Viḷu-
 108 pparaiyaṇum Puttūr⁹-kīḷavaṇ Baṭṭaṇ-āṇa Puṇṇapparaḷai⁹-ṇāḍu-kīḷavaṇum Kāṇaiy-Irukkaiy=
 Iruṇchi-
 109 raiy-āṇa Indirasamāṇanallūr⁷-Paḷiyānilai Sūriyadēvaṇ-āṇa Tamiṇāḍu-kīḷavaṇum Vēḷāṇ=
 Ira-
 110 tṭaiy-āṇa Irāśakuṇjara-pPallavaraiyaṇum Rājagambhira-chaturvēdimaṅgalattudaṇ kūṭṭi-
 111 ṇa Miḷagaṇūrku=ttalaimāru kuḍutta Aechhāṇkāṭṭirukkai-¹⁰kKuvalaivēliyum Puduk-
 kulaṇum Mā-
 112 rankirtiyum Kāvidinallūrum¹¹ Kaḍambamaṅgalamum Śāṭṭiyār-ēmbalum Kāṇaiy-Irukkaiy=
 Arai-
 113 yarkuḷattil Mandari Irāmaṇ-āṇa Pallavarāyar kāṇiyāṇa śēmpādi nikki nikkiy-uḷḷa nila-
 114 mum-āga ivv-ūrgaḷ munṇ-udaiyārum paḷam-peyarum mudalun=tavirtu oru-nāḍum or-ūrum
 o-

¹ The commencement of this line has been read *śalai* in *A. S. S. I.* Of this the first letter *śa* is really the Tamil numeral 'four' which is the number of the plate and which is cut at the left top corner away from *laiyūr* and slightly below the first line.

² The syllables *dēva* have been read as *Tōḷa* in *A. S. S. I.*

³ The letters *nNa* are expressed by a group.

⁴ Read *utpaḍa*.

⁵ The *ē* sign of *rvē* is at the end of the previous line.

⁶ This word may also be read *Arayaṇ*.

⁷ Read *ūr*.

⁸ Read *Chēdi*.

⁹ The letters *ppa* are expressed by a group.

¹⁰ *ṭalaivēli* is taken as the name of the village in *A. S. S. I.*

¹¹ This has been incorrectly read as *Mahāvidhi* in *A. S. S. I.*

ir,a.

92
94
96
98
100
102
104

ir,b.

106
108
110
112
114
116
118
120

v,a.

122
124
126
128
130
132
134
136

v.b.

138
140
142
144
146
148
150
152

138
140
142
144
146
148
150
152

vi.a.

154
156
158
160
162
164
166
168

154
156
158
160
162
164
166
168

vi.b.

170
172
174
176
178
180
182
184

170
172
174
176
178
180
182
184

- 115 ru-puravum=ākki Achchaṅkāṭṭirukkai-Miḷagaṇūr-āṇa Irāsēndirsiṅganallūr-eṇṇum pe-
 116 yarāl variyil-iṭṭamaiyil i=mMiḷagaṇūrku¹-chchamainda Śadiraṇ Śelvaṇum Irāmaṇ-Aḷagaṇum
 117 Śōraṇ Mūkkaṇum Nāgaḍēvaṇ-Irāmaṇ-āṇa Irāsanārāyaṇa-Mūvēṇḍavēḷāṇum Araśariyāṇum
 Ki-
 118 ṭ-Chembi-nāṭṭu Mālaṅguḍi-kilavaṇ Pullāṇi Māḍēvaṇ-āṇa Nuḷambādarāyar kāṇipparru-
 tTirumāli-
 119 ri²ñchōlai-Ālvār dēvadānam Achchaṅkāṭṭirukkai-tTirumā³liriñchōlainallūr Araiyaṇ Pullā-³
 120 ṇiyum Aḷagiyaṇḍiyakkulakkī-Chirukulattūr-āṇa Parākramapāṇḍiyanallūr-Śāṭṭaṇ Ka-
 ṇavadiyum Sun-
 121 darattōḷudaiyaṇ Dēvaṇum Śāṭṭaṇ Kaṇḍaṇ-āṇa Tirumāliriñchōlai⁴-Dāsaṇum Vēḷāṇ Sunda-

Fifth Plate ; First Side.⁴

- 122 rattōḷudaiyaṇum Śivallavaṇ Pērāyiramudaiyaṇ-āṇa Māraṇūr-nāṭṭu Vēḷāṇu-
 123 m Dēvaṇ Śivallavaṇ-āṇa Araṭṭamikkidāsaṇum Śūrakudiy-āṇa Virakāmugamaṅgalattu
 Ilavima-
 124 ṅgalattu Udayadivākaraṇ śrī-Kārimāra-Bhaṭṭaṇum i-kkuḍi Nārāyaṇaṇ Subrahmaṇya-
 Bhaṭṭa-
 125 ṇum Kiraṇūr-nāṭṭu Viḍattal-āṇa Māṇābaraṇa-chaturvvēḍimaṅgalattu Uyyaṇṇāḍi Periyāl-
 126 vāṇum Śēṇḍapirāṇ Karumāmugil-Bhaṭṭaṇum Gōvindaṇ Māṇēṇḍukaiyyaṇum Ā-
 127 dityaṇ Bhāskara-Bhaṭṭaṇum Aḷagiyaṇḍiyakkulakkī Vēḷūrkuṇuchchi Vēḷāṇ
 128 Kōvaṇum⁵ Ādi Perrāṇum Vēḷāṇ=Aḷagaṇ-āṇa Sundarapāṇḍiya-Mūvēṇḍavēḷāṇum Vēḷāṇ
 Śiriḷaṅkō[vu]-⁶
 129 m utpaḍu⁷ brahmadēyamāga=kkūṭṭiṇa Tiruvāvaṇattu Marudūr-Ālvāṇ Upāddhyāyarum
 130 Perumpuliyūr Karumāpikkam-Ulagamuṇḍāṇ-Bhaṭṭaṇum Marudūr Mayūravāhaṇaṇ
 Āḍuvā-⁸
 131 ṇ-Bhaṭṭaṇum Kiraṇūr-nāṭṭu Vēḷūr-āṇa Aḷagiyaṇḍiyanallūr Irāmaṇ-Uyyavandāṇum
 132 Perrāṇ Pāṭṭaṇum Dēvaṇ Nambiyum Śōraṇ Nāṭṭāṇum -āga ivv-āṇavarun=taṅgaḷ e-
 133 llaigaḷ kāṭṭa Āṇaittaṇam Irāsiṅgaṇkulakkī- Tiruppūvaṇattu Pammaṇ-Āḍiyārkuṇal-
 134 laperumaṇ-āṇa Pallavadaraiyaṇum Meyppu Malaiyaṇ Śōraṇ-āṇa Viñjattaraiyaṇum
 135 Dēvaṇ Tillaiy-āṇa Madurōḍaya-pPallavaraiyaṇum Śikayilāya⁹-Baṭṭaṇ-āṇa [Śi]vallava-p-
 136 Pallavaraiyaṇum Kaṇavadi Śirāmaṇ-āṇa Sundarapāṇḍiya-pPallavaraiyaṇum¹⁰ [Ē]raṇ
 Periyā-
 137 ṇ-āṇa Pāṇḍiyaṇ Pallavaraiyaṇum Pōrru Aravamudaiyaṇ Villiy-āṇa¹¹ Muḍittalaliko¹²

¹ Read ^orkku.

² Read ^oliriñchōlai.

³ The length stroke of *lā* is written at the commencement of the next line and is damaged.

⁴ The number of the plate is engraved on the margin of the left top corner.

⁵ The left hand portion of the medial *ō* sign of *Kō* is written at the end of the previous line.

⁶ After *Perrāṇ* the letters are smaller in size up to ^oṇ *Śiriḷa*.

⁷ Read *utpaḍa*. The letter *du* resembles the secondary *e* symbol.

⁸ The last three letters are *Āḍuvā*. The length sign of *vā*, which is written at the beginning of the next line, is damaged and looks like *śa*. The reading *Kēsava* given in *A. S. S. I.* is inadmissible, for *ā* and *va* are clear.

⁹ Instead of *Śikayilāya*, the *A. S. S. I.* has *Sidayil-Araya*.

¹⁰ After *yanu*, there is only one *m* and the trace of the vowel *ē* following it. As such, the reading *m Māraṇ* of *A. S. S. I.* is inadmissible. Against the reading it has also to be noted that there is too much space for the length sign of *Mā*.

¹¹ *Valliyaṇ* is the reading in *A. S. S. I.* It is inadmissible as it disregards the *i* sign over *v* and the length symbol after *y*.

¹² The syllables *muḍi* are re-placed by *piḍi* in *A. S. S. I.*

Fifth Plate ; Second Side.

- 138 nḍa-pPallavaraiyaṇum piḍi naḍatta -ppiḍi naḍandapaḍikku arav-ōlai śeydu-kuḍutta pari-
 139 śāvadu [!]* Padiṇ-mūṇṇāvadiṇ-edir paṇṇiraṇḍām-āṇḍu Dhaṇu-nāyaṇṇu 'nālān-tiyadiyum
 aparā-pakṣhat-
 140 tu ekādaśiyum Śaṇi-kkiḷamaiyum perṇa Sōdi-nāt=Kil-ellai ivv-ūr vada-kilakku-kKiṭ-Chū-
 141 *rai-y-enṇu pēr kūvappaṭṭa Uḍaikulattu kil-kaḍai-kkombiṇ-ṇuḍaṇṇi idanipṇun=teṇ-
 142 ku nōkki=chcheṇṇu Śeyyakulattūṇil-niṇṇum Kaḍambaṇḍuḍikku=ppōḡiṇa vaḷiyaiy=ūḍa-
 ruttu=t-
 143 teṇ-kilakku nōkkiyūn=teṇku nōkkiyūn=teṇ-kilakku nōkkiyūn=cheṇṇu Māṇavīramadurai-
 144 yil-niṇṇum Vēmbaṇḍuḍikku=ppōḡiṇa vaḷiyaiy=ūḍaruttu=kkiḷakku nōkki=chcheṇṇu Śe-
 145 yya[ku]lattūṇil-niṇṇum Mūvaraiyarkōṭṭaiṇṇu=ppōḡiṇa peru-vaḷiyaiy=ūḍaruttu Pu-
 146 *daichchāṇ-kuliyaiy⁴ valattu vaittu i-vvaḷiyiṇ-kūḍiṇa veṭṭi-pperu-vaḷiyaiy⁴ teṇ-kilak-
 147 ku nōkki=chcheṇṇu Mūvaraiyarkōṭṭaiyil-niṇṇum Māṇavīramaduraikku=ppōḡiṇa peru-
 148 vaḷiyaiy=ūḍaruttu mēṇk=innam [!]* i-vvaḷiyil-niṇṇum teṇ-kilakku nōkki=chcheṇṇu mēṇku
 149 nōkki=ppōḡa peru-vaḷiyaiy=ūḍaruttu=tteṇ-kilakku nōkki=chcheṇṇu Piḍāvūṇil-niṇ-
 150 ṇum Māṇavīramaduraikku=ppōḡiṇa vaḷiyaiy=ūḍaruttu=tteṇ-kilakku nōkki=chcheṇṇu Ka-
 151 raiyūr-kulattu=kkiḷ-kaḍai-kkombaiy=urru i-kkaraiyil-niṇṇum=teṇ-kilakku nōk-
 152 ki=chcheṇṇu mēṇk=innam [!]* Kuṇṇēli-kkulattukku nīṇ pāygiṇa kālaiy=ūḍaruttu mēṇk=
 innam [!]*
 153 i-kkālil-niṇṇum=teṇ-kilakku nōkki=chChaṇḍagappērayaṇ ēmbar-kil-ellaiyēy teṇku

Sixth Plate ; First Side.

- 154 *nōkkiyūn=teṇ-kilakku nōkkiyūn=cheṇṇu Neṭṭūṇil-niṇṇum Māṇavīramaduraikku=ppōḡi-
 155 ṇa vaḷiyaiy=ūḍaruttu=chChandiranallūr-kulattu nīṇ-nakkalē teṇku nōkki=chcheṇṇu i-ch-
 Chandī-
 156 raṇallūr teṇ-kaḍaiyay=urru mēṇk=innam [!]* ida-piṇṇun=teṇ-mēṇku nōkki-Vaigaiy-ā-
 157 ṇa Śrīvallavappērāṇṇu=ppōḡiṇa vaḷiyēy teṇ-mēṇku nōkki=chcheṇṇu mēṇk=in-
 158 nam [!]* i-vvaḷiyil-niṇṇuṇ=Chēṇkuli=kkiḷ-ellai perṇa śevvaiyēy teṇku nōkki=ch-
 159 *cheṇṇu i-chChēṇkuli=tteṇṇ-ellaiyēy mēṇku nōkki=chcheṇṇu Orukkorraṇ[ē]ri=[kkiḷ].
 160 l-ellaiy-āṇa Kaṇḍavāy-ūḍēy teṇku nōkki=chcheṇṇu mēṇk=innam [!]* iv[v-Orukko]-
 161 ṇṇāṇēri=tteṇṇ-ellaiyēy teṇ-mēṇku nōkki=chcheṇṇu Vaigaiy-ā[ṇa Śrīvallava]-
 162 ppērāṇṇil-iraṇṇi mēṇk=innam [!]* i-chChivallavappērāṇṇu=ūḍē vada-mēṇku n[ōkkiyūn]
 163 mēṇku nōkkiyūn=cheṇṇu mēṇk=innam[!]* ivv-āṇṇil-niṇṇu teṇ-karaiyil=ēṇ[i-tte]-
 164 ṇku nōkki=chcheṇṇu Kiṭ-Paśalaiy-āṇa Dāṇaviṇḍanallūr kulattukkum Mēṇ-Paśa[ḷaiy-āṇa]
 165 Śrīvallabha-chaturvēdimaṇḍalattu=kkulattukkum nīṇ pāygiṇa kālaiy-ūḍaruttu i-kkāl-
 [il-niṇṇu]
 166 karaiyil=ēṇi Vēṇṇarukichchippaṇṇil Araśipar[ilē] . . . ? lāl nīlam=a[raiye-y-] iraṇḍu.....
 167 varambēy teṇku nōkki=chcheṇṇu [Māṇavīramadurai]-kkulattu vada-kaḍaiyil=ēṇi mēṇ-

¹ The letters nālānāya are written over an erasure.

² The ai sign of vai is at the end of the previous line.

³ The ai sign of dai is at the end of the previous line.

⁴ Delete g at the end of this word.

⁵ The left hand portion of the medial ḍ sign is entered at the end of the previous line.

⁶ The letters of a portion of the plate on the right side from line 159 are much damaged but could be filled up from traces that remain and from the context. So also, the letters of the middle portion of the plate of the last four lines are damaged.

⁷ This gap may be filled with the letters pāṇḍakka.

- 168 k=innam [1*] i-kkaraiyēy mēṛku nōkki=[chcheṇṇu i-m]Māṇavīramadurai=kkuḷatt=u]vāyil
Ma-
169 [rudūr]-kuḷattukku nīr pāygīra kālukku=k[kilakku]-ppāttamāy-ppayir=ēri va[ru]gīra nīlatti
Rājagam.

Sixth Plate ; Second Side.

- 170 [bhīra]-chaturvvēdimaṅgalattukku=ppāttakkōlāl kūṭṭiṇa nīlam mūṇṇu vē[likku=kki]-e]-
llai[yē te]¹-
171 ṛku nōkki=chcheṇṇu i-kkuḷattu=tteṇ-karaiyil=ēri Maru[dūr]-kuḷattukku nīr pāygīra) kālaiy=
[uṇṇu]²
172 mēṛk=innam [1*] i-kkālin ki]-karaiyēy teṇ-ki]akku n[ōkkiyun]=teṇku nōkkiyuṇ=[cheṇṇu]
173 Vāṇagaṅgappēraiyaṅ kuḍiyiruppiḷ teṇṇ-āsarudi ³mudunila-pparippaiy=uṇṇu mēṛk=i[nnam]
[1*]
174 i-pparippēy ki]akku nōkki=chcheṇṇu Marudūr=palaṅ-kulatt-agavāyil Māṇavīramadurai=[t]-
175 ⁴teṇṇ-āsarudi vayalil teṇ-varambēy ki]akku nōkkiyum vaḍa-ki]akku nōkkiyuṇ=che[ṇṇu
Ma]-
176 rudūr=ppalaṅ-kulattu=kki]-kaḍai-kkombil=ēri mēṛk=innam[1*] i-kkaraiyē mēṛ[ku]
177 nōkki=chcheṇṇu Marudūr=kki]-ellaiyum Māṇavīramadurai mēl-ellaiyum=[āṇa]
178 Divākara-vāyikkāl-ūḍē terku nōkki=chcheṇṇu i-vvāyikkāl mudindu Divākara-vayakka[l]
179 ⁵m[ē]-varambē terku nōkki=chcheṇṇu i-chchey=tteṇ-varambēy ki]akku nōkki=chcheṇṇu[u]
180 Sundara-vayakkai mēl-varambu peṇṇa ševvaiyēy teṇku nōkki=chcheṇṇu Śaṅkaramaṅ[ga]la]-
181 ttu vaḍav-ellaiyum Māṇavīramadurai=tteṇṇ-ellaiyum-āṇa ellaiyēy ki]akku nōkki-
182 ⁶kiyum vaḍa-ki]akku nōkkiyuṇ=cheṇṇu Śaṅkaramaṅgalattu vaḍa-kaḍai-kkombil=ēri
Mē-
183 r-Paśalaiy-āṇa Śrīvallabha-chaturvvēdimaṅgalattu=kkuḷattukkum Kiṭ-Paśalaiy-āṇa Dā-
184 naṇiṇōḍanallūr-kkuḷattukku nīr pāygīra kālaiy=uṇṇu mēṛk=innam [1*] i-kkālin-mē-

Seventh Plate ; First Side.

- 185 i-karaiyē teṇ-ki]akku nōkki=chcheṇṇu i-kkālin-niṇṇu Mēṇ-Paśalaiy-āṇa Śrīvallabha-
186 chaturvvēdimaṅgalattu=kkuḷattukku nīr pāya=ppirinda kālaiy=ūḍaruttu=kKiṭ-Paśalaiy-
āṇa Dā-
187 naṇiṇōḍanallūr-kulattukku nīr pāygīra kālin mēl-karai[yēy] teṇ-[ki]akku nōkkiyuṇ=ki
188 kku nōkkiyun=teṇku nōkkiyuṇ=cheṇṇu i-dDāṇaviṇōḍanallūr-kulattu mēl-kaḍai-
189 yaṇi-y-urru i-kkuḷattu=ppuṇkaraiyil-iṇṇaṅgi Mēṇ-Paśalaiy-āṇa Śrīvallabha-chaturvvēdimaṅ-
galat-
190 tu=kkuḷattukku nīr pāygīra kālin ki]-karaiyē terku nōkki=chcheṇṇu i-chChivallabha-
chaturvvē-
191 dimaṅgalattu=kkuḷattu vaḍa-kaḍaiyaṇi-y-urru i-kkuḷattu maruvāy-Idukkār-ūḍē terku nō-
192 kkiyun=teṇ-ki]akku nōkkiyuṇ=cheṇṇu Nēlvēli nattattukku=ppōgīra vaḷiyaiy=u-
193 ṇṇu mēṛk=innam[1*] i-nNēlvēli-kkuḷattu=kki]-kaḍai-kkombaiy=ēri=pPaṇalai-kkālai-
194 y-urru i-kkālin mēl-karaiyē terku nōkki=chcheṇṇu Nakkaṇēriyil-niṇṇu mēṛku nōkki-p-

¹ The letters at the right end of lines 170 to 190 are damaged.

² The traces at the end of this line and the space available admit only the reading *urru* and not *ūḍaruttu* as in A. S. S. I.

³ The letter *du* of *muda* is an interlineation. It is entered below the line.

⁴ The *e* sign of *te* is entered at the end of the previous line.

⁵ The *e* sign of *mē* is at the end of the previous line.

⁶ Delete the first letter *ki*.

- 195 pōgira valiyaiy=ūdaruttu=tteṇṇ-ellai 9 Nelvēli=tteṇṇ-ellaiyum Eṭṭiyēri nattattu vaḍa-
 196 vāyum-āṇa valiyēy mēṛku nōkki=chcheṇṇu Eṭṭiyēri natta[t]tu mēl-āṣarudiyaiy=urru i-
 197 'da-piṇṇum mēṛku nōkki=chcheṇṇu ivv-Eṭṭiyērikkun=Nelvēlikkun=naḍuvāṇa paḷaṇ-[kōyila]-
 198 ḍiyaiy=urru ida-piṇṇum=teṇ-mēṛku nōkki=chcheṇṇu Paraḷaiy-āṇṇaiy= ūdaruttu vaḍakk-
 in[ṇam [*] [i-]
 199 vv-āṇṇi mēl-karaiyē teṛku nōkkiyun=teṇ-mēṛku nōkki[yuṇ]=cheṇṇu Sōmāttūr=ki[l-el]-
 200 lai-āṇa Niramбайyūr=kuḷattukku nīr pāygira kālaiy=ūdaruttu i-[kkālin] mēl-karaiyē te.³

Seventh Plate ; Second Side.

- 201 rku n[nōkki=ch]ch[e]ṇṇu i-chChōmāttūrkuṇ=Kaḷikkudippār-Chiruvāgai[k]kun=
 202 naḍuv-āṇa ellaiyaiy=urru vaḍakk-inṇam[*] ivv-ellaikku na[ḍu]v-āṇa varambē [m]ē-
 203 rku nōkkiyun=teṇ-mēṛku nōkkiyuṇ=che[ṇ]ṇu i-chChiruvāgai=kku[la]t[tu] [vaḍa]-ka-
 204 ḍaiyaiy=iṇṇaṅgi Aṇavankuḍi=tteṇṇ-ellaiyē ṣeṇṇu [Kaḷikkudī=kkuḷa]-
 205 ttukku nīr pāygira kālaiy=ūdaruttu mēṛku nōkki=chcheṇṇu Aṇa[vaṇku]-
 206 ḍiyil-niṇṇum Vēḷāṇērikku=ppōgira valiyē teṇ-mēṛku [nōkki]=
 207 chcheṇṇu Vēḷāṇēri=kkil-ellaiyaiy=urru vaḍakk-inṇam [*] iv[v-el]-
 208 lai-yēy Puttūr=kuḷattukku nīr pāygira kālin kil-karaiyēy [vaḍa]-
 209 kilakku nōkki=chcheṇṇu i-kkālaiy=ūdaruttu mēl-karaiyil ēri vaḍakk-in-
 210 ṇam [*] Vēḷāṇēri vaḍav-ellaiyuṇ=Karuṇkuḷattu=tteṇṇ-ellaiyum-āṇa [e]-
 211 lai-yē mēṛku nōkki=chcheṇṇu Vēḷāṇēri=chChūrri-vaṣakkal=ūraṇi vaḍa-karai-
 212 yēy mēṛku nōkki=chcheṇṇu vaḍakk-inṇam [*] ellai naḍuv-āṇa varambē ṣe-
 213 ṇṇu Vēḷāṇēri Ādichcha-vaṣakkaṛ=kiḷ-varambē vaḍakku nōkki=chcheṇṇu i-ch-
 214 chey vaḍa-vaṇa[m*]bēy mē[rku] nōkki=chcheṇṇu vaḍakk-inṇam [*] Vēḷāṇēri-kKarunda-
 215 ḍi=kkil-varambēy [vaḍakku] nōkki=chcheṇṇu i-chcheykkum Ādichcha-vaṣakkal

Eighth Plate ; First Side.

- 216 nāṇṇaṇkālukkum Perrāṇ-vayakkalukkum vaḍa-varambēy mēṛku nōkki=chcheṇ-
 217 ṇu Kaḷikkudippār-Chēṇēri-dDayāniti-vayakkaṛ=kiḷ-varambaiy=urru vaḍakk-inṇam [*] i-
 218 vvarambēy vaḍakku nōkki=chcheṇṇu ellai-vāykkālaiy=urru i-vvāykkāl-ūḍēy va-
 219 ḍakku nōkkiyum vaḍa-mēṛku nōkkiyum⁴ vaḍakku nōkkiyuṇ=cheṇṇu Śēṇēri Mālār⁵-mukkāṇi
 vaḍa-varam-
 220 bē⁶ mēṛku nōkki=chcheṇṇu Dayānitiy=Ariyāṇ-āṇa Arundavaṇ-Vilupparaiyaṇ Sōmadēvi-va-
 221 yakkaṛ=kiḷ-varambēy vaḍa-mēṛku nōkki=chcheṇṇu Dayāniti Māṇaviraṇ-paṇṇu=ttadi palavi,
 222 n kiḷ-varambēy vaḍakku nōkki=chcheṇṇu Uyyakkoṇḍāl-vayakkaṛ=kiḷ-varambēy
 223 vaḍakku nōkki=chcheṇṇu i-chchey vaḍa-varambēy mēṛku nōkki=chcheṇṇu Śēṇēri=k-
 224 kuḷattu vaḍa-karaiyaiy=urru vaḍakk-inṇam [*] i-kkuḷattu=ppurkaraiyēy vaḍa-mēṛku
 225 *nōkki=chcheṇṇu Kaṇṇaṇṇiḷ-niṇṇum=⁷Dēḍakōṭṭaiṇṇu=ppōgira peruvali[yai]y=u-
 226 ṇṇu i-pperu-valiyēy mēṛku nōkki=chcheṇṇu vaḍakk-inṇam [*] Pūdanēri-[na]ttattu [va]-
 227 ḍa-vāyil-niṇṇa puliyaiy=iḍattu vaittu mēṛku nōkki=chcheṇṇu Taḍāppiraiy-āṇa
 228 kuḷattu=tteṇ-kaḍaiyaiy=iṇṇaṅgi vaḍakk-inṇam [*] i-kkuḷattu nīr-nakkalē vaḍa-mēṛ-
 229 ku nōkki=chcheṇṇu Kāṇchiraṇkuḷattu nīr-nakkalēy vaḍa-mēṛku nōkki=chcheṇṇu i-kku-
 230 ḷattu vaḍa-kaḍaiyaiy=urru i-kkuḷattukku nīr pāygira kālin teṇkaraiyēy mēṛku nōk-
 231 ki-chcheṇṇu Pullāṇēri=kkuḷattu=tteṇ-kaḍaiyil=ēri vaḍakk-inṇam [*] i-kkuḷattu nīr-

¹ The letter *da* is a correction.

² This letter has been wrongly read in *A. S. S. I.*

³ After *nōkkiyu*, the letters are written over an erasure and in smaller characters.

⁴ The reading in *A. S. S. I.* is *Mālāra*.

⁵ The letter *bē* is entered on the margin in smaller character.

⁶ The left hand portion of the sign of the medial *ō* in *nō* is engraved at the end of the previous line.

⁷ Read *Dēva*.

vii,a.

186
188
190
192
194
196
198
200

சுருதி...
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vii,b.

202
204
206
208
210
212
214

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viii,a.

216
218
220
222
224
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228
230

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Eighth Plate ; Second Side.

- 232 nakkalē vaḍakku nōkki=chcheṇṇu i-kkuḷattu va[ḍa]-kaḍaiyaiy=urru i-kkuḷattukku nīr
pāygīra
233 kālīn teṇ-karaiyē mēṛku nōkki=chcheṇṇu Kaṇṇaṇṇūṛku=ppōgīra peru-valiyaiy=urru
234 [va]ḍakk-inṇam [*] i-vvaliyē vaḍakku nōkki=chcheṇṇu Kaṇṇaṇṇūṛku vaḍav-ellaiyu[m*]
Narimaṇṇattu=t-
235 teṇṇ-ellaiyum-āṇa Kaṇṇaṇṇūṛ-Piḍāriyēri Muttaraiyaṇ karuñche[y*] vaḍa-varambu peṇṇa
śevvai-
236 yē mēṛku nōkki=chcheṇṇu Maḍaḷaikuriēchi=kkula-pparippaiy=urru i-kkuḷatt=uvāyē
vaḍakku nō-
237 kki=ppattu-kkōl-aḷavu seṇṇu vaḍakk-inṇam [*] i-kkuḷatt-ūḍē mēṛku nōkki=chcheṇṇu Kaṇṇa-
238 nūṛ-kkuḷattukku nīr pāygīra kālaiy=ūḍaruttu mēṛku nōkki=chcheṇṇu vaḍakku nōkki-
ppōgīra Kā-
239 ṇavāṇṇukku=kkilakkāga niṇṇa puliyai valattu vaittu mēṛku nōkki=chcheṇṇu Kīṭ-Cheliy-
Uḍai-
240 kuḷa=kkaraiyil=ēri i-kkaraiyē vaḍakku nōkki=chcheṇṇu Miṇṇēri=tteṇṇ-ellaiyaiy=urru vaḍa-
241 kk-inṇam [*] i-mMiṇṇēri=tteṇṇ-ellaikkum Kīṭ-Cheli=kkulattu vaḍav-ellaiyumāy=kKīṭ-
Cheli=kkula-
242 ttukku nīr pāynda kāṇ¹-parippē mēṛku nōkki=chcheṇṇu i-pparippaiy=iṇṇaṅi Naḍuvir-
Cheli=kkulattu Ma-
243 laiyaṇ-udaippil=ēri i-kkuḷa-kkaraiyē mēṛku nōkki=chcheṇṇu i-kkuḷatt-agavāyil²=iṇṇaṅi
Mīlaga-
244 nūṛ=paṇṇāṇa puṇṣe[y*]=kkil-ellaiyēy teṇṇu nōkkiiyun=teṇ-mēṛku nōkkiiyuṇ=cheṇṇu Mīlaga-
nūril-
245 niṇṇum Kāṇaiy-Irukkai=kKottakīrtikku=ppōgīra valiyaiy=urru vaḍakk=inṇam [*] i-kKott-
akīr-
246 ti vaḍav-ellaiyuṇ=Kāṇaiy-Iru[k*]kai Vēḷāṇēri vaḍav-ellaikkum Mīlagaṇṇūṛ=teṇṇ-ellaik-

Ninth Plate ; First Side.

- 247 kun=naḍuv-āṇa Kaḍambaṇḍi=kkulattukku nīr pāygīra kāl-ūḍēy vaḍa-mēṛku nōkki=
chcheṇṇu
248 i-kkālaiy=iṇṇaṅi vaḍakku nōkki Mēṛ-Cheli=tteṇ-kaḍai-kkombum Vēḷāṇēri=ppuṇṣe[y*] vaḍa-
249 v-ellaiyum-āṇa karai-pparippē vaḍa-mēṛku nōkki=chcheṇṇu Mīlaga[*]nūṛ Śōṇaṇ Mūkkau
puṇṣey=
250 tteṇṇ-ellaiyē mēṛku nōkki=chcheṇṇu Kāṇaiy-Irukkai Karpakīrti=kkil-ellaiyum Mī-
251 lagaṇṇūṛ-pāl Mēṛ-Cheli mēl-ellaikkun=naḍuvāṇa ellai-pparippēy vaḍakku nōkki=
252 chcheṇṇu Mīlagaṇṇūṛ=Chundaṇ=Ālvāṇ puṇṣey=tteṇṇ-ellaiyaiy=urru vaḍakk=inṇam [*] i-
ppu-
253 ṇṣey=tteṇṇ-ellaikkun=Karpakīrti vaḍav-ellaikkun=naḍuvāṇa mēṛku nōk-
254 ki=chcheṇṇu Karpakīrti=ppuṇṣey=kkil-ellaiyaiy=urru vaḍakk=inṇam [*] i-ppuṇṣe-
255 ykkum Mīlagaṇṇūṛ=puṇṣey-pparukkun=naḍuvāṇa vēli-pparippē vaḍakku nōkki-
256 yum vaḍa-mēṛku nōkkiiyuṇ=cheṇṇu Karpakīrti=kkil-āṣarudiyum Mīlagaṇṇūṛ Irāmaṇ=Aḷaga-
257 ṇ-uḷuda puṇṣey mēl-āṣarudiy=ellaikkun=naḍuvāṇa vaḍakku nōkkiiyum vaḍa-mēṛku nōk-
258 kiiyuṇ=cheṇṇu Iruñchiraiyil-niṇṇum Mīlagaṇṇūṛku=ppōgīra valiyaiy=ūḍaruttu Mīlagaṇṇū-
259 r-pār=Chirukilātti=tteṇ-kaḍai-kkombaiy=urru i-kkuḷa-kkarai-pparippēy vaḍa-mē-
260 ṛku nōkki=chcheṇṇu Karpakīrti=kkulattu vaḍa-karaiyaiy=urru vaḍakk=inṇam [*] i-
kkula-

¹ The reading in A. S. S. I. is *Kāḍra*,

² *Kavāyil* is the reading in A. S. S. I.

- 261 ttu=ppurkaraiyē vaḍa-mērku nōkki=chcheṇṇu Puvaṇinallūr puṇṣey=tteṇ-
262 ṇ-āṣarudiyum Kaṇpakīrti=kkaṇaikkun=naḍuvāga=chChirukkiḷātti=kkuḷattukku nīr pāynda
kā-

Ninth Plate ; Second Side.

- 263 l-ūḍē vaḍa-mērku nōkki=chcheṇṇu Kaṇpakīrti=kkuḷattu=kkaḍai-kkombaiy=ūḍaruttu
vaḍakk-inna-
264 m [t*] Puvaṇinallūr vayalukku=tterkil Valaiyaṇ-ūṇaṇṇu=tterkil kaḷar-pparippai valattu
vaittu mēr-
265 ku nōkki=chcheṇṇu Śirukkiḷātti=kkuḷattukku nīr pāynda Kāṇakaraikku vaḍakku=pPuva-
ṇinallūr irukku-
266 m iḍaiyaṇ-Irāśiṅgakkōṇ=ūḷuda puṇṣey[t*]=ttenṇ-ellaiyē vaḍa-mērku nōkki=chcheṇṇu
Kaṇpakī-
267 rti=kkuḷattukku mēl-kaḍaiyāl nīr pāygīra kālaiy=urru ḡ Mēl-ellaiy=i-kkāliṇ kiḷ-karaiyē
va-
268 ḍakku nōkki=chcheṇṇu Rājagambhīra-chaturvvēdimaṇḍalattudaṇ kūṭṭiṇa Miḷagaṇūr-
[k*]ku=ttalaimāru kuḍutta
269 Pudukkuḷattu=kkiḷ-ellai Kaṇpakīrti=kkuḷattukku nīr pāygīra kāliṇ kiḷ-karaiyē vaḍakku
nōkki=chcheṇṇu
270 i-mMiḷagaṇūrku=ttalaimāru kuḍutta Māraṇkīrti=kkiḷ-ellai Kaṇpakīrti=kkuḷattukku nīr
pāygīra kāli-
271 ṇ kiḷ-karaiyē vaḍakku nōkkiyum vaḍa-kiḷakku nōkkiyuṇ=cheṇṇu i-kkālaiy-iṇandu
kiḷakk-inṇam [t*] vaḍak-
272 ku nōkki=chcheṇṇu Miḷagaṇūr-kulattu mēl-kaḍaiyaiy=urru=kkiḷakk-inṇam [t*] i-kkuḷatt=agavāyil-iṇaṅgi vaḍak-
273 ku nōkki=chcheṇṇu Miḷagaṇūrku=ttalaimāru kuḍutta Kuvaḷaivēli-pparukku=kkiḷ-ellaiy-
āṇa Māraṇēri=
274 kkaraiyē vaḍakku nōkki=chcheṇṇu Nerkuṇṇattu=ttenṇ-ellaiyaiy=urru=kkiḷakk-inṇam [t*]
i-kKuva-
275 laivēli=kkiḷ-ellaiyun=Nerkuṇṇattu mēl-ellaiyum-āṇa karai-pparippēy vaḍa-mērku nōkki=
276 chcheṇṇu i-nNerkuṇṇattu natta[t*]tu=ttenṇ-āṣarudiyaiy=urru=kkiḷakk-inṇam[t*] i-nnatta-
[t*]tu=ttenṇ-āṣaru-
277 diyē vaḍa-mērku nōkki=chcheṇṇu i-nNerkuṇṇattu=kkuḷattu mēl-kaḍaiyaiy=urru i-kkuḷattu
nīr-nak-
278 kalē Kuvaḷaivēli=kkiḷ-āṣarudiyē vaḍakku nōkki=chcheṇṇu Mēlēri=kkaraiyaiy=urru
Mēlēri=kkuḷa-ppa-
279 rippē vaḍakku nōkki=chcheṇṇu Kaṭṭikkulattu=tteṇ-kaḍaiyil=ēri i-kkuḷatt=agavāyil-iṇaṅgi
Miḷagaṇūrku=ttalaimāru ku-

Tenth Plate ; First Side.

- 280 ḍutta Kaḍambamaṇḍalattu=¹kukiḷ-ellaiyē vaḍakku nōkki=chcheṇṇu Perṇāṇ-ēmbaṇ-
karaiyaiy=urru=kkiḷa-
281 kk-inṇam [t*] vaḍakku nōkki=chcheṇṇu Kaṭṭikkulattukku nīr pāygīra kālaiy=ūḍaruttu
Mālaṇḍuḍi-²kiḷavaṇ Pullāṇi-
282 Mādēvaṇ-āṇa Nuḷambādarāyar kāpiyāy=tTirumāliruṇchōlaiy-Āḷvār dēvadāṇa iṇaiyiliy-
Āchchaṇkāṭṭiruk.³

¹ Read *kkiḷ*.

² Read *kiḷavaṇ*.

³ Read *Achchan*.



- 283 kai=tTirumāliṛuñchōlainallūr=tteṇṇ-ellaiyē kiḷakku nōkki=chcheṇṇu i-tTirumāliṛuñchōlaina-
 284 lūr-tteṇṇ-ellaiyir=tiruvāḷi-kkallaiy=iḍattu vaittu=kkilakku nōkkiyun=teṇ-kiḷakku
 nōkkiyuñ=cheṇ-
 285 ru Tirumāliṛuñchōlainallūr=teṇ-kiḷ-mūlaiyir=ttiruvāḷi-kkallaiy=urru ivv-Irājagambhira-
 chaturvvē-
 286 dimaṅgalattudaṇ kūṭṭiṇa Miḷagaṇūr=kuḷattukku nīr pāygiṛa kāliṇ mēl-karaiyē vaḍakku
 nōkki=chcheṇṇu
 287 Tirumāliṛuñchōlainallūr kiḷ-ellaiyir=tiruvāḷi-kkallaiy=urru i-kkāliṇ mēl-karaiyē vaḍak-
 288 ku nōkki=chcheṇṇu i-tTirumāliṛuñchōlainallūr¹ vaḍa-kiḷ-mūlaiyir=tiruvāḷi-kkallaiy=
 urru=kki-
 289 ḷakk=innam [i*] Vāgaikuḍi=tteṇṇ-ellaiyum=Tirumāliṛuñchōlainallūr¹ vaḍav-ellaiyum-āṇa
 i-mMiḷaga-
 290 nūr=kuḷattukku nīr pāygiṛa kāliṇ teṇ-karaiyē mēṛku nōkkiyum vaḍa-mēṛku nōkkiyuñ=
 cheṇṇu i-tTirumā-
 291 liṛuñchōlainallūr=kuḷattukku nīr pāygiṛa kālaiy=ūḍaruttu i-tTirumāliṛuñchōlainallūr
 vaḍa-mē-
 292 ṇ-mūlaiyir=tiruvāḷi-kkallaiy=urru Aḷagiyapāṇḍiyakkuḷakkil Śūrakuḍiy-āṇa Virakāmuga-
 maṅgalattu vaḍav-e-
 293 ḷaiyum Vāgaikuḍi=tteṇṇ-ellaiyum-āṇa Miḷagaṇūr² -kāliṇ teṇ-karaiyē vaḍa-mēṛku
 nōkki=chcheṇṇu
 294 Uḍaiyār Tiruppuvaṇam-uḍaiyār dēvadāṇam Aḷagiyapāṇḍiyakkuḷakkil Vellūṛkuruchchi=
 kkiḷ-ellaiyum
 295 Vāgaikuḍi mēl-ellaiyum-āṇa i-mMiḷagaṇūr²-kāliṇ mēl-karaiyē vaḍakku nōkki=chcheṇṇu

Tenth Plate ; Second Side.

- 296 i-kkāliy=ūḍaruttu=kKiraṇūr-nāṭṭu Viḍattal-āṇa Mānābharaṇa-chaturvvēdimāṅgalattu=
 tteṇṇ-ellaiyai-
 297 y=urru=kkilakk=innam [i*] i[vv-e]llaiyē kiḷakku nōkki=kkalār-parippē ṣeṇṇu Vāgaikuḍi=
 kkuḷattu vaḍa-kadaiyaiy=ur-
 298 ru=kkilakk=innam [i*] i-kkaraiyē kiḷakku nōkki=chcheṇṇu i-kkaraiyaiy=iṛaṅgi Vāgaikuḍi
 vaḍav-ellaiyum Mānābharaṇa-
 299 chaturvvēdimāṅgalattu=tteṇṇ-ellaiyum-āṇa ellai-varambē kiḷakku nōkki=chcheṇṇu Vāgai-
 kuḍi Mānābhara-
 300 ṇa-Iṣvaram-uḍaiyār kōyilai valattu vaittu ellai-varambē kiḷakku nōkki=chcheṇṇu Vāgai-
 kuḍi=kkula-
 301 ttīl-niṇṇuñ=kiḷakku nōkki=ppōgiṛa ellai-vā[y*]kkāliy=urru i-vvā[y*]kkāliṇ vaḍa-varambē
 kiḷakku nōkki=chche-
 302 ṇṇu i-vvā[y*]kkāliy=iṛandu Vāgaikuḍi=pparṇil Ariyāl-vayakkal vaḍa-varambum Mānā-
 bharaṇa-chaturvvēdimāṅga-
 303 lattū=pparṇāṇa Uyyavandāḷ-vayakkal teṇ-varambum-āṇa varambē kiḷakku nōkki=chche-
 ṇṇu Nakkamaṅgala-
 304 ttu=kkulattukku nīr pāygiṛa kālai[y=urru] i-kkāliṇ mēl-karaiyē vaḍakku nōkkiyum vaḍa-
 mēṛku nōkkiyum va-

¹ Read °nallūr.

² Read 'wāṇar.

- 305 da-kiḷakku nōkkiyuñ=chenru Tuttiyūr=kuḷattu mēl-kaḍaiyaiy=aḍuttu i-kkāliṇ mēl-
karaiyē vaḍakku
306 nōkkiyum vaḍa-kiḷakku nōkkiyum vaḍa-mēṟku nōkkiyuñ=chenru Tiruvāvaṇattu Arai-
mākkūru=ttenṇ-e-
307 Iaiyum Māpābhara[ṇa*]-chaturvēdimaṅgalattu vaḍav-ellaiyum-āṇa ellai-varambē mēṟku
nōkki=chchenru Mā-
308 nābharāṇa-chaturvēdimaṅgalattu=kkuḷa-kkaraiyaiy=urru=kkiḷakk=innam [*] i-kkuḷattu=
ppuṟkaraiyē vaḍakku nōkki-
309 chchenru Arai-mākkūru=chChirrembaṟ=karaiyaiy=urru ivv-ēmbaṟ=teṇ-karaiyē mēṟku
nōkki=chche-
310 ṇru Mīlaganūr kuḷattukku nīr pāygiṟa kālaiy=ūḍaṟuttu i-kkāliṇ mēl-karaiyē vaḍakku
nōkkiyum vaḍa-mēṟ-

Eleventh Plate ; First Side.

- 311 ku nōkkiyuñ=chenru i-kkālaiy=iraṅgi i-kkāliṇ kiḷ-karaiyil=ēṟi Arai-mā[kū]ru ēmbalil
nīr-nakkulē
312 vaḍakku nōkki=chchenru Tuttiyūr-kuḷattukku nīr pāygiṟa kālaiy=ūḍaṟuttu Uḍaiyār
Tiruppūvaṇam-uḍaiyār
313 dēvaḍāṇam=Aḷagiyapāṇḍiyakkuḷakkil Vēlūrkuṟuchchi=kkiḷ-ellaiyun=Tiruvāvaṇattu mēl-
ellaiyum-āṇa Ka-
314 ṇavadi-vayakkal mēl-varambē vaḍakku nōkki=chchenru i-kKaṇavadi-vayakkalil vaḍa-
mēlai-nūlaiyil Vāykattā-
315 tturavai valattu vaittu Tiruvāvaṇattu=kkālaiy=ūḍaṟuttu Vēlūrkuṟuchchi=kkiḷ-ellaiyun=
Tiruvāvaṇattu
316 mēl-ellaiyum-āṇa ellaiyē vaḍakku nōkki=chchenru Vaigaiy-āṇa Śrīvallaḥhappērāṇil=
iraṅgi / Vaḍav-e-
317 Iai i-Vaigaiy-āṇa Śrīvallaḥhappērāṇ-ūḍē kiḷakku nōkki=chchenru ivv-ārriḷ-niṇṇum Paṇaṅ-
galūr-kula-
318 ttukku nī[r*] pāygiṟa kāliṇ vaḍa-karaiyil=ēṟi i-kkaraiyē kiḷakku nōkki=chchenru Kaḷa-
vaḷinūḍaṇ-ārriḷ=iraṅ-
319 gi ivv-ārriṇ-ūḍēy vaḍakku nōkki=chchenru Iḍaikkāṭṭūriḷ-niṇṇum Vēmbaṅguḍikku=ppō-
giṟa va-
320 Iiyaiy=urru kiḷ-karaiyil=ēṟi=tterk=innam [*] i-vvaḷiyē vaḍa-kiḷakku nōkki=chchenru i-
kKaḷavaḷinūḍaṇ-ārriḷ-
321 niṇṇū-Cheyyakulattūr=kuḷattukku nīr pāygiṟa kālaiy=ūḍaṟuttu i-vvaḷiyēy vaḍa-kiḷakku
nōkki=chchenru Adika-
322 rai=kkuḷaṇ-karaiyil=ēṟi i-kkaraiyē vaḍa-mēṟku nōkki=chchenru i-kkuḷattu vaḍa-kaḍaiyum
Āykuḍi=ttenṇ-e-
323 Iaiyaiyum=urru=tterk=innam [*] ivv-ellaiyēy kiḷakku nōkki=chchenru Vēlaṅguḍi nattattu
vaḍavāyēy
324 seṇṇu i-v[Vēlaṅguḍi]=kkuḷattu mēl-kaḍaiyaiy=urru=tterk=innam [*] ida-niṇṇum vaḍa-kiḷakku
nōkki=chchen-
325 ru Kuḍaṇjāḍi mēl-ellaiyaiy=urru ivv-ellaiyēy vaḍakku nōkkiyum vaḍa-[kiḷakku] nōk-
[kiyuñ]=chenru
326 Kuḍaṇjāḍi=kkuḷattu mēl-kaḍai-kkombaiy=urru=tterk=innam [*] ida-niṇ[ṇum] vaḍa-
kiḷakku nōkki=chchenru

* The left hand portion of the medial 6 sign is entered in the previous line.

x.a.

280
282
284
286
288
290
292
294

x.b.

296
298
300
302
304
306
308
310

xi.a.

312
314
316
318
320
322
324
326

Eleventh Plate ; Second Side.

- 327 Śuṇḍaṅkuruchchi=tteṇṇ-ellaiyum=i-kKuṇḍaṅjādi vadav-ellaiyum-āṇa i-kkuḷattu nīr-nakkalē-
 328 y kiḷakku nōkkiyum ten-kiḷakku nōkkiyuṇ=cheṇṇu i-kkuḷattukku=kkil-kadaiyāl nīr pā-
 329 ygīra kālaiy=ūḍaruttu=tteṇ-kiḷakku nōkki=checheṇṇu Vēlūr-Śirukuḍi Iḍaikkāttūril=ninṇum
 330 Vēmbaṅguḍikku=ppōṇa valiyaiy=ūḍaruttu=kkilakku nōkki=checheṇṇu Kāṭṭu-tteyvam-
 enṇum Piḍā-
 331 rikulam-enṇum pēr kūva[ppa]tta¹ Uḍaikuḷatt=agavāyēy kiḷakku nōkki=checheṇṇu i-kkuḷattu=kkil-
 332 kadaiyil=ēri=tteṇ-kiḷakku nōkki=checheṇṇu Kīraṇūrnāḍālvāṅkōṇṭai-ppakkattāṇa Śem[be]rum-
 333 ān uluda puṇṇēyyai valattu vaittu=kkilakku nōkkiyun=ten-kiḷakku nōkkiyuṇ=cheṇṇu
 Śeyyakula-
 334 ttūril-ninṇum Vēmbaṅguḍikku=ppōḍira valiyaiy=ūḍaruttu=kkilakku nōkki=checheṇṇu
 Śeyyakula-
 335 ttūr=kuḷaṅgaḷukku nīr pāya Muttan-Ālvāṇ-āṇa Sundarapāṇḍiya-Mārāyaṇ kalluvitta
 kālaiy=ūḍaruttu-
 336 kkiḷakku nōkkiyum vada-kiḷakku nōkkiyuṇ=cheṇṇu Mēr-Chūrai Uḍaikuḷatt=agavāyēy
 kiḷakku nōkki=ch-
 337 cheṇṇu Kīṭ-Chūrai=kkulatt=agavāyēy kiḷakku nōkki=checheṇṇu i-kkuḷattu=kkil-kadai-kkombil
 ēri
 338 muṇbu tuḍaṅṇav=iḍattu =ppiḍi ninṇadu [*] Ivva-arav-ōlai eḷudipēṇ ivai Puravuvāri-
 kkaṅkāṇi Miḷalai-kkūr-
 339 rattu Naḍuvir-kūrru śrī-Parāntakanallūr=²Kaṭṭikuruchchi-ūḍaiyāṇ Araiyaṇ Nārāyaṇap-
 eḷuttu [*] Ivai² Pu-
 340 ravuvāri-kkaṅkāṇi Miḷalai-kkūrrattu=kKil-kūrru=tTaṇḍalaiy=ūḍaiyāṇ Pirāntakan Tiru-
 ppūvaṇam-ūḍaiyāṇ=e-
 341 luttu [*] Ivai² Puravuvāri-kkaṅkāṇi Aḷagiyapāṇḍiyakkuḷakkil Perumāṇḍūr-āṇa Pala-
 maṇḍalāḍichechanallūr=Ka-
 342 ruṇākaradēvaṇ Puṇṇavaṇam-ūḍaiyāṇ=eḷuttu [*] Ivai² Tiruvāyakkōlvi Jayadara-pPalla-
 varayar kaṅkāṇi Tirumu-
 343 naippāḍi-nāṭṭu Karuppūr-ūḍaiyāṇ Pillaiy-Ālvāṇ Ponṇambalakkūttāṇēṇ ivai² enṇ=eḷuttu
 [*]

TRANSLATION.

(Verse 1)—Hail ! Prosperity ! There was at first this water. In its centre (lit. inside), there lay, on the serpent (*Śēsha*)-couch, Hari. From his navel came forth a lotus ; and from it, by himself, the creator of the universe (*Viśvasṛi*) came ; from him Atri ; and from the cavity of his eyes, the Moon ; his son was Budha ; from him was born Purūravas ; and thence came these Pāṇḍya lords.

(Verse 2) —Hail ! Prosperity ! Having ascertained the (*proper*) time from **Sundarēśa**, (*king*) **Rājagambhīradēva**, in the **twenty-fifth year of his reign**, on the day of Svāti combined with Saturday (*Ārkkī-vāra*) in the dark fortnight, and on the *tīthi* of Kanakapati (*i.e.*, *ekādaśī*), when the hot-rayed (*Sun*) was in the sign Dhanus, ordered to conduct immediately the female elephant to fix the boundaries of the village called after his own name.

(Line 5) The goddess of the flower (*i.e.*, Lakshmi) lovingly taking her seat and the goddess of the earth lawfully uniting with him ; the goddess of war resting on his victorious shoulders ; the goddess of the great arts shining on his tongue : the moon-light of his fame shedding its lustre in the

¹ The letters *ppa* look like *ya*.

² The syllables *ivai* are written as a group.

³ Read *r-Kaḷli*.

twice-four quarters; the path of the Vēdas (*maṇai*) expanding; the path of Manu clarifying the six righteous doctrinal ways and spreading out; the fish (emblem of the Pāṇḍyas) securely seated on the golden mountain, driving off the forest tiger (emblem of the Chēra); the white parasol (*of his*) affording shade to the seven seas and the seven sporting gardens surrounded by the eight hills; his righteous sceptre swaying; the fierce Kali (*age*) concealing itself with tremour in long caverns; the Villavar (*i.e.*, the Chēra), Śembiyar (*i.e.*, the Chōla), Virāṭar, Varāṭar and the Pallavar, paying due obeisance in regular succession with (*their*) tributes; his single wheel rising aloft over the two globes; the sweet and nectar-like *iyal*, *isai* and *nāṭakam* (*i.e.*, prose, poetry and drama) steadily increasing; wearing the crown and sitting on the mountain-like high lion throne,—his eulogy being sung by able masters of arts,—along with his queen Avanimuḍuṇḍaiyāl, who resembled the swan in gentle gait and who was praised and bowed to by queens of kings; the glorious king Jaṭavarman *alias* the Emperor of the three worlds, the illustrious Kulasākhara-dēva reigned.

Whereas, while the king was pleased to be seated on the reclining couch called Maḷavarā-jaṇ in the hall of his palace at Madurai situated in (*the sub-division*) Māḍakkulakkiḷ of Madu; rōdaya-vaḷanāḍu, he had ordered that a village consisting of one thousand and two hundred shares should be formed and given as *brahmadēya*, with effect from the eleventh year opposite the thirteenth,—one thousand and eighty shares to one thousand and eighty Brāhmanas learned in the Vēdas and Śāstras and capable of expounding them, and one hundred and twenty shares as *dēvadāna* and for those who had to do service;

(Ll. 69-72) and whereas the village of Rājagambhira-chaturvēdimāṅgalam, called (*as suḥ*) after the sacred name of the king and included in Rājagambhira-vaḷanāḍu, was formed in pursuance of this said order by taking up the undermentioned villages, excluding from them the lands which formed old *dēvadānas*, *paḷḷichchāṇḍam* and *kāraṇmai*, and including the rest,—and removing their previous owners, old names and the classification under *vellāṇ-vagai*, as well as the prior holdings,—and bringing them all under one village with one *puravu* and one *nāḍu*,

(Ll. 72-74) and whereas the king had been pleased to say that the four boundaries of this (*new*) village may be circumambulated with the female elephant in the presence of the superintendents appointed for the purpose, and, for the boundaries thus passed through, a deed may be drawn up and given,

the following is recorded on the thirteenth year and four thousand and three hundred and sixtieth day.

(Ll. 19 to 69) The villages and lands taken up are:—

(1) In Kīraṇūr-nāḍu,—the villages of Nakkamaṅgalam and Vāgaikuḍi, (*the latter*) a *dēva-dāna* of Uḍaiyār Tiruppūvaṇamūḍaiyār; (2) including the above (*two villages*), the villages of Tiruvāvaṇam, Tuttiyūr, and Kiruṅgākkōṭṭai (*with its lands called*) Kāduvetṭi, Muṭṭam, Korraṇēri, Taḍaiyilī-Tiyāgi-ēmbal, Vellattaivenṇāṇ-ēmbal, Pagavadi-ēmbal, Naḍuvirkōṭṭai and Kāḍaṇ-Eṭṭi-kuṇuchchi; (3) in Paṇaṅgalūr-nāḍu,—the villages of Adikarai, Mittiravāli, Vēlaṅguḷam with its land Ōmaḷagiyāṇ-ēmbal, Śōlaiyēri, Kuḍaṇjāḍi, Aruvurai-Pudukkuḷam, Kiṭ-Chūrai, Mār-Chūrai, Piḍārikuḷam, Paṇaṅgalūr *alias* Paṇḍitapaṇjaraṇallūr, Śeyyakulattūr with its land Śiṅgaṇēriyūḍaiyāṇ-kāṇippaṇu, Vāñjiyūr, Karkuṇuchchi, Ariyāṇkuṇuchchi, Āraikkulam with its lands Arugaśāḍi, Viragaṅgappērayaṇ-ēmbal, Virapāṇḍiyappērayaṇ-ēmbal, Moliyaṇ-ēmbal, Ambalakkūṭṭaṇ-ēmbal, Sittaṇ-ēmbal and Paṇṇirāyirappērayaṇ-ēmbal, Uvaṇiyamaṅgalam and its land Pudaichchāṇkuḷiy-ēmbal; (4) in Tiyandāikuḍi-nāḍu,—the villages of Ugaray and Kōṭṭai with the lands Śivigaiyāṇkuḷi and Udumbandai, Ulagarai, Karaiyūr, Kuṇṇēli, Maṭṭaḍakkiyēri with its lands Śaṅgappērayaṇ-ēmbal, Puttēmbal, Kalaiyaṇēri, Śeṅkuḷi and Orukkorraṇēri, Kalvā-yilmaṅgalam, Pullaṇēri, Śēṇḍaṇēri, Nakkāṇēri, Pārkuḷam with its land Uyyāṇ-Sūriyaṇ-ēmbal,

Marudankuḍi, Nāvarkuḍi with its land Kaṇḍivūr-nāḍālvāṇ-ēmbal, Śīru-Nakkaṇēri, Śūlamanī, Puṇḍukkuḷam, Śīruvayal, Koṇṇaikkūḷam, Pullamaṅgalam, Kaṇḍukūḷam, Karumākūḷam Eyili, Paḍaich-chaṇḍukūḷam, Puliyāṇḍukūḷam, Pūdikūḷam, Vēlārkuṇḍuchi, Vāyttalainallūr and the land Kāḍuveṭṭi of this (*last mentioned*) village; (5) inclusive of three *vēli* of land, according to *pāḍagam*, situated to the east of the channel passing to Marudūr and lying within the tank of Māṇavīramadurai, the following being added to the *brahmadēya*, viz., Marudūr *alias* Madurōdaya-chaturvēdimaṅgalam with the land Saṅgaṇ-ēmbal, Saṅkaramaṅgalam and Tiyaṇūr-Śōlaiyēri; (6) in Kīlāṅkāṭṭūr *alias* Puravari-chaturvēdimaṅgalam, excluding eight (*vēli*) and six *mā* of land, as measured by the rod Virapāṇḍiyaṇkōl, consisting of *nīr-nīlam*, *karuṇḍhey*, *puṇḍey*, *nattam*, *tōṭṭam*, *tiḍal*, *ūraṇi*, *kōyilaḍi*, *tirunandavāṇam* and *ēmbal*, which had been the *kuḍipparru*, up to the tenth year opposite the thirteenth, all the rest of the lands which had been owned by the adjacent people; (7) in Mēṇ-Paśalai *alias* Śrīvallaḥba-chaturvēdimaṅgalam, excluding four and a half (*vēli*) and three *kāṇi*, as measured by the rod Virapāṇḍiyaṇkōl, consisting of *nīr-nīlam*, *nattam*, *karuṇḍhey*, *puṇḍey*, *tōṭṭam*, *tiḍal*, *Śrīkōyil*, *tirunandavāṇam*, etc., which, up to the tenth year opposite the thirteenth, had been the holding of the *jaṇmis* that were residing there, the rest of the lands which were held by the adjacent people and the Maṇavas, as well as Pirāṇḍiyēri and Kaḍukkuḍi; and also the *dēvadāna* lands of the temple of Tiruppaśalaināthar at Mēṇ-Paśalai *alias* Śrīvallaḥba-chaturvēdimaṅgalam, viz., Śēṭṭālēri, *tirappu* Ūṇḍaṇ-ēmbal, Tattaṇ-ēmbal, Vēmbōḍ-ēmbal, Pāppāṇ-ēmbal, Eḍiriliśōlappērayaṇ-ēmbal; also the lands called Vēlaṅkāḷ, Kaṇichchēy-ēmbal and the land given in exchange for *kuḍikkāṇi* which had been classed under the different head of *dēvadāṇa-īraiṇi* and whose *kūrūmai* belonged to the temple of Śrī-Vaikunda-Viṇṇagar-Ālvār of Mēṇ-Paśalai *alias* Śrīvallaḥba-chaturvēdimaṅgalam; as also *tirappu* Paṇaiyaṇēri, Kīl-Vēliyāṇṇūr, Mēl-Vēliyāṇṇūr, Maṇḍaiyāṇḍukūḷam, Nelvēli with its land Taṇṇilattaraiyaṇ-ēmbal, Sōmāṭṭūr, Aravaṇkuḍi, Karuṇḍukūḷam, Ēṇāṭṭūr, Taḍāppirai and Kāṇchiraṇḍukūḷam; (8) in Mēṇkuḍi *alias* Kalijayamaṅgalam in **Mēṇkuḍi-nāḍu**, excluding two (*vēli*) and four *mā* of land, as measured by the rod Virapāṇḍiyaṇkōl, which up to the tenth year opposite the thirteenth, were held by *ryots* and consisted of *nīr-nīlam*, *karuṇḍhey*, *puṇḍey*, *nattam*, etc., the rest of the lands owned by the adjacent people; as also the villages Mēṇ-Mēṇkuḍi, Maṇ-jalūr and Koṇṇaṇēri; also Muttūranāroṭṭai which was the *dēvadāna* of the temple of Uḍaiyār Tiruppūvaṇamuḍaiyār; as well as Annaḷvāy with Sundaṇ-ēmbal near that village, Narimaṇṇam *alias* Varagaṇḍanallūr together with the lands near that village, viz., Śilaiyaṇēri, Uriyappi, Tāji-yēmbal, Koṇṇaṇēri, Sūriyaṇ-ēmbal and Sōmaṇēri; (9) in *tirappu* **Purapparaḷai-nāḍu**,—Pullaṇēri, the lands that were added to the *karuṇḍhey* of Kaṇṇaṇūr, the *karuṇḍhey* of Madalaikuṇḍuchi, the *puṇḍarai* (i.e., the grassy bank) of Kīl-Śēli, Achchaṅkāṭṭirukkai-Mīlagaṇūr *alias* Rājendra-śiṅgaṇallūr together with Mīṇṇēri near that village, Kaṇṇikuḍi, Araiyaṇēri, the lands within the tank of Naḍuvīr-Chēli, Mēṇ-Chēli, Kuṇḍuchāṭṭi, Śīrukkilāṭṭi, Puvaiṇallūr, Ārikuḍi, Sōmaṇēri and Tāyaṇ-Pūdi-ēmbal; also Śīrukiḷāṅkāṭṭūr which (*last*) was a *dēvadāna* of Uḍaiyār Tiruppūvaṇamuḍaiyār; as well as Śīru-Mīlāgi, *tirappu* Neṇḍuṇṇam, Kaṭṭikkūḷam and Perāṇ-ēmbal.

(Ll. 74-139) The *puravuvāri-kaṇḍāni* officers Araiyaṇ Nārāyaṇa of Kaṭṭikuṇḍuchi residing in Śrī-Parāntakanallūr in Naḍuvīr-kūṇṇu (a sub-division) of Mīlalaḷai-kūṇṇam, Parāntakaṇ Tiruppūvaṇamuḍaiyāṇ of Taṇḍalai in Kīl-kūṇṇu (a sub-division) of Mīlalaḷai-kūṇṇam, Māṇaṇūruḍaiyāṇ Karuṇākaradēvaṇ Purpavaṇamuḍaiyāṇ of Māṇaṇūr *alias* Palamaṇḍalāḍittanallūr in Aḷagiyaṇḍiyaḷakkūḷakkīl, Piḷḷai Ālvāṇ *alias* Poṇṇambalakkūṭṭaṇ of Karuppūr in Tīrumuṇaippādi-nāḍu (a sub-division) of Śōlamaṇḍalam, who was the *kaṇḍāni* of the *tiruvōykkēḷi* Poṇṇaṇ Sūryadēvaṇ *alias* Jayadhara-Pallavaraiyar of Puttūr in Purapparaḷai-nāḍu, Vēlāṇ Śāṭṭaṇ of Kīl-Neṭṭūr *alias* Kīrti-viśālaiyaṇallūr in Karuṇḍuḍi-nāḍu who was the *kaṇḍāni* of Poyyāmolidēvar, Nārāyaṇa Śāṭṭaṇ of Vēliyāṇṇūr in Kēraḷasiṅga-vaḷaṇāḍu who was the *kaṇḍāni* of the *omudāyam* Kappalūruḍaiyāṇ Śrīrāmaṇ Tiruvuḍaiyāṇ *alias* Pottappichchōḷar of Kappalūr *alias* Ulagaḷandaśōḷanallūr in

Muttūrru-kūrram, Arayan Tirumalai-udaiyān of Aruñkaḷam in Poliyūr-nādu who was the *kaṅkāṇi* of the *māligaittaṇam* Śivallavan Aḷagiyamaṇavāḷan *alias* Kāliṅgarāyar of Aḷkkuḍi *alias* Aḷagiya-pāṇḍiyanallūr in Vaḍatalai-Sembi-nādu, Arayan Karumāṇikkam of Kīṭ-Paśalai *alias* Dānaviṇḍoda-nallūr in Tiyaṇdaikuḍi-nādu who was the *kaṅkāṇi* of Maḷavarāyar, Kappalūrudaiyān Uyyavan-dān Ponṇan *alias* Māṇābharaṇa-Mūvēṇḍavēḷār of Kappalūr *alias* Uḷagaḷandaśōḷanallūr in Mut-tūrru-kūrram who was the *adigāram* of Piḷḷaiyār Aḷagapperumāl, Uḍaiyān Nambi Ponṇambalak-kūttan *alias* Viraśiṅgaḍēvar of Śiṟupālaiyūr *alias* Kāvērivallavanallūr in Śōḷapāṇḍiya-vaḷanādu, Malaikiṇiyaninṇān Aḷagan *alias* Vijaya-Vichchādiraḍēvar who was one of the *aṇukkar* of Aḷagiya-pāṇḍiyan of Rājēndiram in Irāśiṅgaṅkuḷakkī that was in charge of the business of this (i.e., the said) *nādu*, all these being the *kaṅkāṇi*, the undermentioned persons of Māṇavīramadurai in Tiyaṇ-daikuḍi-nādu, viz., Mādavan Divākara-Baṭṭan, Nārāyaṇan Nārāyaṇa-Baṭṭan, Śī(śrī)-Mādavan Nārasimha-Baṭṭan, Gōvindaṇ Tirunilakaṇṭa-Baṭṭan and Jātavēḍan Subrahmaṇya-Baṭṭan; together with the following others of Marudūr *alias* Madurōdaya-chaturvēdimaṅgalam who were concerned in the formation of the *brahmadēya*, viz., Tirukkuḍandai Ādityan Śēṇḍapirāṇ-Baṭṭan, śrī-Kriṣṇaṇ Aḷagiya-rāghava-Baṭṭan and Kāliyāyan Vēṇṇaikkūtta-Baṭṭan; as also the under-mentioned residents of Mēṇ-Paśalai *alias* Śrīvallaḷḷa-chaturvēdimaṅgalam, viz., Āhitāgni Śrīraṇ-ganātha-Baṭṭa-Sōma-Kāṭhaka-yājiyār, Nārāyaṇan Nārāyaṇa-Baṭṭan, śrī-Vāsudēvan Nagna-pirāṇ-Baṭṭan and śrī-Rāmaṇ Paramātma-Baṭṭan; as well as the residents of Kīṭ-Paśalai *alias* Dānaviṇḍodaṇallūr, viz., Arayan Uyyaniṇṇāḍuvān *alias* Śembiyadaraiyan Kēsavan Nārāyaṇan, Karumāṇikkam Korraṇ, Kalvāyil Kēsavan, Periyān Perrāṇ, Naṅgan Aḷagan and Vāsudēvan Sūriyadēvan; the following residents of Poliyūr *alias* Pārthivakēsarinallūr in Poliyūr-nādu, viz., Appan Sūriyadēvan, Udayan Varaguṇadēvan *alias* Aḷagiya-pāṇḍiya-Viḷupparaiyan, Sūriyan Varantaruvān *alias* Saṅgirāmaśiṅga-Pallavaraiyan and Sundarattōḷuḍaiyān Sōmadēvan; the undermentioned residents of Kaḷḷikuḍi *alias* Puravuvarinallūr in Purappaṇḷai-nādu, viz., Dayā-nilai Uyyavandān *alias* Chēdirāyan, Aṇukkaṇ Ariyān and Appan Arumolidēvan *alias* Śembiyan-Viḷupparaiyan and the headman of Puttūr named Baṭṭan *alias* Purappaṇḷai-nādu-kilavan; also Paḷiyānilai Sūriyadēvan *alias* Tamipādu-kilavan of Iruñchirai *alias* Indirasamāṇanallūr in Kāṇai-Irukkai and Vēḷān Iraṭṭai *alias* Rājakuṇjara-Pallavaraiyan; also the persons hereunder mentioned who belonged to Miḷagaṇūr, to wit, Śadiraṇ Śelvan, Rāmaṇ Aḷagan, Śōraṇ Mūkkaṇ, Nāgaḍēvan Rāmaṇ *alias* Rājanārāyaṇa-Mūvēṇḍavēḷān and Araṣariyān, who were concerned in effecting the entry in accounts under the name of Achchaṅkāṭṭirukkai-Miḷagaṇūr *alias* Rājēndraśiṅganallūr, after removing the previous owners, old names and prior holdings (*mudal*) and bringing also under one *nādu*, one village and one *puravu* the undermentioned villages and lands, viz., Achchaṅkāṭṭirukkai-Kuvalaivēli, Pudukkuḷam, Māraṇkīrti, Kāvidinallūr, Kaḍambamaṅgalam, Śāttiyār-ēmbal and the lands that remained in Araiarkuḷam of Kāṇai-Irukkai after deducting from it the portion (*sem-pādi*) which formed the *kāṇi* of Mandari Rāmaṇ *alias* Pallavarāyar and which had been given in exchange for (the old) Miḷagaṇūr that had been added to Rājagambhīra-chaturvēdimaṅgalam; Araiyan Pullāṇi of Achchaṅkāṭṭirukkai-Tirumāliruṇjōlainallūr a *dēvadāna* of Tirumāliruṇjōlai-guḍi in Kīṭ-Sembi-nādu; also the undermentioned persons of Śiṟukuḷattūr *alias* Parākrama-pāṇḍiyanallūr in Aḷagiya-pāṇḍiyakkulakkī, viz., Śāttan Kaṇavadi, Sundarattōḷuḍaiyān Dēvan, Śāttan Kaṇḍan *alias* Tirumāliruṇjōlai Dāsan, Vēḷān Sundarattōḷuḍaiyān, Śivallavan Pērāyira-muḍaiyān *alias* Māraṇūrnāṭṭu-Vēḷān and Dēvan Śivallavan Araṭṭamikki-Dāsan; also Udaya-divākaraṇ śrī-Kārimāra-Baṭṭan of Iḷavimaṅgalam, the resident of Śūraḷuḍi *alias* Virakāmuga-maṅgalam, and Nārāyaṇan Subrahmaṇya-Baṭṭan of this (same) *kuḍi*; also the undermentioned persons of Viḍattal *alias* Māṇābharaṇa-chaturvēdimaṅgalam in Kīraṇūr-nādu, viz., Uyyaniṇṇāḍi Periyālvān, Śēṇḍapirāṇ Karumāmugil-Baṭṭan, Gōvindaṇ Māṇēṇḍukaiyān and Ādityan Bhāskara-

Bhaṭṭan; also the undermentioned persons of Veḷḷurkuruchchi in Aḷagiyapāṇḍiyakkulakkil, *viz.*, Vēḷāṇ Kōvaṇ, Ādi Perrāṇ, Vēḷāṇ Aḷagan *alias* Sundarapāṇḍiya-Mūvēṇḍavēḷāṇ and Vēḷāṇ Śīrīḷaṅkō; (*inclusive of the last mentioned four*) the following (*three*) persons, *viz.*, Ālvāṇ Upādhyāyar of Marudūr in Tiruvāvaṇam, Karumāṇikkam Ulagamupḷāṇ-Bhaṭṭan of Perumpuliyūr and Ma-yūravāḥaṇāṇ Āḍuvāṇ-Bhaṭṭan of Marudūr who were concerned in the formation of the *bedma-dēga*; (*also the undermentioned persons*) of Vēḷūr *alias* Aḷagiyapāṇḍiyanallūr in Kiranūr-nāḍu, *viz.*, Rāman Uyyavandāṇ, Perrāṇ Pāttāṇ, Dēvaṇ Nambi and Śōraṇ Nāṭṭāṇ; all these pointing out their respective boundaries, the following persons of Tiruppuvaṇam in Irāṅgankulakkil, *viz.*, Āṇāḷṭaṇam Pammaṇ Aḷiyārkkunalla-Perumāṇ *alias* Pallavadaraiyaṇ, *meypṇu* Malaiyaṇ Śōraṇ *alias* Viṇṇattaraiyaṇ, Dēvaṇ Tillai *alias* Madurōḍaya-Pallavaraiyaṇ, Śikayilāya-Bhaṭṭan *alias* Śivallava-Pallavaraiyaṇ, Kaṇavadi Śīrāmaṇ *alias* Sundarapāṇḍiya-Pallavaraiyaṇ, Eraṇ Periyāṇ *alias* Pāṇḍiyaṇ-Pallavaraiyaṇ and Pōṇṇu Aravamudaiyāṇ Villi *alias* Mudittalaikoṇḍa-Pallavaraiyaṇ, conducting the female elephant, the following is the document of the boundaries drawn up exactly as the elephant passed:—

(LI. 139-195) The eastern boundary (*as it came to be determined*) on the day of Svātī corresponding to Saturday and the eleventh *tithi* of the second fortnight and the fourth (*śukla*) day of the month of Dhanu in the twelfth year opposite the thirteenth of (*the king's*) reign, lies to the west of the line commencing from the eastern extremity of Uḍaikulam, also called Kīṭi-Chūrai, which lies to the north-east of this village (of Rājagambhīra-chaturvēḍimaṅgalam), passes southwards and crosses the road going to Kaḍambaṅguḍi from Śeyyakulattūr, runs in a south-easterly direction, then southwards and then in south-easterly direction and crosses the road leading to Vēmbaṅguḍi from Mānavīramadurai, and then passes eastwards and crosses the high road leading to Mūvaraiyarkōṭṭai from Śeyyakulattūr, and then keeping to the right (*the pit called*) Pudaichehṇṇkuli, passes south-east along the *veṭṭipperuvali* (the big path of the *veṭṭis*) which meets the said road (*at the said pit*) and crosses the road leading to Mānavīramadurai from Mūvaraiyarkōṭṭai, further, proceeding from this road in a south-easterly direction and crossing the high road which runs westwards, and then going in a south-easterly direction crossing the road leading to Mānavīramadurai from Piḍāvūr and then passing in a south-easterly direction and reaching the eastern extremity of the tank of Karaiyūr and from its bank passing in a south-easterly direction, it lies to the west. And crossing the channel which carries water to the tank at Kuṇṇēli, it lies to the west. Proceeding from the channel in a south-easterly direction on the eastern boundary of Śaṅgappēraṇ-ēmbal, then going southwards and then in a south-westerly direction and crossing the road leading from Neṭṭūr to Mānavīramadurai and then going southwards along the *nīr-nakkal* of the tank at Chandranallūr and reaching the southern extremity of Chandranallūr, it lies to the west. Further, proceeding from here in a south-westerly direction along the way leading to Vaigai *alias* Śrīvallabhappērāru, it lies to the west. Then going southwards from this way along the *seṇrai* on the eastern boundary of Śēṅkuli, then proceeding westwards on the southern boundary of the said Śēṅkuli and afterwards going southwards along Kaṇkulam which forms the eastern boundary of Orukkoraṇēri, it lies to the west. Then proceeding in a south-westerly direction on the southern boundary of the said Orukkoraṇēri and getting into the Vaigai *alias* Śrīvallabhappērāru it lies to the west. Then going along this Śrīvallabhappērāru (*first*) in a north-westerly direction and then in a westerly direction, it lies to the west. Then getting up the southern bank of this river and proceeding in a southerly direction and crossing the channel which carries water to the tank of Kīṭi-Paṣalai *alias* Dīnaviṇḍanallūr and the tank of Mō-Paṣalai *alias* Śrīvallabha-chaturvēḍimaṅgalam and getting up the bank of this channel and proceeding southwards along the ridge of the *hali vēli* and two *mā* of land in Araṣippaṇru and going up the northern extremity of the tank of Mānavīramadurai, it lies to the west. Then, proceeding

westwards on this bank and then going southwards on the eastern boundary of the three *vēli* of land, as measured by the *pūttakkōl*,—which had been added to Rājagambhira-chaturvēdimāṅgalam out of the lands that were being cultivated as *pūttam* on the eastern side of the channel which carries water to the tank at Marudūr and which lay within the abovesaid tank of Māṇavīramadurai,—and getting up the south bank of this tank and (*then*) reaching the channel which carries water to the tank at Marudūr, it lies to the west. Further, proceeding along the east bank of this channel in a south-easterly direction and then in southerly direction and reaching the old excavation in the south extremity of the *kuḍiyiruppu* of Vāṇagaṅgappēraiyāṇ, it lies to the west. Proceeding again eastwards along this excavation, and going on the ridge (*first*) in an easterly direction and then in a north-easterly direction along the southern ridge of the field in the south extremity of Māṇavīramadurai in the *agavāy* of the old tank of Marudūr, and getting up the eastern extremity of the said old tank of Marudūr, it lies to the west. Then, proceeding westwards along this bank, and then going southwards along (*the channel called*) Divākaravāyakkāl which forms the eastern boundary of Marudūr and the western boundary of Māṇavīramadurai, till where this channel ends, then passing by this western ridge of (*the land called*) Divākaravayakkal, and then proceeding eastwards along the southern ridge of the field and then passing south along the *śervai* which has the western ridge of Sundaravayakkal and then going along the line which forms the northern boundary of Śāṅkaramaṅgalam and the southern boundary of Māṇavīramadurai, (*first*) in an easterly direction and then in a north-easterly direction and getting up the northern extremity of Śāṅkaramaṅgalam and reaching the channel which carries water to the tank of Mēṇ-Pāśalai *alias* Śrīvallabha-chaturvēdimāṅgalam and to the tank of Kīṭ-Pāśalai *alias* Dānaviṇḍanallūr, it lies to the west. Then, proceeding in a south-easterly direction on the western bank of this channel, and crossing the (*other*) channel which, branching off from this channel, carries water to the tank of Mēṇ-Pāśalai *alias* Śrīvallabha-chaturvēdimāṅgalam, and then going (*successively*) in south-easterly, easterly and southerly directions on the western bank of the channel which carries water to the tank of Kīṭ-Pāśalai *alias* Dānaviṇḍanallūr and reaching the western embankment of the tank of the said Dānaviṇḍanallūr, and then getting down the grassy bank of that tank and proceeding southwards on the eastern bank of the channel which carries water to the tank of Mēṇ-Pāśalai *alias* Śrīvallabha-chaturvēdimāṅgalam and reaching the northern extremity of the tank of the said Śrīvallabha-chaturvēdimāṅgalam, then proceeding (*successively*) in south and south-east directions along the *Iḍukkāru* (*flowing*) from the *maruvāy* of this tank, and reaching the path leading to the *nattam* of Nelvēli, it lies to the west. Then, getting up at the eastern extremity of the tank of the said Nelvēli and reaching (*the channel called*) Paraḷaikkāl, and proceeding southwards on the western bank of that channel and crossing the path leading west from Nakkaṇēri, (*it lies to the west*).

(LI. 195-267) The southern boundary : Going westwards along the road forming the southern boundary of Nelvēli and the northern entrance to the *nattam* of Eṭṭiyēri and reaching the western end of the said *nattam* of Eṭṭiyēri, thence proceeding westwards and reaching the old temple-site in the middle of this Eṭṭiyēri and Nelvēli, then going south-west and crossing (*the river*) Paraḷaiyāru, it lies to the north. Proceeding (*successively*) in south and south-west directions on the western bank of this river, and then crossing the channel which carries water to the tank of Niram-baiyūr and (*also*) forms the eastern boundary of Sōmāttūr, and proceeding southwards on the western bank of this channel and reaching the middle boundary between Sōmāttūr and Śiruvāgai in the vicinity of Kaḷḷikkūḍi, it lies to the north. Further, passing west and south-west along the ridge which commences at the middle of this boundary, and getting into the tank at Śiruvāgai at the north end of it, then passing on the southern boundary, of Aravaṅkuḍi and crossing the channel which carries water to the tank of Kaḷḷikkūḍi, then going westwards and then in a south-westerly

direction along the road leading to Vēlāṇēri from Aravaṇkuḍi and reaching the eastern boundary of Vēlāṇēri, it lies to the north. Again proceeding in a north-easterly direction along the eastern bank of the channel, which runs along the said village of Vēlāṇēri and carries water to Puttūr, and crossing this channel and getting up the western bank, it lies to the north. Further, going westwards along the boundary which forms the northern boundary of Vēlāṇēri and the southern boundary of Karuṇkuḷam, and then going westwards along the north bank of Śūṇṇivaśakkal-ūraṇi of Vēlāṇēri, it lies to the north. Then going along the ridge in the middle of the boundary and proceeding north along the eastern ridge of Ādichchavaśakkal of Vēlāṇēri, and then going north along the northern ridge of this land, it lies to the north. Further, going north on the eastern ridge of Karuṇḍaḍi of Vēlāṇēri, and then westwards on the ridge which is to the north of this land and the *vāṇṇāṅkāḷ* of Ādichchavaśakkal and of Perrāṇvaśakkal and reaching the eastern ridge of Dayānti-vaśakkal in Śēṇēri which adjoins Kaḷikkūḍi, it lies to the north. Again, proceeding northwards on this ridge and reaching the *ellaḷ-vāyakkāl* (i.e., the boundary channel), and then going (*successively*) in north, north-west and north directions along the said channel, and afterwards going in a westerly direction on the northern ridge of Mālār-mukkāṇi of Śēṇēri, and then again going in a north-western direction on the eastern ridge of Sōmidēvi-vaśakkal belonging to Dayānti Ariyaṇ *alias* Aruṇḍavap-Viḷupparaiyaṇ, then going northwards along the eastern ridge of the land of Dayānti Mānavīraṇ consisting of several *taḍis* (*in extent*), and then proceeding northwards on the eastern ridge of the *vaśakkāl* of Uyyakkonḷāḷ and then westwards of the northern ridge of this field and reaching the northern bank of the tank of Śēṇēri, it lies to the north. Then going in a north-westerly direction along the grassy bank of this tank and reaching the big road leading to Dēvakōṭṭai from Kaṇṇaṇūr, and going westwards along this big road, it lies to the north. Then, leaving to the left the tamarind tree standing at the northern entrance of Pūḍaṇēri-nattam, and passing westwards and getting into the tank called Taḍāppirai at its southern extremity, it lies to the north. Then passing in a north-westerly direction in the *nīr-nakkāl* of this tank, and then going in a north-westerly direction in the *nīr-nakkāl* of (the tank called) Kāūchiraṇkuḷam and reaching the northern extremity of this tank, and then passing westwards on the south bank of the channel which carries water to this tank and getting up the (*bank of the tank called*) Pullaṇērikuḷam at its southern end, it lies to the north. Then going northwards in the *nīr-nakkāl* of this tank and reaching the northern extremity of this tank, then going westwards on the south bank of the channel which carries water to this tank and reaching the big road leading to Kaṇṇaṇūr, it lies to the north. Then going northwards along this road, and then going westwards of the *śevrai* having the northern ridge of Muttaraiyaṇ-karuṇchey of Kaṇṇaṇūr-Piḍāri-ēri which forms the northern boundary of Kaṇṇaṇūr and the southern boundary of Nariṁaṇṇam and reaching the *kuḷapparippu* of Maḍalaikuruchchi, and going northwards within this tank to the extent of ten *kōḷ*, it lies to the north. Proceeding westwards along this tank and crossing the channel which carries water to the tank at Kaṇṇaṇūr and passing northwards, leaving to the right the tamarind tree standing to the east of Kāṇavāru which flows northwards, and going westwards and getting up the bank of (the tank called) Uḍaikuḷam in Kiṭ-Śēḷi, and going northwards on this bank and reaching the southern boundary of Miṇṇēri, it lies to the north. Further, going westwards along the channel which had been dug to carry water to the tank at Kiṭ-Śēḷi and which forms the northern boundary of the said tank of Kiṭ-Śēḷi and the southern boundary of this Miṇṇēri, then getting into the channel and getting up at the breach (*known as*) Malaiyaṇuḍaippu, proceeding then on the bund of this tank and getting down the *agarāy* of this tank, then going (*successively*) in southerly and south-westerly directions on the eastern boundary of the dry land belonging to Miḷagaṇūr and reaching the road leading to Koṭṭakīrti in Kāṇai-Irukkai from Miḷagaṇūr, it lies to the north. Then going north-west along the channel which carries water to the tank of

Kaḍambaṅguḍi, which channel formed the northern boundary of the said Kottakīrti and passed in the middle of the northern boundary of Vēlāṇēri in Kāṇai-Irukkai and the southern boundary of Miḷagaṇūr, then getting into this (*i.e.*, the said) channel and going north to the *karai-parippu*, which is at the southern extremity of Mēṇ-Śēḷi and forms the northern boundary of the dry land attached to Vēlāṇēri, then going in a north-westerly direction, and then again in a westerly direction along the southern boundary of the dry land belonging to Śōraṇ Mūkkaṇ of Miḷagaṇūr, then going in a northerly direction along the *ellai-parippu* in the middle of the eastern boundary of Karpakīrti in Kāṇai-Irukkai and the western boundary of Mēṇ-Śēḷi adjoining Miḷagaṇūr and reaching the southern boundary of the dry land of Sundaṇ-Ālvāṇ of Miḷagaṇūr, it lies to the north. Further, going in a westerly direction midway between the southern boundary of this dry land and the northern boundary of Karpakīrti and reaching the eastern boundary of the dry land of Karpakīrti, it lies to the north. Then going (*first*) in a northerly direction and then in north-westerly direction, along the *vēli-pparippu* in the middle of this dry land and the dry lands belonging to Miḷagaṇūr, and afterwards going in north and north-westerly directions midway between the eastern limit of Karpakīrti and the boundary at the western limit of the dry land that was being cultivated by Rāmaṇ Aḷagaṇ of Miḷagaṇūr, and then crossing the road leading to Miḷagaṇūr from Iruñeḷḷai and reaching the end of the southern extremity of Śirukilātti adjoining Miḷagaṇūr, and going in a north-westerly direction along the *karai-parippu* of this tank and reaching the northern bank of the tank of Karpakīrti, it lies to the north. Then going north-west along the grassy bank of this tank and then in a north-westerly direction along the channel, which carries water to the tank of Śirukilātti and passes midway between the southern limit of the dry lands of Puvaṇinallūr and the bank of Karpakīrti, and crossing the *kaḍai-kombu* of the tank of Karpakīrti, it lies to the north. Then, leaving to the right the *kalar-parippu*, which lies to the south of Valaiyaṇ-ūraṇi (*and also*) to the south of the fields of Puvaṇinallūr, and going in a westerly direction, and then again in a north-westerly direction along the southern boundary of the dry lands cultivated by the shepherd Irāśiṅga-kōp, the resident of Puvaṇinallūr, which lands are situated to the north of Kāṇakarai which carries water to the tank of Śirukilātti and reaching the channel which carries water at the western end of the tank of Karpakīrti, (*it lies to the west*).

(Ll. 267-316) The western boundary : Proceeding northwards along the eastern bank of this tank, and then going northwards along the eastern bank of the channel, which carried water to the tank of Karpakīrti and formed the eastern boundary of Pudukkuḷam, that was given in exchange for Miḷagaṇūr which was included in Rājagambhīra-chaturvēdimāṅgalam, then going in northerly and north-easterly directions along the eastern bank of the channel, which carried water to the tank of Karpakīrti and formed the eastern boundary of Māraṇkīrti which was also given in exchange for the said Miḷagaṇūr, and then passing this channel, it lies to the east. Further, proceeding northwards and reaching the western end of the tank of Miḷagaṇūr, it lies to the east. Then getting into the *agavāy* of this tank and going northwards, then again going north along the bank of (*the tank called*) Miṇṇēri which forms the eastern boundary of Kuvaḷaivēlippaṇṇu given in exchange for Miḷagaṇūr and reaching the southern boundary of Neṇkuṇṇam, it lies to the east. Then going in a north-westerly direction along the *karai-parippu*, which forms the eastern boundary of this Kuvaḷaivēli and the western boundary of Neṇkuṇṇam, and reaching the southern end of the *nattam* of this Neṇkuṇṇam, it lies to the east. Then going in a north-westerly direction along the southern *āsarudi* of this *nattam* and reaching the western extremity of the tank of the said Neṇkuṇṇam, then going northwards along the eastern end of Kuvaḷaivēli through the *nīr-nakkal* of this tank and reaching the bank of Mēḷśēri, then going northwards along the *kuḷapparippu* of Mēḷśēri and getting up at the southern end of Kaṭṭikuḷam and descending into the *agavāy* of this tank and then going northwards on the eastern boundary of Kaḍambamaṅgalam which was given in

exchange for Miḷagaṇūr and reaching the bank of Peṇṇā-ēmbal, it lies to the east. Then going northward; and crossing the channel which carries water to Kaṭṭikuḷam, and going eastwards along the southern boundary of Tirumāliṇūjōlai in Achehaṅkāṭṭirukkai which is a tax-free *dēvadāna* of Tirumāliṇūjōlai-Ālvār and the holding (*kāṇi*) of Pullāpi Mādēvaṇ *alias* Nuḷambādarāyar, the headman of Mālaṅguḍi, and then leaving to the left the *tiruvāḷikkal* (i.e., disc-bearing stone) planted on the southern boundary of this Tirumāliṇūjōlainallūr and going in east and south-east directions and reaching the *tiruvāḷikkal* planted at the south-east corner of Tirumāliṇūjōlainallūr, and then going northwards on the western bank of the channel which carries water to the tank at Miḷagaṇūr which was added to Rājagambhira-chaturvēdimaṅgalam and reaching the *tiruvāḷikkal* planted on the eastern boundary of Tirumāliṇūjōlainallūr, and then going northwards on the western bank of this channel and reaching the *tiruvāḷikkal* planted at the north-eastern corner of this Tirumāliṇūjōlainallūr, it lies to the east. Then going in westerly and north-westerly directions on the south bank of the channel, which carries water to the tank of this Miḷagaṇūr and forms the southern boundary of Vāgaikuḍi and the northern boundary of Tirumāliṇūjōlainallūr, and crossing the channel which carries water to the tank of this Tirumāliṇūjōlainallūr and reaching the *tiruvāḷikkal* planted at the north-west corner of this Tirumāliṇūjōlainallūr, and then going north-west along the south bank of the channel of Miḷagaṇūr, which forms the northern boundary of Śīrukuḍi *alias* Virakāmugamaṅgalam in Aḷagiyapāṇḍiyakkulakkil and the southern boundary of Vāgaikuḍi, and then going northwards on the west bank of the channel of Miḷagaṇūr which forms the eastern boundary of Veḷḷūrkuṇuchchi in Aḷagiyapāṇḍiyakkulakkil, the *dēvadāna* of Uḍaiyār Tiruppūvaṇamuḍaiyār and the western boundary of Vāgaikuḍi, and crossing this channel and reaching the southern boundary of Viḍattal *alias* Māṇābharaṇa-chaturvēdimaṅgalam in Kiraṇūr-nāḍu, it lies to the east. Then going eastwards on this boundary along the *kaḷar-parippu* and reaching the northern extremity of the tank of Vāgaikuḍi, it lies to the east. Then going eastwards along this bank and descending this bank and going eastwards on the boundary ridge, which forms the northern boundary of Vāgaikuḍi and the southern boundary of Māṇābharaṇa-chaturvēdimaṅgalam, and leaving to the right the temple of Māṇābharaṇa-Īsaramuḍaiyār at Vāgaikuḍi and going eastwards on the boundary ridge and reaching the boundary channel flowing eastwards from the tank at Vāgaikuḍi, then going eastwards along the northern ridge of this channel, and passing this channel and going eastwards on the ridge, which is to the north of Ariyāl-vayakkal in Vāgaikuḍi-paṇṇu and to the south of Uyyavandāl-vayakkal in Māṇābharaṇa-chaturvēdimaṅgalappaṇṇu, and reaching the channel which carries water to the tank of Nakkamaṅgalam, and then going (*successively*) in north, north-west and north-east directions on the western bank of this channel and approaching the western extremity of the tank of Tuttiyūr and going on the western bank of this channel (*successively*) in north, north-east and north-west directions, and then going westwards on the boundary ridge, which forms the southern boundary of the land called Araimākkūṇṇu in Tiruvāvaṇam and the northern boundary of Māṇābharaṇa-chaturvēdimaṅgalam, and reaching the bank of the tank of Māṇābharaṇa-chaturvēdimaṅgalam, it lies to the east. Then going northwards along the grassy bank of this tank and reaching the bank of Śīṇṇēmbal of Araimākkūṇṇu, then going westwards on the southern bank of this *ēmbal* and crossing the channel which carries water to the tank of Miḷagaṇūr, and going (*successively*) in north and north-west directions on the western bank of this channel and getting into this channel and then getting up the eastern bank of this channel and then going northwards along the *nīr-nakkal* in the *ēmbal* of Araimākkūṇṇu and crossing the channel which was carrying water to the tank of Tuttiyūr, and going northwards on the western ridge of Kaṇavadi-vayakkal, which forms the eastern boundary of Veḷḷūrkuṇuchchi in Aḷagiyapāṇḍiyakkulakkil, a *dēvadāna* of Uḍaiyār Tiruppūvaṇamuḍaiyār, and the western boundary of Tiruvāvaṇam, and leaving to the right Vāykāṭṭatturavu in the north-western corner of this

Kaṇavadiṇayakkal and crossing the channel of Tīruvāṇam, and going northwards on the boundary, which is to the east of Vellūrkuruchchi and to the west of Tīruvāṇam, and descending into the Vaigai *alias* Śrīvallabhappērāru, (*it lies to the east*).

(Ll. 317-338) The northern boundary : Going eastwards along this Vaigai *alias* Śrīvallabhappērāru and getting up the northern bank of the channel carrying water to the tank of Paṇai-galūr, then going eastwards along this bank and descending into (*the river called*) Kaḷavalinādaṇ-āru and going northwards along this river and reaching the road leading to Vēmbaṅguḍi from Iḍaikkāṭṭūr and getting up the eastern bank, it lies to the south. Then going in a north-easterly direction along this road and crossing the channel which carries water from this Kaḷavalinādaṇ-āru to the tank of Śeyyakulattūr, then going in a north-easterly direction along this road and getting up the bank of the tank of Adikarai, and then going in a north-westerly direction along this bank and reaching what forms the northern extremity of this tank and the southern boundary of Āykuḍi, it lies to the south. Then going eastwards along this boundary and reaching the northern entrance of the *nattam* of Vēlaṅguḍi and further on reaching the western extremity of the tank of this Vēlaṅguḍi, it lies to the south. Going from this in a north-easterly direction and reaching the western boundary of Kuḍaṇjāḍi, and then going in north and north-easterly directions along this boundary and reaching the *kombu* on the western extremity of the tank of Kuḍaṇjāḍi, it lies to the south. Going from this in a north-easterly direction and then in east and south-east directions on the *nīr-nakkal* of the tank which forms the southern boundary of Śuṇḍaṅkuruchchi and the northern boundary of this Kuḍaṇjāḍi, and crossing the channel which flows from the eastern extremity of this tank, and then going in a south-easterly direction and crossing the big road leading from Iḍaikkāṭṭūr of Vēlūr-Śīrukuḍi to Vēmbaṅguḍi and then going eastwards, then going again eastwards on the *agarāy* of Uḍaikuḷam, which is called by the names Kāṭṭuttēyvam and Piḍārikuḷam, and getting up the eastern extremity of this tank and going south-east, and then leaving to the right the dry lands ploughed by Śemberumāṇ, a neighbouring resident of Kīraṇūrnāḍālvāṅkōṭṭai, and going in east and south directions and crossing the road leading from Śeyyakulattūr to Vēmbaṅguḍi, then going eastwards and crossing the channel that was caused to be dug by Muttan Ālvāṇ *alias* Sundarapāṇḍiya-Mārāyaṇ for feeding the tanks of Śeyyakulattūr, then going east and north-east, and (*afterwards*) passing eastwards along the *agarāy* of the Uḍaikuḷam of Mē-Chūrai and then going eastwards along the *agarāy* of the tank of Kī-Chūrai and getting up the eastern extremity of this tank, the she-elephant stopped (*having come to the place*) where she originally started.

(Ll. 338-9) I wrote this charitable edict : this is the signature of *puravuvāri-kaṅkāṇi* Araiyaṇ Nārāyaṇaṇ of Kaṭṭikuruchchi, (*a resident*) of the glorious Parāntakanallūr in Naḍuvirkūṇṇu, (*a sub-division*) of Mīlalai-kūṇṇam.

(L. 340) This is the signature of the *puravuvāri-kaṅkāṇi* Parāntakan Tīruppūvaṇamudaiyāṇ of Taṇḍalai in Kīl-kūṇṇu, (*a sub-division*) of Mīlalai-kūṇṇam.

(L. 341) This is the signature of *puravuvāri-kaṅkāṇi* Karuṇākaraḍēvaṇ Purpavaṇamudaiyāṇ of Perumāṇḍūr *alias* Palamaṇḍalāḍichchanallūr in Aḷagiyapāṇḍiyakkulakkīl.

(L. 342) This is the signature of Pīllai Ālvāṇ Poṇṇambalakkūṭṭan of Karuppūr in Tīrūmuṇaiṇḍi-nāḍu, the *kaṅkāṇi* of the *tiruvāykkōḷi* Jayadbara-Pallavaraiyar.

No. 12.—TIRUPPUVANAM SUPPLEMENTARY PLATE.

By K. V. SUBRAHMANYA AIYER, B.A., COIMBATORE.

This is a single plate which bears writing on both the sides, the first having 17 lines and the second, 15 lines.

Excepting the last two and a half lines, the writing on both the sides bears close resemblance to that on the Tiruppūvaṇam plates of Jaṭavarman Kulaśekhara I edited above. The sign of *visarga* is used as a punctuation mark in lines 1 and 15. This and the employment of the symbol resembling *ya* to denote *ppa* (l. 11), the preferential use of *r* before hard consonants, *t* in *āṅṅṭṭ*=*t*^c (ll. 2 and 17), *tariṭtu* (ll. 4 and 19) and *pāṭtu* (ll. 3 and 8), *ch* in *aruṭṭ*=*ch*^c (l. 27), and *k* in *śabhaiyāṭku* (ll. 2 and 16), as well as the general shape of all the letters point to the fact that the writer of this plate must be identical with the one that incised the previous set of eleven plates. In the above examples, *śabhaiyāṭku*, *tariṭtu* and *pāṭtu* are instances of wrong spelling.

There are, strictly speaking, two inscriptions on this plate. Lines 1 to 15 register an order issued by king *Tribhuvanachakravartin Kōṇṇēriṇmaikonḍāṇ* to the assembly of Rājagambhīra-chaturvēdimāṅalam, while lines 15 to 32 purport to emanate from the temple of Tiruppūvaṇam to the same assembly. The subject in both is practically the same as will be seen in the sequel. The first contains the date "11th year (of reign) and 108th day" but mentions the king only by the general title *Tribhuvanachakravartin Kōṇṇēriṇmaikonḍāṇ*. The second states the name of the king to be *Sundara-Pāṇḍya* 'who presented the Chōla country'; eleventh year (of reign) occurs in the body of the record.

In the Tiruppūvaṇam plates of Jaṭavarman Kulaśekhara I, we are informed that in constituting the new village of Rājagambhīra-chaturvēdimāṅalam, three of the *dēvadāna* properties of the temple of Tiruppūvaṇamuḍaiyār, viz., Vāgaikuḍi in Kīraṇūr-nāḍu (l. 24), Muttūranāroṭṭai in Mēṇḍi-nāḍu (ll. 59f.) and Śirukilāṅkāṭṭūr in Purapparaḷai-nāḍu (l. 68), were taken up and included in it. It is usual in such cases to give other lands in exchange. The Tiruvālaṅḍu plates evidence such a practice. And even in the large Tiruppūvaṇam plates we find it stated that in place of Mīḷagaṇūr which, like the *dēvadāna* lands of the Tiruppūvaṇam temple, had been taken up and included in Rājagambhīra-chaturvēdimāṅalam, a number of lands were given and they were formed into a fresh village called Rājendraśiṅganallūr which was placed in the Division of Achchaṅkāṭṭirukkai (ll. 111f.). But it is not stated in those plates what was done to compensate the Tiruppūvaṇam temple for the loss it sustained in being deprived of certain properties. What is not stated there forms the subject of this supplementary plate.

The first inscription on this plate states (1) that the villages of Vāgaikuḍi, Muttūranāroṭṭai and Śirukilāṅkāṭṭūr, which were among the *dēvadāna* properties of the temple of Tiruppūvaṇamuḍaiyār, had been taken away and added to Rājagambhīra-chaturvēdimāṅalam; (2) that up to the tenth year (of the reign of Sundara-Pāṇḍya I), after annual crop examination, the lands of the said three villages had been regularly paying *kaḍamai* to the temple of Tiruppūvaṇam; (3) that this payment was then put a stop to and in its place, it was settled that an amount of twenty-five *kāṣu* in all,—ten *kāṣu* for Vāgaikuḍi, ten *kāṣu* for Muttūranāroṭṭai and five *kāṣu* for Śirukilāṅkāṭṭūr,—had to be paid every year from the eleventh year onwards to the temple of Tiruppūvaṇam and that in paying this, half must be given in *kāṣu* and the other half in paddy, on the basis of a never diminishing (i.e., permanent) investment; (4) and that on this settlement being recommended to the king by his brother-in-law Aḷagapperumāl, he ordered the issue of *kēḷvi* to that effect, and directed also the engraving of the same on stone and copper. It bears the date '11th year and 108th day' and is signed by three officials.

The second inscription calls the first document a *piḍipāḍu* issued by Sundara-Pāṇḍya 'who presented the Chōla country' to the assembly of Rājagambhīra-chaturvēdimāṅalam, recites its contents and lays down the procedure to be adopted in making the payment, settled therein. It says that the agreed amount of money (*kāṣu*) must be paid and the quantity of paddy measured out, every year, in the premises of the temple kitchen, and for the payment thus made, receipts

must be obtained from the temple signed by the accountant and the *kaṇṇi*. The signatories to this inscription are a *Saivāchārya*, two *Śivabrāhmaṇas* and *Mudal-Kaṇakku* (the treasury accountant). At the end, it is said that the document was caused to be made by Śāstra-Bhaṭṭāraka, son of Jaṭādhara the ornament of the village of Aṅgārakamaṅgalaṃ. It must have been on this occasion that the large Tiruppūvaṇam plates, wherein the inclusion of the three *dēvadāna* villages in Rājagambhīra-chaturvēdimaṅgalaṃ is specified, must have been engraved and kept along with the supplementary plate as its *mūlasāsana*. Hence, it is that we find that all the plates are written in the same hand and are in the possession of the Tiruppūvaṇam temple.

Ordinarily the State did not interfere with temple properties. This is made plain by such statements as “*ivv-ūrgaḷiṟ-paḷan-dēvadānam paḷlichchandaṃ nikkī*” found in the large Tiruppūvaṇam plates.¹ It is also clear from the fact that the Tiruppūvaṇam temple, in spite of the inclusion of three of its *dēvadāna* lands in the newly formed *brahmadēya*, had been regularly getting the *kaḍamai* from them from the date of the grant of the *brahmadēya*, which, as we know from the large set, was the eleventh year opposite to the thirteenth year of the reign of Jaṭavarman Kulaśēkhara I (A.D. 1204) till the tenth year of the reign of Māṇavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I (A.D. 1226). When, owing to any special reasons, *dēvadānas* had to be taken away and turned to other purposes—here for forming the *brahmadēya*—the original incumbents were not deprived of their income but were adequately compensated. The king’s brother-in-law Aḷagapperumāl must have been appointed to hold an enquiry and settle the compensation to be awarded to the dispossessed owner of the resumed *dēvadāna*. The result of his enquiry is embodied in this inscription.

The first inscription being a State document is signed by State officials, and the second, being one issued by the temple, bears the signatures of temple officials. The temples in those days had regularly constituted bodies of their own to see to their management. These bodies were known as *uṇṇāḷigaiyār* or *uṇṇāḷigai-sabhaiyār*.² I have referred to the constitutional character of the bodies known as Paṇ-Māhēśvaras in the case of Śiva temples and Śrī-Vaiṣṇavas in the case of Viṣṇu temples elsewhere.³ Here we may note some of the numerous officers that were employed in temple bodies.⁴ They are (1) *Kaṇakku-Mudal* or *Mudal-Kaṇakku*, (2) *Kaṇakku*, or *Karaṇattāṇ*, (3) *Dēvakaṇṇi*, (4) *Sihānāchārya* or *Saivāchārya*, (5) *Pūjikkum-Nambi* and other *Nambis*, (6) *Kōyil-Nāyakam*, (7) *Tiruvilaichchinai-kaṇkāṇi*, (8) *Por-Paṇḍāri*, (9) *Sādana* (*Sāsana*), *Paṇḍāri*, (10) *Śrī-Māhēśvara-Kaṇkāṇi*, (11) *Śrīkāryam-śeyrār*, (12) *Śrīkōyil-Vāriyam-śeyrār* or *Vāriya-Perumakkaḷ*, etc.

In transactions in which the temple is concerned, some of these officials affix their signatures. In a record of the time of Kulōttuṅga I five temple officials, viz., *Māhēśvara-Kaṇkāṇi*, *Śivabrāhmaṇa*, *Pūjikkum-Nambi*, *Karaṇattāṇ* and a *Paṇ-Māhēśvara* have attested.⁵ Another record gives ten of the different officials noticed above.⁶ A third document is addressed to *Śrīkōyil-vāriyam-śeyrār*, *Dēvarkaṇṇis*, *Paṇḍāris* and *Karaṇattāṇ*.⁷ It is consistent with this custom that the second document issued by the temple of Tiruppūvaṇam to the assembly of

¹ See above, p. 111, text-lines 69 f.

² *S. I. I.*, Vol. VII, Nos. 91, 158 & 835.

³ Above, Vol. XXII, p. 275.

⁴ *S. I. I.*, Vol. IV, No. 427; also Nos. 293, 296 & 985 of Vol. V and Nos. 33 & 36 of Vol. VI.

⁵ *S. I. I.*, Vol. V, No. 473.

⁶ *S. I. I.*, Vol. IV, No. 427.

⁷ No. 33 of *S. I. I.*, Vol. VI.

Rājagambhira-chaturvēdimāṅgalam in pursuance of the royal order, was signed by the Śaivāchārya, Śivabrāhmaṇas and the Mudal-Kaṇakku, besides Śāstra-Bhaṭṭāraka, son of Jaṭādharma.

A few terms that occur in this plate deserve to be noted. These are *kēlvi*, *piḍipāḍu*, *aḍuk-kalaiṣṣuṇam*, *kaḍamai* and *vāḍā-kkaḍamai*. *Kēlvi* is the noun derived from the root, 'kēl' to 'hear'. It is used in inscriptions to denote both 'an office' and 'a royal order'. Among the official attendants on the king, some were called '*kēlvi*' and the duty of the *kēlvi* officers seems to be 'to communicate to the Department concerned any order of the king just as they heard it said by him'. In communicating such oral orders, they stated the occasion when, and the attendant circumstances under which the king gave them. Besides meaning the class of officials, the term *kēlvi* came to be applied to the document containing the royal oral order put in proper form and signed by the State officials.² This term is sometimes re-placed by (*nam-ōlai*) 'Royal order'. It is worthy of note that in this plate *kēlvi* and *piḍipāḍu* are made to refer to the same thing. In the Vēlviḷuḍi plates we meet with the expression *kēlvi-andaṇālar*³ which conveys the same sense as *śrōtriya-Brāhmaṇa*. The term *piḍipāḍu* consists of the roots *piḍi* 'hold or bind' and *pāḍu* 'terms or sources' and means 'a deed of support, a letter of authority embodying the conditions to be fulfilled and authorising the possession of a thing or property', or 'a title-deed'. It is of such a general nature that it could be applied to any kind of document. The following extracts will make its application clear :—

"*iriya iṭṭa paḍikku enṇum idu piḍipāḍāga*"⁴ meaning "for having given it back, this shall be the deed of support"; "*ivv-āṇḍu kār-mudal kaḍamai irukkumiḍattu mātṭāl nelli padin-kalamāga pū oṇṇukku nelli... kuḍuttu ivar kaiyāl tararu koḷēṇnūgarum ippaḍi sammadittu piḍipāḍu kuḍuttōm*"⁵ meaning "agreeing to pay ten *kalam* of paddy on each *mā* of land at each harvest and to obtain receipt therefor we gave this *piḍipāḍu* (i.e., deed evidencing the terms of holding)". It will be seen that this passage is almost similar to the one in the Tiruppūvaṇam supplementary plate, and that the record belongs to the time of Jaṭavarman Kuḷasēkhara I.

Another inscription which registers a tax-free gift of land, with its previous owners removed, as a *nandavanappuṇam*, i.e., for the maintenance of a flower garden, uses the words "*ippaḍi nam ōlai piḍipāḍāga koṇḍu chandrādityavarar kelvadāga*"⁶. Here the word *piḍipāḍu* means 'a deed embodying the terms and authorising the holding of the land as a tax-free gift'. As in the present plate, the royal order (*nam ōlai*) is termed a *piḍipāḍu*.

Kaḍamai means 'assessment on land'. The fact that the temple of Tiruppūvaṇam was getting from the three *dēradāna* properties *kaḍamai* annually, after crop examination, shows that they must have been assigned by the State and the temple was entitled to all the dues which it was previously entitled to. The fresh settlement by which the *sabhā* of Rājagambhira-chaturvēdimāṅgalam was made to pay annually twenty-five *kāṣu*, half in money and the other half in paddy, must be equal to the value of the *kaḍamai* which the temple was receiving. The word *kaḍaṇ* being not much different from *kaḍamai*, *vāḍā-kaḍamai* may be equated with *vāḍā-kaḍaṇ*. This is quite appropriate in this case where the temple had been realising *kaḍamai* on lands and the

¹ See above, note on *tiruvāykēlvi*, p. 106.

² No. 293 of S. I. I., Vol. V.

³ Above, Vol. XVII, p. 300, text-line 36.

⁴ Above, Vol. XXII, p. 52.

⁵ S. I. I., Vol. IV, No. 415.

⁶ *Ibid.*, No. 419.

lands had been given over to the *brahmadēya*. The term *vādā-kaḍamai*¹ is used in other inscriptions also in the sense of 'permanent assessment on lands'. As applied to debts, *vādā-kaḍaṇ* means a loan in which fixed interest had to be paid, the capital remaining unchanged or undiminished. This is the case in all permanent endowments. Sometimes it is even stated that the debtor should not at any time offer to pay up the capital and free himself from the binding to pay interest. Fuller expression for such debts is *mudal-vādā-kaḍaṇ*.² *Aḍukkalaippuṇam*³ means 'for the requirements of the kitchen, i.e., for offerings'. All gifts to temples are *dēradānas*. According to the purpose for which the gifts are made, they fall under different heads such as *tirunandavanappuṇam*, *tirumālaippuṇam*, *aḍukkalaippuṇam*, *tiruvilakkuppuṇam*, etc.

TEXT.

First Side.

- 1 Svasti śrī : Tribhuvanachchakrava[r*]tti Kōṇār[i*]ṇmaikoṇḍāṇ Rājagambhira-vaṇaṇṭṭu
Rājagambhira-chatu-
- 2 rrvēdimāṅgalattu=ssabhaiyārku [!*] Uḍaiyār Tiruppūvaṇam-uḍaiyār dēvadānamāṇa ūrgaṭir-
taṅgaḷ=ūruḍaṇ kūṭ-
- 3 ṭiṇa Vāgaikuḍiyu[m*] Muttūranāroṭṭaiyum Śirukilāṅkāṭṭūrum pattāvaduvarai payir pārṭu=
k-
- 4 kaḍamaiy=iṟuttu-vandamaiyil idu tavirtu=ppadiṇ-oṇṟāvadu-mudal Vāgaikuḍikku=kkāsu pat-
tum Muttū[ra*]-
- 5 nāroṭṭaikku=kkāsu pattum Śirukilāṅkāṭṭūrukku=kkāsu aiṇjum āga āṇḍ-oṇṟukku=kkāsu
- 6 irubatt-aiṇjum oṭṭāga niśchayittu=kkāsu pādiyun=ner-pādiyum-āga iṟukka-pperavēṇum-
eṇru mach-
- 7 ehuṇaṇār=Aḷagapperumāl namakku=chchonnāmaiyl taṅgaḷ=ūruḍaṇ kūṭṭiṇa Vāgaikuḍiyu[m*]
Muttūranāroṭ-
- 8 ṭaiyuṇ=Chirukilāṅkāṭṭūrum pattāvaduvarai payir pārṭu=kkaḍamaiy=iṟuttu-vandamaiyil idu
tavirtu=
- 9 ppadiṇ-oṇṟāvadu-mudal Vāgaikuḍikku=kkāsu pattum Muttūranār[o*]⁴ṭṭaikku=kkāsu patṭuṇ=
Chiru-
- 10 kilāṅkāṭṭūrukku=kkāsu aiṇjum āga āṇḍ-oṇṟukku=kkāsu irubatt-aiṇjum oṭṭāga niśchayittu=
- 11 kkāsu pādiyun=ner-pādiyum-āga iṟuppadāga⁵ kēlvi tara=chchonnōm [!*] ippaḍi⁶ Chandr-
Ādityavat śelvadāga ka-
- 12 ililuṇ=chembilum vēṭṭivittu=kkolga [!*] Ivai⁷ Śevvirukkai-nāṭṭu Achchutavayal=Araiyāṇ-
Ādichcha-
- 13 'dēvaṇ-āṇa Yādavarāyaṇ=eḷuttu [!*] Yāṇḍu 11-vadu nāl 108 [!*] Ivai⁷ Vāḍatalai=chChembi-
nāṭṭu Veṇkāṇūr Araya-

¹ S. I. I., Vol. IV, 373 and Vol. V, No. 416.

² No. 345 of S. I. I., Vol. VIII.

³ See Nos. 416 and 450 of S. I. I., Vol. V.

⁴ The right hand portion of the medial o sign of *ro* has been omitted to be engraved.

⁵ The letters *ppa* are written as a group whose symbol resembles *ya*.

⁶ The word *ṭai* is expressed by a single symbol combining the two letters *i* and *ai*.

⁷ The *ē* sign of *dē* is at the end of the previous line.



- 14 n Kariyamāl-āṇa Adigaimāṇ-eḷuttu [1*] Iva¹i=Aṇḍa-nāṭṭu=pPerumaṇalūr Mandariy-Irāmaṇ-
āṇa Pallavarāyaṇ-
15 n=eḷuttu ° Svasti śrī ° Sarvva-lōka-samutpatti-sti(sthi)ti-sambhāra-kāraṇam [1*] śāsanam
śāśvataṁ Śambhō[h*] śrī-Pu-
16 shpavana-vāsinah [||] Rājagambhira-vaḷanāṭṭu Rājagambhira-chaturvēdimāṇgalattu=
ssabbhaiyārku namm-aḍukka-
17 [aippuraṁ-āṇa ūrgaliṛ=taṅga|=ūruḍaṇ kūṭṭiṇa ūrgaliḷ Vāgaikuḍiyum Muttūranāroṭṭaiyuṇ-
Chiru-

Second Side.

- 18 kilāṅkāṭṭūrum nam piḷḷai Śōṇāḍu vaḷaṅgiṇa Sundara-Pāṇḍiyadēvaṛku yāṇḍu pattāvadu-
varai payir pā-
19 ḡtu=kkāḍamai koṇḍu-vandamaiyil idu tavirtu paḍiṇ-oṇṇāvadu-²mudal Vāgaikuḍikku=kkāṣu
pattum Muttūranāroṭṭai-
20 kku=kkāṣu pattum Śiruki[lāṅkāṭṭūru]kku=kkāṣu aiṇjum āga āṇḍ-oṇṇukku=kkāṣu irubatt-
aiṇjum vāḍā-ka-
21 ḍaṇ-āga oṭṭāga=kkāṣu [pāḍiyun=neṛ]=pāḍiyum-āga iṇuppadāga=chchonnō[m] [1*] ippaḍikku
nam piḷḷai Sundara-Pā-
22 ṇḍiyadēvar taṅgaḷukku=k[kuḍutta] piḍipāṭṭiṇpaḍiyēy i-kkāsāl vanda nel[lum kā]śum
23 naṇ=kaṇakkar kaṇmigaḷ va[śa]m namm-aḍukka[aippurattēy=a]andum oḍukki[yu]n=taravu
kolga [1*]
24 Aruḷāl *Śavyāchāryyaṇ Bhāradvāji Pāḷarāvā[ya]ṇ Viśvēśvaraṇ-āṇa [Aḷagiya]dēva-Bhaṭṭaṇ
25 eḷuttu [1*] Aruḷāl Tiruppūvaṇamuḍaiyāṇ Vighnāśvaraṇ-āṇa Viṇāyaka-Bhaṭṭaṇ eḷuttu [1*]
I-nNā-
26 yaṇār Śivabrāhmaṇaril dēvaṇmi Pāḷarāvāyaṇ Ammaiddēvaṇ-āṇa Aḷagiyanāyaka-
27 Bhaṭṭaṇ eḷuttu [1*] Aruḷār=Chaṭṭargaliḷ Ēnādimāṇgalattu Kāśyapaṇ Kēśavaṇ
28 *Kshētraṇṇaṇ-āṇa Brahma-pPallavaraiyaṇ=eḷuttu [1*] Aruḷāl muḍaṇ-karaṇattāṇ Dāṇavi-
29 ṇḍa-Mūvōṇḍavēḷāṇ=eḷuttu [||] Vidyā-prauḍha-vilāsini-paribṛiḍha³-śrī-Śāstra-
30 Bhaṭṭāraka[h*] khyāt=Ōṁgārakamaṇgal-aika-tilaka[s*]=śrī-Rājagambhīrakē [1*] grā-
31 māṇam pravarē⁴ Jaḍā(tā)dhara-sutō vidvat(d)-vadāny-āgrāṇi[h*] patraṁ kārayati sma sa-
32 [ta]tam=ita(da)m siṁṇas=su-ninā(rṇā)yakam⁵||

TRANSLATION.

(Lines 1 to 15) Hail ! Prosperity ! From the Emperor of the three worlds **Kōṇṇēriṇmai-**
koṇḍāṇ to the assembly of Rājagambhira-chaturvēdimāṇgalam in Rājagambhira-vaḷanāḍu.

- ¹ The word *ivai* is expressed by a single symbol containing the two letters *i* and *vai*.
² This line is written over an erasure from the beginning to *oṇṇāvadu*.
³ Read *Śaivā*.
⁴ The *ē* sign of *Kaḷē* is engraved at the end of the previous line.
⁵ Read *°vriḍha*.
⁶ *ṇa* looks exactly like *pa*.
⁷ The Sanskrit verse at the end covering the latter part of line 29 and the subsequent two and a half lines is engraved in a different hand. Perhaps Śāstra-Bhaṭṭāraka himself wrote it and the engraver incised it.

As Vāgaikuḍi, Muttūranāroṭṭai and Śirukiḷāṅkāṭṭūr which were among the *dēvadāna* villages of (the god) Uḍaiyār Tiruppūvaṇam-uḍaiyār and which, up to the tenth year (of Our reign), had been subject to (annual) crop examination and payment of *kaḍamai* (to the temple of Tiruppūvaṇam), had been included in your village, this (payment of *kaḍamai*) had been made to cease, and as Our brother-in-law Aḷagapperumāl had told Us that (an amount of) twenty-five *kāṣu*,—ten *kāṣu* for Vāgaikuḍi, ten *kāṣu* for Muttūranāroṭṭai and five *kāṣu* for Śirukiḷāṅkāṭṭūr,—had been determined to be paid as *oṭṭu*, for every year from the eleventh year (onwards), and that out of this amount, (one) half had to be paid in *kāṣu* and (the other) half in paddy, We have ordered the issue of *kēḷvi* to the same effect.¹ You may have this engraved on stone and copper so as to last till the Moon and the Sun (endure). This is the signature of Araiyaṇ Ḍicchehadēvaṇ *alias* Yādavarāyaṇ of Achebutavayal in Śevvirukkai-nāḍu. The year 11 and days 108. This is the signature of Araiyaṇ Kariyamāl *alias* Adigaimāṇ of Veṅkāpūr in Vaḍatalai-Śembi-nāḍu. This is the signature of Mandari² Rāmaṇ *alias* Pallavarāyaṇ of Perumaṇalūr in Aṇḍa-nāḍu.

(Li. 15ff.) Hail! Prosperity! This is the permanent edict, which was the cause of creation, protection and destruction of all the worlds, of (the god) Śambhu residing in the glorious Pushpavana. To the assembly of Rājagambhīra-chaturvēdimāṅalam in Rājagambhīra-vaḷanāḍu.

Whereas, after (annual) crop examination, We³ have been receiving, up to the tenth year of (the reign of) Our son⁴ Sundara-Pāṇḍyadēva who had presented the Chōḷa country, *kaḍamai* from Vāgaikuḍi, Muttūranāroṭṭai and Śirukiḷāṅkāṭṭūr which were among the villages attached to Our kitchen and which had been included in your village, and whereas this (payment of *kaḍamai*) had been made to cease and (in its place) We had declared that an amount of twenty-five *kāṣu* in all—ten *kāṣu* for Vāgaikuḍi, ten *kāṣu* for Muttūranāroṭṭai and five *kāṣu* for Śirukiḷāṅkāṭṭūr—should be paid to Us as *oṭṭu* on the basis of a permanent investment, every year from the eleventh year (onwards), (therefore), in accordance with the *piḍipāḍu* issued to you in this wise by Our son⁴ Sundara-Pāṇḍyadēva, (the amount of) paddy and *kāṣu* should be measured out and given to Our accountants and *kaṇṇis* (servants) at the premises of Our kitchen and receipt taken. By order,⁵ this is the signature of the Śaivāchārya Pālarāvāyaṇ *alias* Aḷagiyadēva-Bhaṭṭaṇ of the Bhāradvāja-gotra. By order, this is the signature of Tiruppūvaṇamudaiyāṇ Vighnēśvaraṇ *alias* Viṇāyaka-Bhaṭṭaṇ. By order, this is the signature of Pālarāvāyaṇ Ammaidēvaṇ *alias* Aḷagiyānāyaka-Bhaṭṭaṇ, a *dēvakaṇṇi* among the *Śivabrāhmaṇas* of this god. By order, this is the signature of Kēśavaṇ Kṣhētrajñaṇ *alias* Brahma-Pallavaraiyaṇ, a *Kāṣyapa* and one of the *chattar* (students). By order, this is the signature of the treasury accountant⁶ Dānaviṇōḍa-Mūvēndavēḷāṇ.

(Li. 29ff.) The illustrious Śāstra-Bhaṭṭāraka, who was the lord of the lady Learning, who was famous as the sole forehead-mark of Aṅgārakamaṅgala, who was the son of Jaṭādhara and who was foremost among scholars, had this permanent grant, properly fixing the boundaries, written at Rājagambhīraka, the best of villages.

¹ The whole of what has been said above is repeated here.

² This word may stand for *mantrin* 'minister'. But as in all places where it occurs, both here and in the previous inscription, it is consistently spelt Mandari, there is strong suspicion that it may form part of the proper name of the individual.

³ 'We' here refers to god.

⁴ The king is called the son of the god.

⁵ The term *aruḷal* which literally means 'by the grace' seems to be employed in the sense of 'by command or order' to denote the fact that the individual signs on behalf of the temple.

⁶ The term *mudai* may also be taken as 'chief, head or first'.

No. 32—THE PUNJAI INSCRIPTION OF KRISHNADEVARAYA.

By Prof. K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI, MADRAS.

This epigraph (No. 184 of 1925 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection) is a copy of an order issued by king **Krishṇadēvarāya** of Vijayanagara while he was camping on the banks of the river **Kṛishṇavēṇī** some time after his conquest of the **Kaliṅga** country. So far copies of this order have been found engraved in twenty different places in the **Chōlamāṇḍalam** which formed part of the Vijayanagara empire and to which the order relates. These places are : **Śēndamaṅgalam**,¹ **Tirthanagari**,² **Elavānāśūr**,³ **Neyyaṇai**⁴ (S. Arcot District), **Tiruviśālūr**,⁵ **Tirukkaṇḍiśvaram**,⁶ **Perumuḷai**,⁷ **Korukkai**,⁸ **Tirunagiri**,⁹ **Paraśālūr**,¹⁰ **Puñjai**,¹¹ **Ākkūr**,¹² **Tillaiyāḍi**,¹³ **Tirukkadaiyūr**,¹⁴ **Śēndalai**,¹⁵ **Iluppappattu**,¹⁶ **Talaiṇāyar**,¹⁷ **Tirumaṅgalakkuḍi**¹⁸ (Tanjore District), **Tiruppalātturai**,¹⁹ and **Kaṇṇanūr**²⁰ (Trichinopoly District). Though they are all copies of the same royal order, certain variations are found in them not only in the details of the order but also in their record of the achievements of the king.

The inscription is edited with the aid of the impressions and transcripts of all its copies kindly placed at my disposal by Mr. C. R. Krishnamacharlu, Superintendent for Epigraphy, Madras. Mr. T. V. Mahalingam, M.A., rendered much invaluable assistance in collating the numerous copies and preparing the text and translation of the record, in the verification of the geographical data, and in many other ways.

The **script** of all the copies is in mixed Grantha and Tamil, and Sanskrit words are often transliterated into Tamil. The **language** is Tamil; there are however two Sanskrit verses, one at the beginning and the other at the end. The engraving of the inscription appears to have been the work of persons of mediocre ability, and hence many mistakes are found in each copy. The defective nature of these inscriptions is, for instance, in striking contrast with the excellence of workmanship found in the **Chōla** inscriptions from the same area. Of the twenty copies of the epigraph only four are complete, those found at **Paraśālūr**, **Puñjai**, **Ākkūr** and **Tillaiyāḍi**; and the chief variations among these have been noticed in the footnotes to the text.

The inscription opens with an invocation to Gaṇapati and Śiva, and records the date and the purpose of the royal order together with the titles of the king; it then gives an account of the conquests of **Krishṇadēvarāya** in the eastern country till the date of the record, and states that the king while he was halting on the banks of the **Kṛishṇavēṇī** in Śaka 1439 (A.D. 1517), remitted 10,000 *varāhaṇ* (gold pieces) in favour of the Śiva and Viṣṇu temples in the **Chōlamāṇḍalam**. The remission comprised the dues called *jōḍi* and *arāsupēṇu*; other copies mention in addition, one or more of the following : *śūlavari*, *nilavaḷi* and *marṇam pala piṇavarigaḷum*.²¹

There is a like difference among the copies in the number and names of the temples enumerated as the beneficiaries of the remission, only a few (like the one that is being edited) mentioning almost all the places. Generally each of the copies mentions the place where it is found and a few

¹ No. 74 of 1903 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection.

² No. 125 of 1904.

³ No. 142 of 1906.

⁴ No. 381 of 1908.

⁵ No. 355 of 1907.

⁶ No. 80 of 1911.

⁷ No. 210 of 1917.

⁸ No. 235 of 1917.

⁹ No. 406 of 1918.

¹⁰ No. 167 of 1925.

¹¹ No. 184 of 1925.

¹² No. 226 of 1925.

¹³ No. 235 of 1925.

¹⁴ No. 251 of 1925.

¹⁵ No. 214 of 1926.

¹⁶ No. 137 of 1927.

¹⁷ No. 157 of 1927.

¹⁸ No. 223 of 1927.

¹⁹ No. 338 of 1903.

²⁰ No. 511 of 1905.

²¹ See n. 4, p. 305 below.

others. Hence to draw a list of all the places in favour of which the remission was made, a comparative study of all the copies is essential. Here the four complete copies have been closely compared for being edited while the others have been referred to wherever necessary. The full list obtained is given further down.

The inscription is of more than ordinary interest to the student of Vijayanagara history. Firstly, it gives a detailed list of the conquests of Krishṇadēvarāya in the Telugu country up to the date of the record though it does not state the dates of the different campaigns and conquests. Secondly, on account of the use made of this record by H. Krishna Sastri, it has a bearing on the identification of "Catuir" of Nuniz, a difficult problem for which no satisfactory solution has been offered so far. Lastly it gives us some idea of a few of the taxes and the revenue administration in the empire.

The campaigns of Krishṇadēvarāya against the Gajapati ruler of Orissa and his confederates which are briefly mentioned in this record have been dealt with in detail by H. Krishna Sastri¹ in the light of other inscriptions of the reign and the evidence drawn from contemporary literature, and there is no need, therefore, to consider them at any length here. There is, however, one point on which the opinion tentatively expressed by Krishna Sastri seems to be open to further consideration. This relates to the expedition against Catuir mentioned by Nuniz and the location of that place. Some inscriptions of Krishṇadēvarāya's reign, like the one now edited, trace the course of the king's northern campaign up to Simhāchalam and Poṭṭunūru, where he planted a pillar of victory. Telugu works of the reign seem to extend the range of the campaign. "From the *Pārijātāpaharaṇamu* and other Telugu works, however," says Krishna Sastri, "we learn that Krishṇarāya did not stop with the setting up of the pillar of victory at Poṭṭunūru, but went further north, even into the interior of the Gajapati's dominions, devastated the country of Oḍḍādi and burnt his capital town of Katakā (i.e., Cuttack) thus forcing the Gajapati to make peace by offering the hand of one of his daughters". He then points out that we have no epigraphical evidence enabling us to decide if this raid into Oḍḍādi took place in continuation of the campaign commemorated by the pillar of victory at Poṭṭunūru or occurred later as part of another campaign, and proceeds: "This much, at any rate, becomes certain from the Simhāchalam records, viz., that Krishṇarāya was at Simhādri at the beginning of Śaka 1438, and that in Śaka 1441 he made over to the temple at Simhāchalam certain villages which were granted to him by the Gajapati king. Whether these latter were the voluntary gifts of the Gajapati ruler on behalf of his ally Krishṇarāya or were wrung from him by a regular raid on his capital, are points which cannot be decided at present. Nevertheless there appears to be a clue to some historical event—not yet discovered—in the conquest of Catuir which is mentioned by Nuniz next, perhaps, in chronological order, after making peace with the king of Orya. The name Catuir cannot be traced either in epigraphical records or in Telugu literature. Nor is Nuniz himself very clear in his statements about this place and the expedition against it. He says that Catuir is situated on the Charmāodel side and that it is surrounded by a river which at the time of Krishṇarāya's capture was in flood. Besides, the account does not state against whom the attack was directed; nor does it disclose any proper names that could lead to the identification of Catuir. Sewell thinks that there is in this a possible reference to Vellore. But as Telugu literature has so far been found to confirm the facts related in lithic records or registered by Nuniz, it may not be altogether improbable to suppose that the 'Catuir' of Nuniz is identical with Katakā (Cuttack) mentioned in Telugu literature, and that Krishṇarāya, according to the latter authority, must have finally compelled

¹ *Annual Report, A. S. I., 1908-9*, pp. 176-82.

the Gajapati king to flee and burnt his capital before accepting from him the terms of peace and the hand of his daughter in marriage Very likely Nuniz took 'Catuir' to be situated in a country different from that of the Gajapati's and thought that the peace with Gajapati was concluded before Krishnarāya started against Catuir".

It is true Nuniz's account of Krishnarāya's expedition against Catuir is vague and leaves many things doubtful; but if any one fact emerges clearly from his account, it is that Catuir was not in Orissa. For he begins his account of this expedition with the categorical statement: 'After Crisnarao had made peace, and had married the daughter of the king of Orya, and had restored to him his wife and land beyond the river, as has been mentioned above, he made ready a large army and prepared to attack Catuir', and he also says: 'after the king returned from Orya he never went again thither'.¹ These statements show clearly that Nuniz was clear that the expedition against Catuir had nothing whatever to do with the Orissa campaign. And it is not easy to accept the identity of Catuir with Kaṭaka.

Phonetically more plausible is the suggestion of Dr. N. Venkataramanayya that Catuir should be sought in Kayattār in the Tinnevely District. The Pāṇḍyan ruler of Kayattār was, he thinks, besieged at Kāyal by Krishnadēvarāya, and Nuniz's account of the siege of one of the principal cities where the lord of Catuir was has reference to this. He points out that Krishnarāya is said to have conquered Ceylon in an inscription at Pirāṇmalai, and that some time between A.D. 1514 and A.D. 1522 the ruler of Quilon must have lost control of the eastern part of the Tinnevely District including the sea-coast, and Krishnarāya's expedition must have brought this about.² But apart from the inconclusive character of the evidence cited which does not seem quite to sustain the conclusion reached, one serious objection to this reconstruction lies in Nuniz's statement that the land of Catuir 'is on the Charnadel side'. The term Coromandel coast is generally applied to the coast between say Point Calimere and the Kṛishnā river, and even if it be loosely extended a little more to the south, it is extremely doubtful if it could be made to cover the whole of the Eastern coast down to Cape Comorin, and if, further, a town so far inland as Kayattār which is at least 25 miles from the sea as the crow flies and much more by the road from Kāyal, can be said to be on the Coromandel side by an author who is using the expression from the standpoint of Vijayanagar.

The suggestion made by Dr. S. K. Aiyangar that Catuir must be taken to be a variant of Kāḍavar³ ignores the direct statement of Nuniz that Catuir is a geographical name—'Catuir, which is the land of a lord who had been in revolt for fifty years'. It is perhaps unnecessary to follow the further stages of the argument built upon such a slender hypothesis.

Now in the contemporary Dutch records of the beginning of the seventeenth century, there is frequent mention of a place called Katoer. This is described as a fortress within a mile of Pulicat. I draw my information not directly from the Dutch records to which I have no access, but from the excellent summaries of them provided by N. McLeod in his *De Oost-Indische Compagnie als Zeemogendheid in Azie* (2 vols., 1927). We first hear of the place in 1610 under the

¹ Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*, pp. 320, 322.

² *Studies in the History of the Third Dynasty of Vijayanagara*, pp. 447-52.

³ *A yet remembered ruler of a long forgotten empire*, pp. 8-11. Dr. Aiyangar's statement that Nuniz's description of the capture of Catuir 'is exactly the description that is given of the siege and capture of Śīranasamudram in the *Krishnarājaviṣayamu*' (p. 9) is not supported either by the text or by the summary of it in *Sources*, pp. 130-31. His other citations from literature, e.g., *Pārijātāpaharaṇamu* are not more helpful. The *Konguḍēśa-rājākkaḷ* contains a good account of the Ummattūr campaign, but it has no resemblance to Nuniz's account under reference.

name Anai-Kāṭṭūr on the river of Pulicat granted to the Dutch for purposes of trade by Obbe-rāja, a captain of the Vellore army, i.e., of the kingdom of Vijayanagar.¹ Again we find Singama-Naik entrenched in the same place at a distance of $\frac{1}{2}$ mile from Geldria (the Dutch fort at Pulicat) on the 11th August 1625.² Passing over unimportant references to the place³ we may note that in the civil war that was raging in 1632, Śrīraṅga, a nephew of the ruling king Venkaṣa II, sent an army of 3,000 men against the fort of Kāṭṭūr (within sight of Geldria) which was then in the hands of Timarāja, the chief of the rebellion.⁴ We seem to have then in Kāṭṭūr ('Katoer' of the Dutch records) a fortified place located on a river and 'on the Coromandel side' which by its name, situation and historical associations seems to answer very well to Nuniz's Catuir. A reference to the survey map sheet No. 66 C/SW (D-2) (scale 1 inch=2 miles) will show that Kāṭṭūr is situated in the midst of swampy and difficult country and besides the river already mentioned, there is also a tank and other waterways, all likely to be flooded easily in the rainy season.

It may be noted that Nuniz counts Paleacate among the countries paying tribute to Vijayanagara under Dēvarāya II, that is, some time about 1440 A.D., and Sewell, after rightly identifying this place as Pulicat, near Madras, adds a note saying: 'This was an important province of Vijayanagar in later years'.⁵ It seems probable that 'the lord who had been in revolt for fifty years' and in whose land Catuir lay, was the lord of this province. The words of Nuniz as rendered by Sewell are: Crisnarao "prepared to attack Catuir, which is the land of a lord who had been in revolt for fifty years; this land is on the Charnādel side. And he went against it, and laid siege to one of the principal cities where the lord of the land was; and it is called. and is surrounded with water".⁶ The last sentence and the blank in it do seem to create a difficulty; but the categorical statement at the beginning that the king prepared to attack Catuir may well be taken to mean that this was the 'principal city' in his land where the rebel lord was at the time of Krishnarāya's war.

Referring to the grant now being edited, Krishna Sastri has observed: 'The choice of the bank of the river Kṛishṇā for making a grant in favour of the temples of Chōḷa-maṇḍala in the south, cannot be reasonably explained except by supposing that Krishnarāya was about this time, viz., the end of Śaka 1439, again on his march for a second time to the Kalinga country against 'Catuir', which, as noted above, is very probably Cuttack'.⁷ Two considerations may be urged against this view. First, there is the categorical statement of Nuniz cited already, that after Krishnarāya returned from the expedition to Orissa which resulted in his marriage with the Gajapati's daughter, he did not go back to Orissa. Secondly, there is a definite statement in an inscription⁸ dated Śaka 1438 that Krishnarāya had already accomplished the conquest of the Kalinga country as far north as Kaṭaka, which sufficiently accounts for the literary evidence cited by Krishna Sastri without the necessity for postulating another Orissa campaign in Śaka 1439.

We do not know the particular reason for which Bezvada was chosen as the scene of this comprehensive grant to the numerous temples of the Tamiḷ country. But we know that in the preceding year (Dhūṭṭi),⁹ the monarch had attended the *mahānakham* festival in Kumbhakōṇam

¹ McLeod, i, p. 96.

² *Ibid.*, i, p. 473.

³ *Ibid.*, i, pp. 487 and 492; ii, pp. 171, 179.

⁴ *Ibid.*, ii, p. 14.

⁵ *A Forgotten Empire*, p. 302.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 321.

⁷ *Annual Report, A. S. I.*, 1908-9, p. 162.

⁸ No. 824 of 1922. See also pp. 177-81 of *Tirupa: Devasthanam Epigraphical Report*, by Sudha Subrahmanya Sastri, who accepts the identity of Catuir with Cuttack.

⁹ No. 493 of 1907, the Śaka date 1440 must be wrong.

and utilised the occasion for making an extensive tour to the various shrines in the south. The most detailed account of this tour is furnished by the *Rāyavāchakamu*.¹ Evidently, after his return to home country, he wanted to commemorate in some striking manner the pilgrimage he had just concluded. The administrative consultations necessary before the monarch's idea could be implemented must have taken some months as in all probability the local officers in charge of the different parts of the Tamil land had to be consulted. When the final decision had been taken, the monarch must have chosen a suitable place and occasion for making the actual proclamation of his decision. The time chosen was Makara-saṅkrānti of the Śvara year, and the visit to the Kṛṣṇā river and the shrines of Anantaśāyin of Uṇḍavilli and Mallikārjuna of Bezwada on such an occasion is easily understood. The date of the record corresponds to 28th December, A.D. 1517.

It is possible that Kṛṣṇarāya's presence at Bezwada was connected with one of the numerous campaigns of the reign fought against the Sultān of Golconda, Kuli Kutb Shāh. Late in his life the Sultān boasted of having reduced the infidels of Telingana from the borders of Warangal to Masulipatam and Rājahmundry, having taken between sixty and seventy forts by force of arms.² The anonymous historian who has recorded this fact also mentions a war directed by Kṛṣṇadēvarāya himself after the capture of Dēvarakonda by Kuli Kutb Shāh.³ The date of the particular campaign cannot be determined with precision, and the anonymous historian does not give any date. But once more, it is possible that this campaign is identical with that mentioned by Nuniz as having occurred after Kṛṣṇarāya's capture of Catuir, and having been directed against a Muslim captain most probably of the army of Kuli Kutb Shāh of Golconda.⁴ If these suggestions are accepted, the presence of Kṛṣṇarāya at Bezwada receives a simple and natural explanation as being connected with the regular course of the military campaigns of the reign.

The taxes that were remitted in favour of the Śiva and Viṣṇu temples of the Chōḷamaṇḍalam were *Jōḍi*, *Śūlavari*, *Nilavari* (*Nilavari*), *Araṣupēru*, and other taxes (*piṇḍavari*).⁵ These taxes were due to the king (palace) from the temples themselves (l. 30). All these taxes are not mentioned in all the copies of the inscription. It is difficult to specify the exact nature of all of them, but the following suggestions may be made: *Jōḍi* is explained by Wilson as a favourable quit rent on *inām* lands.⁶ It is also the name of a tenure under which a person reclaims a certain portion of waste land, settles on it, and pays half or quarter of the gross value of the produce to the Government.⁷ In the Vijayanagar epigraphs it is found used generally in the former sense, and was in many respects similar to the *mānyakāṇike* which the holders of *inām* lands like Brāhmins and Fakirs paid to the State.⁸ Thus *Jōḍi* was a small quit rent, paid by the temples, on their *inām* lands. The rate is unknown.

Śūlavari is more difficult to explain. One of the meanings given under the word *Śūlam* in the *Tamil Lexicon* is: 'Brand-mark on cattle, usually trident-shaped'. No authority is cited in the *Lexicon*, but the meaning suits the context of our inscription very well and seems to show that

¹ *Sources of Vijayanagar History*. (Madras University Historical Series, I), pp. 125-9.

² Briggs: *Firishta* (Cambray & Co., 1910), iii, pp. 352-3.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 355-6. I owe this reference to Dr. N. Venkataramanayya.

⁴ *A Forgotten Empire*, p. 322.

⁵ No. 288 of 1903.

⁶ H. H. Wilson: *Glossary of Judicial and Revenue terms*, p. 214, col. 1.

⁷ Narasinga Rao: *A Kisanwār Glossary of Kanarese Words*, p. 91, cited by Saleore, *Social and Political Life in the Vijayanagar Empire*, ii, p. 440.

⁸ Cf. Dr. N. Venkataramanayya: *Studies in the History of the Third Dynasty of Vijayanagara*, pp. 229-30.

the *Sūlavari* was perhaps a small tax or fee paid on the cattle belonging to the temples, each head of cattle being branded at the time of registration in the nearest public office.

Nilavali seems to be only a variant of the usual *Nilavari* land tax, levied on lands which were not *ināms*, but held in ordinary tenure by the temples concerned.

Araṣupēru is another difficult term. Wilson¹ notes that *Araṣu* means 'privileges allowed for watching', and '*Araṣukkāran*'—'a person holding certain privileges for performing police duty'. '*Pēru*' is an abstract noun from Tamil *perudai*, 'to get', and means 'receipts'. *Araṣupēru* then may be taken to stand for the fee collected by the State for the performance of police duties and the maintenance of security. This was perhaps different from the wages of the village watchmen. It must have been a levy by the central government for our inscription contains the specific statement that all the dues remitted by this grant were due to the palace, i.e. to the king—*araṇmanaiṅku iṟuttuvarugira* (l. 30); or *araṇmanai kaṇakkil paḍindu varugira* (No. 288 of 1903).

The proclamation was not given effect to even so late as in 1521 which is mentioned in an epigraph dated Śaka 1443, Vikrama, Mithuna, ba. Tṛitīyā, Friday, Tiruvōṇam. It states that one Kariya Māṇikya Bhaṭṭar Āpatsahāyar waited on Kṛṣṇadēvarāya at Vijayanagara and got ratification of the order of the remission of *Jōḍi* and *Sūlavari* on certain villages which had been remitted already in favour of the temple at Tirukkaḍaiyūr, but was not given effect to till then.²

The Śēndamangalam copy of the epigraph describes the boundaries of the Chōḷamaṇḍalam, the Śiva and Viṣṇu temples in which were benefited by the remission.³ Chōḷamaṇḍalam comprised the region south of the Gaḍilam, west of the sea, north of the Vellāru (south) and east of the wall at Kōṭṭaikkarai.⁴ This copy also says that the beneficiaries of the grant were in the heart of the Chōḷa country.

According to the epigraph the region was divided into three districts or *śimais*. They are the Irappāṇṇappāṇṇu Bhuvanēkavīraṇ(Bhuvanagiri)paṭṭana-chchīrmai, Taṇjāvūrpāṭṭana-chchīrmai and Tiruchchināppalli-chīrmai. In the Vijayanagara days a *śimai* was a smaller division than a *rājya*, and its exact relation to the more ancient *kōṭṭam* or *nāḍu* is difficult to find, though it seems probable that the *śimai* was a larger division than the *nāḍu* or *kōṭṭam*. The Bhuvanagiri-paṭṭana-chchīrmai covered the northern part of the Chōḷamaṇḍalam, with its headquarters at Bhuvanagiri, a big village on the northern bank of the Vellāru (north) in the Chidambaram taluk. There is to be found at the place even in the present day a fort in a fairly good condition. It appears to derive its name from Bhuvanaikavīra, a title borne by two Pāṇḍyan kings, Māṇavarman Kulāśēkhara I and Māṇavarman Vikrama Pāṇḍya,⁵ who were contemporaries in the latter part of the thirteenth century A.D. The region is called in the epigraph as Irappāṇṇappāṇṇu Bhuvanaikavīrapaṭṭana, perhaps on account of the fact that it was bounded by two rivers, the Gaḍilam and the Vellāru. Taṇjāvūrpāṭṭana-chchīrmai is probably all the territory covered by the present Tanjore and had its headquarters at Taṇjāvūr. To the west of this was the Tiruchchināppalli-chīrmai with its headquarters at Trichinopoly.

While almost all the copies mention the above three divisions, a few mention some others. They are Rāsāsura-chchīrmai, mentioned before Taṇjāvūr-chīrmai,⁶ Viramaḍakku-chchīrmai

¹ Glossary, p. 31, col. 1.

² No. 246 of 1925.

³ No. 74 of 1903.

⁴ There is a verse in Tamil which gives practically the same traditional boundaries substituting for Gaḍilam the Northern Vellār which enters the sea near Porto Novo. See *The Cōlas*, i, p. 22.

⁵ *The Pāṇḍyan Kingdom*, pp. 186, 189-90.

⁶ No. 511 of 1905; Nos. 226 and 235 of 1925.

and Perambūr-chīrmai and Kulittanḍanai-chīrmai, mentioned after Tiruchchirāpaḷli-chīrmai.¹ It is difficult to identify all of them. Perambūr-chīrmai is perhaps the territory covered by parts of the Perambalūr taluk, and the Kulittanḍanai-chīrmai that covered by the modern Kulittalai taluk both of the Trichinopoly District.

We have a list of a large number of places in favour of which the remission was made ; and arranged by taluks they are the following :—

| | | |
|---|----------------------|--------------------|
| Kāṇāṭṭāmpuḷlūr | Chidambaram taluk. | S. Arcot District. |
| Mannārkōyil | Ditto. | Ditto. |
| Nāraiṇūr (Tirunāraiṇūr) | Ditto. | Ditto. |
| Tiruchchonnapuram (now Tiruchchinnapuram) | Ditto. | Ditto. |
| Tirumuttam (now Śrīmushṇam) | Ditto. | Ditto. |
| Uḍaiyārkōyil | Ditto. | Ditto. |
| Tirumāṇikkulī | Cuddalore taluk. | Ditto. |
| Tiruppādicippuliyūr | Ditto. | Ditto. |
| Tiruttiṇainagar | Ditto. | Ditto. |
| Tiruvantirapuram | Ditto. | Ditto. |
| Tyāgavalli | Ditto. | Ditto. |
| Śēndavaṇmaṅgalam | Tiṇḍivanam taluk. | Ditto. |
| Iraivānāsūr | Tirukkōyilūr taluk. | Ditto. |
| Tirunāmanallūr (Tirunāvallūr) | Ditto. | Ditto. |
| Tirunārunkoṇḍai (now Tirunirāṅkonrai) | Ditto. | Ditto. |
| Tiṭṭaikūḍi | Vriḍdhāchalam taluk. | Ditto. |
| Peṇṇāgaḍam | Ditto. | Ditto. |
| Kuruchchi | Kumbakonam taluk. | Tanjore District. |
| Pandāṇanallūr | Ditto. | Ditto. |
| Śirukūḍi | Ditto. | Ditto. |
| Śūryadēvanāyaṇārkōyil | Ditto. | Ditto. |
| Tirukkōḍikā (now Tirukkōḍikāval) | Ditto. | Ditto. |
| Tirundutēvankūḍi (Tiruttēvaṇkūḍi) | Ditto. | Ditto. |
| Tirumaṅgalakkūḍi | Ditto. | Ditto. |
| Tiruppanandāl | Ditto. | Ditto. |
| Tiruvēḷḷiyaṅkūḍi | Ditto. | Ditto. |
| Tiruveṇṇagar (now Uppiliyappaṅkōyil) | Ditto. | Ditto. |
| Tiruvīsalūr | Ditto. | Ditto. |
| Vaigal | Ditto. | Ditto. |
| Agalaṅgaṇ | Māyavaram taluk. | Ditto. |
| Ākkūr | Ditto. | Ditto. |
| Ṇaṅgārakkūḍi | Ditto. | Ditto. |
| Iluppappattu | Ditto. | Ditto. |
| Irāśūrmapālayam (now Irājasūryanpēṭṭai) | Ditto. | Ditto. |
| Korukkai | Ditto. | Ditto. |
| Kurrālam | Ditto. | Ditto. |
| Paḷuvūr | Ditto. | Ditto. |
| Pariyalūr (Tiruppariyālūr) | Ditto. | Ditto. |
| Perumūlai | Ditto. | Ditto. |
| Talaichechaṅgāḍu | Ditto. | Ditto. |
| Talaiaṇaṇ | Ditto. | Ditto. |
| Tillaiyāḍi | Ditto. | Ditto. |
| Tirukkadaiyūr | Ditto. | Ditto. |
| Tirunaṇipalḷi | Ditto. | Ditto. |
| Tiruvaḷḷundūr | Ditto. | Ditto. |
| Tiruvāḷiputtūr (Tiruvānputtūr) | Ditto. | Ditto. |

¹ No. 355 of 1907 ; No. 125 of 1904.

| | | |
|--|-----------------------|------------------------|
| Tirukkondisvaram | Nannilam taluk. | Tanjore District. |
| Tirumarugaḷ | Ditto. | Ditto. |
| Tirumēchechūr | Ditto. | Ditto. |
| Tiruppattār | Ditto. | Ditto. |
| Tiruppugaḷūr | Ditto. | Ditto. |
| Tiruvāñchiyam (now Śrīvāñchiyam) | Ditto. | Ditto. |
| Virkūḍi | Ditto. | Ditto. |
| Tēvūr | Negapatam taluk. | Ditto. |
| Nallūr | Pāpanāśam taluk. | Ditto. |
| Āchchāpuram | Shiyāḷi taluk. | Ditto. |
| Śrāmavinṇagar | Ditto. | Ditto. |
| Tāḍanānkōyil | Ditto. | Ditto. |
| Tirukkuraiyaḷūr | Ditto. | Ditto. |
| Tirthanagari | Ditto. | Ditto. |
| Tirunagari | Ditto. | Ditto. |
| Tirunāṅgūr | Ditto. | Ditto. |
| Tiruppuṅgūr | Ditto. | Ditto. |
| Chandralēkai (Śendalai) | Tanjore taluk. | Ditto. |
| Tāñchāvūr | Ditto. | Ditto. |
| Tirumalipāḍi | Ditto. | Ditto. |
| Tiruppunturutti | Ditto. | Ditto. |
| Tiruvaiyāru | Ditto. | Ditto. |
| Tirukkāṭṭupaḷḷi | Ditto. | Ditto. |
| Vallam | Ditto. | Ditto. |
| Kappanūr | Musiri taluk. | Trichinopoly District. |
| Āṇḍārkōyil | Trichinopoly taluk. | Ditto. |
| Tiruppaḷātturai | Ditto. | Ditto. |
| Tiruchchirāpaḷḷi | Ditto. | Ditto. |
| Gāṅgaikoṇḍachōlapuram (Gāṅgaikoṇḍam) | Udaiyārpālayam taluk. | Ditto. |
| Paḷuvūr | Ditto. | Ditto. |
| Tillaiyāḷivittam | (not identifiable.) | |

TEXT.

- 1 Śubham=astu¹; śrī-Gaṇāti²patayē namaḥ | Namas=tuṅga-[-śi]-
 2 raś-chumpi³ta⁴-chantiṛa⁵-chāmara-[-chāravē*] trailōkya-nakar⁶-ā[ra*]mpa⁷-mula.⁸
 3 stampāya⁹ śampuvē¹⁰[||*] Śubham=astu | Svasti Śrī Vijayāt-
 4 bhuta¹¹. Śāli[vāha*]na-śa [ka*]-varusham 1439¹² mēl-chchel-
 5 lāni[ṇra] Iśvara saṁva[tsa*]rattu Pushya¹³ śpaya¹⁴ Paurṇamaināḷ(nāḷ)¹⁵ śrī[ma]-
 6 n-mahārājādhirāja rājaparamēśvara hariya(ari)rāya-vibhātan¹⁶ bhā-

¹ Nos. 167, 226 and 235 of 1925 omit this.

² Read *Gaṇādhi*.

³ Read *-chumbi*.

⁴ Here *ta* is superfluous; it is, however, found in Nos. 167 and 226 of 1925 also.

⁵ Read *chandra*-. In Nos. 167 and 226 of 1925 it is *chantra*.

⁶ Read *-nagar*-.
⁷ Read *-mbha*.
⁸ Read *-mūla*-.
⁹ Read *stambhāya*.
¹⁰ Read *śambhavē*. In No. 226 of 1925 it is *śbhuvē*.
¹¹ The same reading is found in Nos. 167 and 226 of 1925; in No. 235 of 1925 it is *śbhutaya*. The usual form is *Vijayābhayudaya*.
¹² Śaka 1409 in No. 235 of 1917, a mistake for Śaka 1439.
¹³ No. 74 of 1903 and No. 80 of 1911 give *Māgha*.
¹⁴ Probably stands for *śuddha*; clearly given in Nos. 226 and 235 of 1925. In No. 214 of 1926 the reading is *Pushyamāsattu pūrvapakṣhattu*.
¹⁵ *Paurṇami nāḷ* in No. 226 of 1925, and *nāḷ* in No. 235 of 1925. *Paurṇamiyinmēl* in No. 235 of 1917, and *°yilē* in No. 214 of 1926.
¹⁶ In No. 167 of 1925 it is *ariyārāya-vibhāta*, while in Nos. 226 and 235 of 1925 it is *vibhātan*.

- 7 shaikku-ttappuva-rāyar¹-gaṇḍa² Yavaṇarāsa³-sthāpanāchāriya⁴ Pratā-
8 parudra-Geja⁵-pati-saptāṅga-haraṇa śrī-Virapradāpa⁶ śrī-Vīra-Kṛishṇadēvarāya-ma-
9 hārāyar Śōlamanḍalattu Viṣṇusthānam⁷ Śivasthānam mudalāna
10 dēvasthānaṅgaḷukku śōḍi arasūpēru⁸ śaravam⁹[ā]nyam-āga viṭṭa taṇ-
11 ma¹⁰-sātāṇa irāyasam śrī(nā)¹¹mum Vijayannagara¹²-ppaṭṭanattil¹³ irundu pūruva¹⁴-
12 dikku viśai[ya*]-yātrai āga purappaṭṭu Udayagiri-ttūrkamum śādichechu¹⁵ Tirumalai
13 Irāguttama¹⁶-rāyanaiyum piḍittu koṇḍu Viṇikkōṇḍai¹⁷ Nāgār-
14 rchīnakōṇḍai¹⁸ Vellamukōṇḍa¹⁹ Koṇḍaviḍu Koṇ[ḍa*]ppaḷli²⁰ Irāśa-
15 mavēntirapuram²¹ mudalāgiya du[r̥ga]ṅgaḷuṇ-gaṭṭikkōṇḍu²² Pratāparutti[ra*] Geśa-
pati²³
16 kumāraṇ Virabhadrasēṇaṇ²⁴ Geśapati²⁵ Pratānapūpati²⁶ Prakalātaṇ²⁷ Śīraśchantaṇ²⁸
Malluk-Kān²⁹

¹ Reading is *tappurāya* in No. 235 of 1925.

² The reading is *rāyaragaṇḍa* in Nos. 167, 226 and 235 of 1925.

³ The reading is *rāya* in Nos. 74 of 1903, 125 of 1904 and 80 of 1911.

⁴ In a few other copies Kṛishṇarāya takes two more titles. In Nos. 235 of 1917 and 214 of 1926 is found the title *mūvarāyagaṇḍaṇ*; in No. 511 of 1905 are found the titles *mūvarāyagaṇḍa* and *aṭṭadikkurāya-manō-bhayaṅkara*, while in Nos. 74 and 288 of 1903, 80 of 1911, 210 of 1917, 167, 226 and 235 of 1925 are found the titles *aṭṭadikkurāya-manō-bhayaṅkara* and *mūvarāyagaṇḍa*.

⁵ Read *Gaja*.

⁶ Same in Nos. 167, 226 and 235 of 1925; read *pratāpa*.

⁷ Viṣṇu temples alone are mentioned in No. 381 of 1908.

⁸ In No. 288 of 1903 the taxes are said to be *jōḍigaḷ sūlavari nilavāḷi arasūpēru maṭṭum palu piṇa-varigalum*. No. 511 of 1905 reads: *śōḍi sūlavari arasūpēru piṇavari unḍāna yellām*. In No. 355 of 1907 only *jōḍi* and *sūlavari* are legible. No. 235 of 1917 mentions *śōḍiyaḷ*, *nilavāḷi* and *arasūpēru* while No. 214 of 1926 has *śōḍi*, *sūlavari* and *arasūpēru*.

⁹ Read *sarva*.

¹⁰ No. 74 of 1903 reads: *vīṭṭupāḷittu aruḷina dharmma-sāsana rāyasam*; 125 of 1904 *sarvam ānyam-āga-piṭṭa*, 511 of 1905 as *āga tiru ulamparṇiṇa tanma*, 80 of 1911 *viḍachchittēṣi pūḷitta dharmma*. In Nos. 226 and 235 of 1925 we have the word *dharmma-sādhana-rāyasam* in Grantha.

¹¹ No. 226 of 1925 reads *nāmum*.

¹² The letter *n* is superfluous.

¹³ *Ppaṭṭanattilē* in No. 226 of 1925 and *paṭṭanatt-irundu* in No. 235 of 1925.

¹⁴ Read *pūruva*.

¹⁵ The reading is *yātraiyāga śittēṣi Udayagiri-durgamum sādhitu* in No. 74 of 1903.

¹⁶ No *ma* in 167 of 1925.

¹⁷ The reading is *Vinikōṇḍa* in Nos. 167 and 235 of 1925.

¹⁸ Read *Nāgārjunakōṇḍai*; *koṇḍa* in Nos. 167, 226 and 235 of 1925.

¹⁹ *Vellamkōṇḍa* in No. 167 of 1925 where *Vella* is repeated but the subsequent words are missing.

²⁰ *Tonḍappaḷli* in No. 235 of 1917.

²¹ Read: *mahēndrapuram*.

²² *Sādhitta cāngikkōṇḍu* in No. 74 of 1903; *cāngikkōṇḍu* in Nos. 511 of 1905 and 80 of 1911 and [*vāḍhi*] *tu=akkatti* in No. 167 of 1925.

²³ Read *Gajapati*.

²⁴ Perhaps stands for *śēṇanaiyum* as in No. 511 of 1905; *jaṇṇaṇ* in No. 226 of 1925 and *jaṇṇa* in No. 235 of 1925.

²⁵ Read *Gajapati*.

²⁶ Read *pradhānabhūpati*.

²⁷ *Prahalātaṇ* in Nos. 167, 226 and 235 of 1925.

²⁸ Read *Śīraśchandraṇ* as in No. 235 of 1925.

²⁹ *Kānaṇ* in Nos. 167, 226 and 235 of 1925, while in No. 235 of 1917 it ends with *Karnaṇ*, and in No. 511 of 1905 with *Kānu*.

- 17 Uttanḍakāṇa¹ mudalāna pāttira²-śāmantargaḷaiyum śivikkiramamāga³=ppidittukkoṇ-
 18 du Prataṭparuttira Geśa(Gaja)patiyaiyum muṇayakkutti⁴ Śiṅgāttirikkū⁵ eḷundaruḷi
 Poṭṭaṇṇūril
 19 jayastampa(bha)mum niṇi(ru)tti⁶ Śōḷamaṇḍalam⁷ dēvastānam⁸ Tiruchchirāpalli⁹
 Śantalaga¹⁰ Tirukkā-
 20 tṭuppaḷli Tirunagira¹¹ Tirunāṅgūr T(i*)ruveḷuodūr¹² Tēvūr Tiruveṇṇagar¹³ Aḷaṅgaṇ
 21 Tiruvantipapuram¹⁴ Tirumāṇikuḷi¹⁵ Tirupattūr¹⁶ Vaiygal Tirumuttam Tiruppādiripuli-
 22 yūr Tiruttiṇaiṇagar Iṇaiṇāśūr¹⁷ Śēndavaṇmaṅgalam Tirunāvallūr Tittaiḷkūdi¹⁸
 Tirunā-
 23 raiyūr¹⁹ Kāṇāṭṭampullūr²⁰ Tiyaḡavalli²¹ Śīrāmaviṇṇagar Tiruveḷḷiyaṅguḍi Pan-
 24 daṇanallūr²² Talaichchaṅgāḍu²³ Kuṇuchchi²⁴ Tiruppuṅgūr Korukkai²⁵ Talaiṇāya[ka]n²⁶
 27 Tirumaṅgalakkūdi Tiruviśālūr Tirutēvaṅkūdi²⁷ Sūriyadēvanayaṇārkōyil²⁷ Ti-

¹ Read *Uddanda*.

² Read *pātra*.

³ Read *jīagrāhamāga*, *jīvagrahamāga* in Nos. 226 and 235 of 1925.

⁴ In No. 511 of 1905 it is *muṇiyaveṭti*.

⁵ i. e. *Śiṃhādrikkū* as in No. 226 of 1925.

⁶ The reading is *pōdurittu* in Nos. 74 of 1903 and 80 of 1911, and *sthāpittu* in No. 125 of 1904.

⁷ *Śōḷamaṇḍala-naduṇil* in No. 74 of 1903.

⁸ In No. 125 of 1904 the word *Tiruttiṇaiṇagar* follows the word *dēvasthānam*.

⁹ No. 511 of 1905 has the following :—*Tiruchchillāp[alli]-chchimai vaḍugurai Irājarāja-vaḷanāṭṭu Maḷanāṭṭu Pāchchikkūṇṇattu kīl Pālārru-kKannaṇūr nāyaṇār Pōśaiśvaramudaiya-nāyaṇār kūyil śōḍi sūlavari piṇavari araṇ-
 pōru utpadavum Tirumolapādi Vallam Taṇjāvūr Tiruppūndurutti Tiruvaṇṇāru Tiruvaḷundūr Irāśūrūmapālayam
 Tiruvāṇṇiyam Tiruppugalūr Paḷuvūr Pandananallūr Tiruppaṇaiṇḍal Tirunagari Tirunāṅgūr Tādāḷankōyil Śiḡāḷi
 mudalāna Irandārruparṇu-śīrmai, etc. No. 288 of 1903 has Tiruchchirāpalli uśuvadi teṇkarai Irājagambhira-vaḷa-
 nāṭṭu Tirupparātturai mudalāgiya Śōḷamaṇḍalattu irāṇḍu...pparṇu-śīrmai-āna Kūippaṇṇattu śīrmai Rada-
 surattu śīrmai Taṇjāvūr śīrmai pattu mudalāna Viśvusthānam Śivasthānam, etc.*

¹⁰ Read *Chandralēkai*.

¹¹ No. 167 of 1925 reads *Tirunagari* clearly.

¹² Followed by *Tiruppariyālūr* in No. 125 of 1904.

¹³ No. 355 of 1907 reads *Rāśēntiraviṇṇagar*.

¹⁴ *Tiruvayintirapuram* in Nos. 125 of 1904 and 226 of 1925.

¹⁵ *Tirumāṇikuḷi* in Nos. 235 of 1917 and 226 and 235 of 1925. In No. 125 of 1904 this precedes *Tirunan-
 tirapuram*.

¹⁶ *Tirupugalūr* in Nos. 210 and 235 of 1917, 226 and 235 of 1925.

¹⁷ Before this two other places are found in No. 125 of 1904, viz., *Korukkai*, *Tiyaḡavalli*.

¹⁸ Before *Tittaiḷkūdi* we have : *Tiruna[ru]ṅgondai* and *Tirukkōḍigā* in No. 125 of 1904; in No. 226 of 1925 it is *Tittaiḷkūdi*. After *Tittaiḷkūdi* we have *Pennāḡadam* in No. 125 of 1904.

¹⁹ *Tirunāyayūr* in No. 226 of 1925.

²⁰ *Udaiyārkōyil*, *Mannārkōyil* and *Tiruchchēṇṇapuram* before *Kānāṭṭumullūr* in No. 125 of 1904; *Kānāṭṭum-
 pullūr* in Nos. 210 of 1907 and 226 of 1925. *Kānāṭṭupullūr* in No. 235 of 1925.

²¹ Mentioned earlier in No. 125 of 1904.

²² *Kānāṭṭumullūr* is followed by *Pandananallūr*, *Achchāpuram* and *Kuṇuchchi* in No. 125 of 1904.

²³ Mentioned after *Tiruveḷḷiyaṅguḍi* in No. 125 of 1904.

²⁴ *Kuṇuchchi* in Nos. 167 of 1925, 226 and 235 of 1925.

²⁵ *Talaiṇāyakam* in No. 125 of 1904, *Talaiṇāyakan* in No. 235 of 1917, *Talaiṇāyar* in No. 226 of 1925 and *Talaiṇāyan* in 235 of 1925.

²⁶ *Tirundadēvaṅkūdi* in Nos. 355 of 1907, 226 and 235 of 1925.

²⁷ *Sūriyāṇāyārkōyil* in No. 355 of 1907; *Sūriyadēvanayaṇār* in No. 235 of 1917 and *Sūriyanayinār* in No. 235 of 1925.

- 26 rukkōdikā Kurrālam Śirukudī¹ Tirukkuraiyālūr Virkudī Āchchāpuram² Tiruvāliput-
 27 tūr³ Nallūr Āṇḍārkōyil Geṅgaikoṇḍam⁴ Tirumēchchūr⁵ Tirunaṇipallī⁶
 28 mudalāgiya Chōlamanḍalattu yiraṇḍārrupparru Buvanēkaviraṇpaṭṭaṇa-śirmai⁷
 29 Taṇjāvūrpaṭṭaṇa-chchīṇ(r)mai⁸ Tiruchchirāpalli-chīṇ(r)mai- uṭ[pa*]ṭṭa⁹ Śivatānam¹⁰ Vish-
 30 ṭṭinatāṇam¹¹ mudalāgiya dēvattāṇaṅgaḷil¹² pūruva-mudalāgiya¹³ varaimaṇaikkū¹⁴ iṭut-
 31 tu-varugira¹⁵ sōḍi¹⁶ arasupēru¹⁷ patināyira varāṇaṇ inda varāṇaṇ patināyiramuru
 an-
 32 danda dēvatānamkaḷukkum¹⁸ makara-śaṅkīrānti punṇiya-kālattilē Kiviṭṭiṇavēṇi¹⁹
 33 tīrattilē Uṇḍavillī²⁰ Āṇantaśāyi śaṇṇatiyum²¹ Geṣavāḍai²² Mallukāchchinadēvar²³
 śaṇ-
 34 ṇāṭiyilum²⁴ āga=ttārāpūruvamāga=²⁵ chcharuvamāṇiyammāga viṭṭu tanma-sādapa
 yirāyatamum²⁶
 35 pālittōm yinda yirāyida²⁷ piramāṇattilē ellā-ttēvattāṇaṅgaḷilum²⁸
 36 śilā-sādanamum²⁹ paṇṇi ellā-ttēvattāṇaṅgaḷukkum³⁰ pūśai³¹ punarkāram³² aṅga-
 raṅga³³

¹ Śirukudī in No. 210 of 1917.

² This is followed by another Virkudī in Nos. 210 of 1917, 226 and 235 of 1925.

³ Tiruvāliputtūr in No. 210 of 1917; Tiruvāliputtūr in No. 226 of 1925.

⁴ Gangaikoṇḍaśōḷapuram in No. 125 of 1904.

⁵ Tirumiyāchchūr in No. 125 of 1904. The list stops with this in it and No. 355 of 1907.

⁶ This place is not mentioned in the other copies. But No. 210 of 1917 adds Perumūḷai; No. 167 of 1925 Pariyālūr, No. 226 of 1925 Ākkūr; and 235 of 1925 Tillaiyāḷivittam and Iṅgārikudī. 74 of 1903 has: śōḷamanḍala naḍuvil maṇḍalam Sēndavanmaṇḍalam uḍaiyār Avattukkāṭṭarūḷiyanayīṇār tirunāmattukkāni Kīḷaimāṇanār Mēlaimāṇanār Naṇ[narā]ma-miśuragaṇḍaṇallūr Kamban marum ulpatta deya-sihānagaḷ Iṇṇānaraśūr ulpattu Śivasthānam Vishnusthānagaḷilē pūrvam mudalāga araimaṇaikkū iṭuttavarugira jōdi poṇ padināyiramum.

⁷ Bhonagipattāṇaachchīrmai in No. 226 of 1925; Pongiripattāṇaachchīrmai in No. 235 of 1925.

⁸ Kā[sa*]rā[sā*]jura-śirmai mentioned before Taṇjāvūr in No. 226 of 1925; mudalāgiya after it in Nos. 22 and 235 of 1925.

⁹ Chīrmai utpaḍa in No. 235 of 1925.

¹⁰ Read °sthānam.

¹¹ Read: Vishnusthānam; Vishṇusthānam in No. 235 of 1925.

¹² Read: dēvasthānagaḷil.

¹³ Read: pūrvam mudalāgiya. Pūruva mudalāga in Nos. 226 and 235 of 1925.

¹⁴ Read: araimaṇaikkū as in No. 235 of 1925.

¹⁵ araimaṇai [kaṇa]kkil padindu varugira in No. 238 of 1903.

¹⁶ Nos. 167, 226 and 235 of 1925 mention only this tax.

¹⁷ Paṣuperumai is found in No. 355 of 1907.

¹⁸ Read: dēvasthānagaḷukkū; m is superfluous; dēvasthānagaḷil kaḷittu in No. 80 of 1911.

¹⁹ Read: Kriṣṇavēṇi; Kiriṭṭavēṇi in No. 235 of 1925.

²⁰ Uṇḍai in No. 235 of 1925.

²¹ Should be °ṇiyilum.

²² Geṣavāḍai in No. 226 of 1925; Deṣavāḍai in No. 235 of 1925.

²³ Read: Mallikārjunadēvar; Mallikārjunadēvar in No. 226 of 1925, and Mallukāchchinadēvar in No. 235 of 1925.

²⁴ Reading is sannadhiyilum in No. 226 of 1925.

²⁵ Reading is dhārāpūrvakamōga in No. 226 of 1925.

²⁶ Read: dharmasādhana rāyasamum as in No. 226 of 1925.

²⁷ Read: rāyasa.

²⁸ Read: dēvasthānagaḷilum.

²⁹ Read: sādhanamum.

³⁰ Read: dēvasthānagaḷukkū; dēvastā° in No. 226 of 1925; dēvasthānagaḷilum in No. 167 of 1925.

³¹ Read: pūjai.

³² Reading is punakāraṅgaḷu[m] in No. 167 of 1925.

³³ This precedes pūjai in No. 167 of 1925.

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The inscription edited below is engraved on a pillar on the north of the *maṇi-maṇḍapa* in front of the *utsava* shrine of the Kanyābhagavati temple. It belongs to the **fourteenth year** of the reign of **Kulōttuṅga-Chōladēva I** (A.D. 1084). The record is in sixteen lines and occupies a space of 24 inches square. Some of the letters in lines 11, 12, 14, 15 and 16 are indistinct. The **language** and **script** of the inscription are Tamil and bear a close resemblance to those of the Tirukkalukkuṇṇam record of Kulōttuṅga I¹.

There are four inscriptions² of Kulōttuṅga I already published in the *Travancore Archaeological Series*. Two of them are from the Śiva temple at Chōlapuram and one from Vāriyūr in South Travancore. The present one is the fifth of his records discovered in Travancore and the first noticed at Cape Comorin. It refers to certain arrangements for the feeding of Brahmins in the temple of Kanyā-Patāriyār at **Kumari** situated in **Purattāya-nāḍu**, a sub-division of **Uttamachōla-vaḷanāḍu** in Rājārāja—Ppāṇḍināḍu.

Of the **geographical places** mentioned in the record **Rājārāja-Ppāṇḍināḍu** is the tract of land which included Kanyākumāri or modern Cape Comorin. **Uttamachōla-vaḷanāḍu** is a division of the Rājārāja-Ppāṇḍināḍu. **Purattāya-nāḍu** means a *nāḍu* which is outside the country. The country east of Kōṭṭār was known in the olden days as Purattāya-nāḷu or the country outside Vēṇāḷ.³ It was a sub-division of Uttamachōla-vaḷanāḍu mentioned above. **Rāyakkuḍi**, **Peruṅkuḍi** and **Śēṅgaḷūr** are villages contiguous to Kanyākumāri.

TEXT

| | |
|---|---|
| 1 Svasti Śrī[\|*]Kulōttuṅga-[Chōladē]- | 9 nniraṇḍum Peruṅkuḍi-chchālā- |
| 2 varku yāṇḍu [paḍinnālāvaḍu] | 10 bōgattil kalam irupattira[ṇ*]ḍum |
| 3 Irājarāja-[Ppāṇḍi-nāṭṭu] Ut- | 11 Śēṅgaḷūr-āpa Śikā ⁴....maṅgalat- |
| 4 tama-Chōla-vaḷanāṭṭu Purattā- | 12 tu=kkalam panniraṇḍum |
| 5 ya-nāṭṭu=Kkumari-Kkaṇṇi[yā-paṭā]ri- | 13 Chchāttaṇēri-kkalam iraṇḍum ā |
| 6 yār kōyillil Brāhmaṇarai amidu- | 14 ⁵ i-chchā- |
| 7 cheyya=kkarpitta kalam nam ⁶ Rāya- | 15 lābōgattil [aimpa]ḍu ⁷ Brāhmaṇā- |
| 8 kkuḍi-chchālābōgattir=kalam pa- | 16 r=amirdu variyil-iṭṭukkuḍuttōm [\|*] |

ABSTRACT OF CONTENTS

In the **14th (regnal) year** of **Kulōttuṅga-Chōladēva (I)**, We have given for the feeding of Brahmins in the Kanyā-Patāriyār temple at **Kumari** belonging to **Purattāya-nāḍu**, a sub-division of **Uttamachōla-vaḷanāḍu** in **Rājārāja-Ppāṇḍināḍu**: 12 *kalams* from our **Rāyakkuḍi śālābhōgam** (i.e., endowment of land for the maintenance of a rest house, etc.), 2 *kalams* from **Peruṅkuḍi śālābhōgam**, 12 *kalams* from **Śēṅgaḷūr alias Śikā**....maṅgalam and two *kalams* fromChāttaṇēri.

¹ S. I. I., Vol. III, p. 165 ff.

² T. A. S., Vol. I, pp. 242—243.

³ Travancore State Manual (1906), Vol. I, p. 180.

⁴ [Reading is *Narirāyakkuḍi*; and this village is apparently the same as *Narirākkuḍi* mentioned in the Kanyākumāri inscription Virarājēndra (T. A. S., Vol. III, p. 149, text-line 440).—N. L. R.]

⁵ [Reading is *Śikarāṇamangalattu*.—N. L. R.]

⁶ [Reading is *ga kalam nārpaṭṭu eṭṭum*.—V. V.]

⁷ [Reading is *nimanta*.—V. V.]

villagers as also good Brāhmaṇas — assembled at the place of his initiation¹ in the village of **Dvārahaṭāka** situated in **Pūrvakhāṭikā** which was acquired by the **Pāla** family coming from **Ayōdhya** :—

(Ll. 6-9) “ Be it known to you all that this village of **Dhāmabithā** — shorn of all royal privileges over (*its*) mineral resources, having its four boundaries (*clearly*) distinguished and having (*full rights over*) all land and water, pits and wastes, trees and shrubs, mangoes and *mudhūkas* (*existing or growing in the village*) and having been closed to all *chattas* and *bhattas* (*of the king*), having been made exempt from taxes and having been freed from all (*manner of*) oppression.—

(Ll. 9-11) “ is granted by Us as freehold (*land*) to (*Our*) good friend *Mahārāyaka* **Vāsudēva-śarman**, son of **Purushōttamādēva** and grandson of **Sōmadēva**, who belongs to the Vārdhīnasa *gōtra* and is a student of the *Kāṇva śākhā* of the *Yajurvēda*, as a friendly gift which is to last as long as the sun and the moon and the earth.

(Ll. 11-14). “ Wherefore, this gift shall be approved and maintained by you all and by those coming in future, from fear of the sin involved in misappropriation of land (*belonging to others*). And all the resident cultivators (*in the village*) shall continue to pay all rightful taxes, dues, etc. ”

(Ll. 14-21). And here are the *ślokas*, conforming to *dharma* : [six imprecatory verses].

(L. 22). THE 9TH DAY of Vaiśākha, Śaka 1118.

No. 22—SEALS OF TIRUPPUVANAM PLATES

(1 Plate)

K. V. SUBRAHMANYA AIYER, COIMBATORE

Subsequent to my editing the inscriptions on the above plates,² I happened to refer to the work entitled *Coins of Southern India* by Sir Walter Elliot on p. 124 of which he writes “ I have a drawing and a facsimile of the seal of another *śāsanaṃ*, which, to the best of my recollection, was deposited with the preceding (*i.e.* the seal of the Tiruppūvaṇam plates of Jaṭāvarman Kulaśekhara I) at Tiruppūvaṇam, and referred to the grant therein mentioned by the chief of Madacolum, a feudatory of Kulaśekhara. This seal differs somewhat from the above marginal woodcut in having the **tiger and the fish** placed upright, opposite each other, in the middle of the field, with the **bow** transversely below them : round it a **legend** which has been read doubtfully as ‘ *Pāṇḍya-Narēndravarmmapaḥ Samastalōkāśrayaḥ* ’ *i.e.* “ the Pāṇḍya Narēndravarmman, lord of the whole world ”. To the above observation, I have only to say that there is nothing to doubt about the correctness of the legend on this seal. On page 123-4 of the book, the author carefully describes the seal of the Tiruppūvaṇam plates of Jaṭāvarman Kulaśekhara and makes his own observations as regards the king, his date, etc., which we reproduce here :—

“ Memorials of him (Kulaśekhara I) have been found in the shape of copper *śāsanaṃs*, the seals of which have the fish symbol in the centre, flanked by the tiger and the bow, as represented in the annexed woodcut, showing that he had assumed the paramount position of the Chōḷas or in other words, of the whole of the Drāviḍa. The copper plates to which the seals above described were attached were translated by Dr. Caldwell and purport to be issued in the “ 13th year, 1364th day of the lord of the earth, Śrī Kōchchaḍai Varmā, emperor of the three worlds, Śrī Kulaśekhara Dēva, ” etc. “ If this is the year of the Kaliyuga, it would correspond with

¹ Dr. B. C. Sen rendered (*I.H.Q.*, Vol. X, p. 330) *mukti-bhūmi* as ‘ the place of salvation ’. Dr. D. C. Sircar asked (*Indian Culture*, Vol. I, p. 682) if this term indicated Maḍōmmaṇapāla’s imminent death ! Mr. J. C. Ghosh thought (*ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 139) of a possible reference to Maḍōmmaṇapāla’s birthplace. I believe some kind of *dikṣhā* or initiation is meant by the word *mukti* here. This would at least furnish an occasion for the land grant.

² above, Vol. XXV, pp. 64 ff.



SEAL OF THE TIRUTHUVANAM SUPPLEMENTARY PLATE
(EP. IND., VOL. XXV, PP. 130 FF.)



No. 17]

TWO PANDYA INSCRIPTIONS FROM SALAIGRAMAM

85

8 ntarikān=anyāns=cha(nyāns=cha) vallabha-jātīyān=rāja-pād-ōpajīvinō vya[va]hāri-
vaishē(sha)-

9 yikāns=cha(kāns=cha) yathārham=mānayatty=ādīsati cha viditam=astu vō ya[th]-ā-

10 smābhūh Māgha-kṛishṇasy=aikādaśyām=uttar-āyanē ētad-vishaya-sam¹

11 [tṭivt]-Ā[rddhā]kamaṇḍuka-grāmaś=Chandanavāṭaka-sahitō=grahārīkṛitya Hom-
vak-āgra-

12 hārīya-brāhmaṇ-ōpādhyāya-Matūsvāmi-pramukhānām nānā-gōttra-charaṇa-

Second Plate ; Second Side

13 nām vṛitt-āddhyayanavatām brāhmaṇānām(nā)m=ā-chandr-ārka-sama-kāla-sthityā
tāmra-[pa]-

14 tṭ-ābhilikhitah sarvva-kara-ptdā-varjjitah s-ōddēśah s-ōparikarah mā[tā]-

15 pittrōr=ātmanas=cha puṇy-ābhivṛiddhayē pratigrahēṇa pratipāditaḥ[²]

16 tad=ēsh-āsmad-dattir=ddharmma-gauravāt=pratipālānīy=ēti | uktañ=cha dharmma-

17 śāstrē | Va(Ba)hubhir=vvasudhā dattā rājabbis=Sagar-ādhibhiḥ [³] yasya yasya ya-

18 dā bhūmis=tasya tasya tadā phalam(lam) [⁴] shashtim=va(shṭim va)rsha-sahasrāṇi
svargē mōdati

Third Plate

19 bhūmidah [⁵] ākshēptā ch=ānumantā cha tāny=ēva narakam(kē) vasēt [⁶] Mā bhūd-
a-pha-

20 *la-śaṅkā vah para-datt-ēti pārthivāḥ [⁷] sva-dānāt=phalam=ānantyam para-dā-

21 n-ānupālānam(nē) [⁸] sva-dattām para-dattām=vā(ttām vā) yō harēta vasundharām(rām)|
sa viśṭhā-

22-yām kṛimir=bhūtvā pītṛibhis=saha pachyatē [⁹] likhit-ādbikaraṇi³

23 ka-D[ā]sukēna | Lakṣaṇasvāminā⁴

24 tāpitam=iti [⁵]

No. 17—TWO PANDYA INSCRIPTIONS FROM SALAIGRAMAM

(1 Plate)

M. VENKATARAMAYYA, OOTACAMUND

Sālaigrāmam is a village in the Paramagudi *tāluk* of the Ramnad District, a region which once formed the core of the kingdom of the Pāṇḍyas. The village contains an old temple of Śiva worshipped under the name of Varaguṇīśvara, an appellation evidently associated with the Pāṇḍyas among whom there were two kings of the name of Varaguṇa. The goddess bears the name, Kāmākshi-Amman. Mr. K. Ramaswami Aiyangar, the then Revenue Officer of the Ramnad Samsthanam, drew the attention of the Government Epigraphist for India to the historical associations of the temple and to its antiquity borne out by the old inscriptions in the temple and by

¹ Read *sambaddh-Ārddhaka*.

² Before *la*, another *la* was incised ; but it seems to have been rejected by the engraver owing to damage in its lower part.

³ *Likhitā* qualifies a word like *lipi* understood here.

⁴ *Lakṣmaṇa*³ seems to have been intended. *Tāpitam* qualifies *śāsanam* understood.

⁵ The *i* sign of *ti* is joined cursorily with the long horizontal stroke at the end indicating full-stop. This characteristic is also found in other records. Cf. Soro plate (C), line 16 (above, Vol. XXIII, Plate opp. p. 202) ; Ashrafpur plate (B), lines 17, 23 (*Mem. A.S.B.*, Vol. I, Plate VII) ; etc.

references in ancient Tamil literature to the place. Two verses in the *Peruntogai*¹ refer to a chief, Tenkoḷamūr Vēṇāḍaṅ, who is stated to have founded Śālaigrāmam and endowed thirty-two *kuḷis* of land in it to god Varaguṇavichebuvavar, who was responsible for the routing of the hostile kings and making them climb the northern mountain. The local people of the village derive the name Śālaigrāmam from *śālai* or road-stead for the pilgrims proceeding to Sētu and Rāmēśvaram. It may be noted, however, that the inscriptions secured from the place, which are edited here, give its name as Sūlaigrāmam.

The inscriptions under publication (A and B)² are engraved on the left and right door jambs of the entrance into the *maṇḍapa* of the temple. Both are engraved in Vaṭṭeḷuttu characters and their language is Tamil. The Grantha alphabet is employed wherever letters or words of the Sanskrit language had to be written, e.g., *brahmadēyam* (A. lines 7-8; B. lines 9-10), *Paramasvāmi* (A. lines 10-11; B. lines 24-5), *Sūlaigrāmam* (A. lines 8-9; B. lines 10-11), etc. In the word *Kōṇōṇmaikōṇḍāṅ* (A. lines 20-1), we have a title which bears close similarity to *Kōṇ-riṇmaikōṇḍāṅ* and *Kōṇ-riṇmaikōṇḍāṅ* found in inscriptions of much later date than the present record and which have been generally understood to mean 'one who had no rival king' (*Kōṇ-ēr-iṇmaikōṇḍāṅ*) and 'the unequalled among kings' (*kō-nēr-iṇmaikōṇḍāṅ*).³ But neither of these derivations can suit the form of our inscription. Apparently, its meaning has to be derived as *kōṇ-nōy-iṇmaikōṇḍāṅ*, i.e., 'one who had no ill health'. This would correspond, as Venkayya thought, to the term *kuśalī* of Sanskrit inscriptions.⁴ Both the records are engraved with care and the writing may be attributed, on palaeographical grounds, to the 10th century A. D. A few orthographical peculiarities found in the inscriptions may be noticed. Instances of the use of *ṇ* for *n* are found in *iṇṇu* (B. line 14) and *vaḷa-pāṇu* (A. line 5). The following uncommon usages of certain words due, evidently to colloquial expression, may be noted: *y-ri* for *ēri* (A. lines 19, 28, 35; B. 52); *vaḷunāṭṭu* (A. lines 22-3) for *vaḷanāṭṭu*; *iṇaiy-ōḷiṇṇu* (A. lines 30-1) for *iṇaiy-ōḷicheṇu*.

Record A is dated in the 2+1st year of the reign of the Pāṇḍya king Śaḍaiya-Māraṇ and registers the order issued by Kōṇōṇmaikōṇḍāṅ to the *sabhai* of Śālaigrāmam, a *dēvadāṇa-brahmadēya* village in Mayimākara-vaḷanāḍu alias Tuvvūrkuṅgam, to use the waters of the *Kuḷavāṇai-ēri* for irrigating the lands of the god Varaguṇa-ēśvarattu-Paramasvāmigaḷ. It is also stated that the permission so granted was in accordance with the *śirimukam* (Skt. *Śrīmukha*) of Perumāṇḍigaḷ Śivalluvadēvar (Śrīvallabhadēva) granting the village as *dēvadāṇa* to the god with facilities for irrigation. Kōṇōṇmaikōṇḍāṅ was evidently the title of king Śaḍaiya-Māraṇ. As far as I know this is the earliest mention of the title in Pāṇḍya records.

Record A is engraved immediately below another short Tamil inscription⁵ in Vaṭṭeḷuttu and Grantha characters which states that the *nilai* (door jamb) was set up by Vāsudēva-Nārāyaṇaṅ of Kōṭṭaiyūr. Since the characters of this record are so similar to inscription A it may be supposed

¹ Edited by M. Raghava Ayyangar (1935-36), Nos. 1231-2.

² Nos. 35a and 34 of the *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy*, 1946-47.

³ *S. I. I.*, Vol. II, p. 110.

⁴ *S. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 291, note 2.

⁵ No. 35 of the *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy* for 1946-47. The text of the record runs:—

1 ēvaṭi Śri[?]* Sājai.

2 grāmattu Kōt.

3 ṭaiyūr Vāsu.

4 dēva Nārāya.

5 nan itta.

6 nilai [?]*

that both were written at the same time, if not by the same hand, soon after the setting up of the door jamb.

Record B is dated in the year 15+5 of the reign of Vira-Pāṇḍya, 'who took the head of the Chōla'. The date quoted here is the highest known regnal year of this king. I have not been able to make out the full sense of the record owing to the complicated wording of the text, the syntax of which is not clear. Its main purport seems to be to register the grant of 35 *pāṭakams* of land made evidently to god Varaguṇa-śvara of Sālaigrāmam by the *sabhā* of Sālaigrāmam, a *dēvadāna-brahmadēya* in Tuvvūr-kūṇṇam *alias* Maṇimākara-vaṇaṇālu. It also seems to say that Perumāṇḍiḷai (*i.e.*, the king) abolished a tax of 9000 *kāṣu* which he at first said he would levy on Tirukkuluṇḍalūr, but later decided not to do so. A sum of 100 *ilakkāṣu* is separately mentioned in the record as an endowment made for the purpose of supplying ornaments (*tiruv=ābharaṇam*) and cake-offerings (*tiruv-appam*) to god Varaguṇa-śvara. It is not clear who the donor of the 100 *kāṣu* was; whether the assignment of 35 *pāṭakams* of land made by the *sabhā* was made in consideration of the 100 *kāṣu* only, or in return for the 9000 *kāṣu* of tax abolished on Tirukkuluṇḍalūr by the king is also not clear. In the latter case it must be understood that this village was within the jurisdiction of the *sabhā* of Sālaigrāmam. The order of the Perumāṇḍiḷai is stated to have been issued from Tiruppālūyūr where he was staying (*iruṇḍu*). The inscription thereafter specifies the boundaries of the land granted and records the provision made for its irrigation by the *Kuṭuvāyū-ēri* for the two crops of the year.

The importance of the records under study lies in their close palaeographical resemblance which permits the inference that the kings mentioned therein, *viz.*, Śaḷaiya-Māraṇ and Śīḷaṇ-*calai-konḍa* Vira-Pāṇḍya could not have been much removed from each other in point of time. Śaḷaiya-Māraṇ of record A can be identified with Śaḷaiyamāraṇ Rājasiṃha, the donor of the Bigger Śiṅṅamaṇūr plates issued in the 2+11th year of his reign.¹ The identification is sustainable on the ground that the records of this king are invariably issued in the years opposite the second year,² as also on palaeographical considerations. Śaḷaiya-Māraṇ is to be assigned to the 10th century A. D., a period to which the donor of the Bigger Śiṅṅamaṇūr plates also belonged. The contemporaneity of this Rājasiṃha *alias* Śaḷaiyamāraṇ with the Chōla king Parāntaka I (A. D. 907-953) is well known. The actual dates of the beginning and the close of his reign are not definitely ascertainable owing to the lack of necessary data, astronomical or other, in his inscriptions. But an attempt can be made to indicate them approximately. In the first instance, the duration of his rule might be fixed by taking into consideration the highest regnal year quoted in his records, which is 2+22.³ Thus he had at least a reign of 24 years. That his rule for this entire period was quite uninterrupted is evidenced by his inscriptions which are dated in almost every year of his reign, from the 2nd to the 2+22nd, and which are found in distant parts of his kingdom, in places as wide apart as Cape Comorin⁴ and Kuṭumiyāmdai (Pudukkottai).⁵ The most outstanding events of his reign were his conflict with Chōla Parāntaka I (A. D. 907-953), with whom he fought finally at Vellūr, and his subsequent flight to Ceylon abandoning his kingdom to which he never returned. Since the battle of Vellūr in which the Pāṇḍya king was aided by the Ceylonese troops, finds mention

¹ *S. I. I.*, Vol. III, pp. 450-56.

² *An. Rep. on S. I. Epigraphy*, 1932-2, part II, para. 29; above, Vol. XXIII, p. 293.

³ No. 228 of 1932-3 of the Mad. Ep. Coll. A few records issued in the name of Śaḷaiya-Māraṇ with single regnal years like 46 (No. 440 of 1907 of the Mad. Ep. Coll.) cannot with certainty be ascribed to this ruler. It is likely, as Mr. Sarma has suggested, that this record might have been issued by his grandfather also called Śaḷaiya-māraṇ with the surnames of Śrīvallabha, Śrīmāra and Avanipaśekhara (*J. O. R.*, Vol. IX, p. 225). Hence, as a working hypothesis, we may take the year 2+22 of Śaḷaiya-Māraṇ's records as his highest regnal year.

⁴ No. 107 of 1896 of the Mad. Ep. Coll.

⁵ No. 343 of 1904 of the Mad. Ep. Coll.

in two stone records of Parāntaka I dated in his 12th regnal year,¹ i.e. A. D. 919, the engagement must have been fought prior to this date, say about A. D. 918.² From the way in which the incidents of the battle are described in the Chōla records, it would appear that it was a fierce and undecisive fight. Victory is claimed for the Chōla king in the Udayēndiram record of Prithivipati II, issued a few years later in the reign of Parāntaka I in A. D. 921-2, which evidently narrates the events of the same battle though it omits to mention the places.³ On the other hand, the Bigger Śiṅṅa-manūr plates issued by the Pāṇḍya king in his 2+14th regnal year, embody an elaborate eulogy of his victories over his enemies including that over the king of Tañjai, i.e. the Chōla.⁴ It seems likely that the Pāṇḍya king was just giving his version of the same conflict with Parāntaka I, which culminated in the Vellūr battle. If such be the case, the 2+14th year of the Pāṇḍya king's reign might be equated with a date around A. D. 918. The Ceylonese chronicle, *Mahāvamsa*, relates that in the reign of Dappula IV (A. D. 923-934), 'the Pāṇḍu king, through fear of the Chōla (king), left his country, took ship and came to Mahātittṭha' and then having made an unsuccessful attempt to rouse the Ceylonese to fight his cause, 'the Pāṇḍu king left his diadem and other valuables behind and betook himself to the Kēraḷas'.⁵ No mention of the Pāṇḍu king's fate is made in the subsequent portion of the chronicle, though a reference therein to an attempt made by the Chōla king to get possession of the Pāṇḍya king's diadem is found among the events of the reign of king Udaya IV (A. D. 945-953).⁶ We may, therefore, conclude that the Pāṇḍya king never returned to rule over his country again. His flight to Ceylon must have taken place soon after his 2+22nd regnal year, the highest date found in his records. The presence of the Chōla king Parāntaka I in A. D. 921-3 at Kuḍumiyāmalai⁷ once forming part of the Pāṇḍya king's territory, must have hastened the flight of the Pāṇḍya. The event may be placed approximately about A. D. 926-7, i.e., his 2+22nd regnal year since, as we saw, his 2+14th year lay somewhere about A. D. 918-9. In the light of all this, we may fix the period of the rule of Śaḍaiyamāraṇ Rājasimha as lying between c. 903 and 926-7 A. D.⁸

In the subjoined inscription (A) of his, mention is made of Perumāṇḍigaḷ Śivalluvadēvar (Śrīvallabha), who is stated to have made the original grant of the village of Sālaigraṁam to god Varaguṇa-Īsvara. Among the Pāṇḍya kings who preceded Śaḍaiyamāraṇ Rājasimha there was only one king of the name of Śrīvallabha, i.e., Śrīmāra, the grandfather of Śaḍaiyamāraṇ Rājasimha. It is evidently this king Śrīmāra who is referred to here and if so, the god Varaguṇa-Īsvara must have been named after a Varaguṇa, a predecessor of Śrīmāra Śrīvallabha, who was in all probability Varaguṇa I (c. A. D. 800). Successive kings of the Pāṇḍya dynasty seem to have bestowed their patronage on the temple and worshipped the deity from the time of Varaguṇa I (c. A. D. 800) to that of *Śōḷaṇ-ralai-kōṇḍa* Vira-Pāṇḍya of the subjoined ins. B, the period of whose rule we may now proceed to discuss.

Earlier in this article it has been stated that *Śōḷaṇ-ralai-kōṇḍa* Vira-Pāṇḍya of inscription B could not have been far removed from Śaḍaiya-Māraṇ in point of time since the palaeography of their records is so much alike. The latter's rule, as we saw, may be placed approximately between c. A. D. 903 and 927. Vira-Pāṇḍya should, therefore, be relegated to the same period, though not exactly to the same dates, since it is not likely that both the kings ruled simultaneously.

¹ Nos. 231 of 1926 and 693 of 1904 of the Mad. Ep. Coll. : *S. I. I.*, Vol. III, No. 99, pp. 231-33.

² Prof. Nilakanta Sastri puts the date about A. D. 915 (*Colas*, Vol. I, p. 146.)

³ *S. I. I.*, Vol. II, p. 383, text ll. 24 ff; vv. 10-11.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. III, pp. 455, 461; text ll. 123 ff.

⁵ *Mahāvamsa* (*Culavamsa*), ch. 53, vv. 5 ff.; *Colas*, Vol. I, p. 147.

⁶ *Ibid.*, ch. 53, vv. 40 ff; *Colas*, Vol. I, p. 148.

⁷ No. 351 of 1904 of the Mad. Ep. Coll. *Inscriptions in Pudukottah State* (Translated into English), pt. I (1941), Nos. 79 to 80A.

⁸ c. A. D. 900 to 920 or a little later is the date given to this king in *Pandyan Kingdom*, pp. 41 and 82.

It is well known that he was not one of the predecessors of Śaḍaiya-Māraṇ and consequently he must have been one of the latter's successors ; probably he ruled in the second quarter of the 10th century A. D.

In an article contributed to this journal¹ the late Mr. A. S. Ramanatha Ayyar fixed the period of Vira-Pāṇḍya's reign as extending from A. D. 947 to 966 on the basis of a few astronomical details found in one inscription of the king at Ambāsamudram. Of the three alternative dates which this record yielded for the commencement of the king's reign, viz., A.D. 933, 947 and 948, he selected the second, i.e. A. D. 947 as the best suited. The main consideration which weighed in its favour was that by accepting it, it would be possible to satisfactorily fix the initial date of the reign of this Pāṇḍya king's Chōla contemporary and foe, Āḍitya II Karikāla, at whose hands he died before the latter's second regnal year. Hence, the second year of Āḍitya II, by being equated with the last known regnal year of Vira-Pāṇḍya, i.e. 15+5 corresponding to A. D. 966, would yield A. D. 965 as the starting date of Āḍitya II's reign. On this fixation, the five year rule for Āḍitya II could be placed between A. D. 965 and 969, since from the latter year, Āḍitya II's successor Uttama-Chōla, counted his regnal years. There are, however, some points to be considered before accepting the above chronological position for the reign periods of Āḍitya II and *Sōlaṇ-ṛalai-konḍa* Vira-Pāṇḍya. These arise from the Pāṇḍya as well as the Chōla sides. It is not likely that the last years of the rule of Vira-Pāṇḍya lay beyond the middle of the 10th century A. D. which the above chronological adjustment envisages : for, there is evidence to show that part of the early life of Vira-Pāṇḍya coincided with the latter part of Śaḍaiyamāraṇ Rājasiṃha's reign. One of the records of the latter dated in the 2+18th regnal year (i.e., c. A. D. 923) mentions a servant of Vira-Pāṇḍya² who could be no other than *Sōlaṇ-ṛalai-konḍa* Vira-Pāṇḍya. On the Chōla side we encounter one difficulty. Besides Āḍitya II, another prince, Pārthivēndra-Āḍittavarman who had a reign of thirteen years, claims to have taken the head of Vira-Pāṇḍya. A strong case for the identity of these two princes has been made out by Prof. Nilakanta Sastri.³ Granting the identity which some scholars hold in doubt,⁴ the 13 years' rule of Āḍitya II (alias Pārthivēndravarmān ?) when placed immediately before Uttama Chōla's accession in A. D. 969-70, would yield A. D. 956-7 as the date from which Āḍitya II counted his reign probably on account of his being associated in the administration with his father Sundara-Chōla.⁵ Taking A. D. 956-7 as the initial year of Āḍitya II his second year would correspond to A. D. 957-8 and this date when equated with the last year of *Sōlaṇ-ṛalai-konḍa* Vira-Pāṇḍya, i.e. 15+5, would yield A. D. 937-8 as the Pāṇḍya king's initial year. This date was also taken into account by Mr. Ramanatha Ayyar while discussing the astronomical details of the Ambāsamudram record, but discarded owing to one consideration. He feared that its acceptance as the initial year of Vira-Pāṇḍya would lead to the inconsistent results that Āḍitya II killed him in A. D. 957 and that his predecessor Sundara-Chōla defeated him in A. D. 963.⁶ This, indeed, is a great difficul-

¹ Above, Vol. XXV, p. 37.

² No. 122 of 1905 of Mad. Ep. Coll. Here we may also point out that the chieftain *Sōlāntaka* Pallavaraiyaṇ alias Māraṇ Āḍicheṇ of Pōliyūr figures in records of the 4+3rd (No. 420 of 1914 of the Mad. Ep. Coll.) and 13+1st year (*T. A. S.* Vol. III, p. 72) of the reign of Vira-Pāṇḍya and this chief was evidently the grandson of his namesake Teṇṇavan Pallavaraiyaṇ alias Māraṇ Āḍicheṇ of Pōliyūr, mentioned as a subordinate of Māraṇjaḍaiyaṇ alias, Varaguṇa (II) (acc. A. D. 862) in or about A. D. 867 (No. 90 of 1908 of the Mad. Ep. Coll.). Should we put Vira-Pāṇḍya's last date beyond the middle of the 10th century A.D., it would result in the above two chieftains, grandfather and grandson, being removed from each other by about a century, rather a rare instance to happen though not impossible.

³ *Colas*, Vol. I, pp. 178 ff.

⁴ Above, Vol. XXV, p. 36, n. 9.

⁵ *Colas*, Vol. I, p. 180.

⁶ Above, Vol. XXV, p. 37.

ty in the way of assigning the dates, viz. A. D. 937-8 to 957-8 to Vira-Pāṇḍya and A. D. 956-7 to 969-70 to Āḍitya II as a possible alternative to those fixed by Mr. Ramanatha Ayyar, although these dates would help in narrowing down the interval between Vira-Pāṇḍya and his predecessor Śaḍaiyamāraṇ Rājasimha (c. 903 to 926-7) to about a decade¹ and would also help to solve the Āḍitya II-Parthivēndra identification. It should be also admitted that with the revised dates the identity of the Chōla king whose head Vira-Pāṇḍya took would remain unsettled since he cannot be identified with Parāntaka I as proposed by Mr. Ramanatha Ayyar. We may, nevertheless, suggest that the Chōla victim of Vira-Pāṇḍya might have been a less conspicuous prince, perhaps one of the sons of Parāntaka I, Uttamaśīli. Of Uttamaśīli we hear nothing subsequent to A. D. 933 when he makes an endowment to a temple at Kaṇḍiyūr, Tanjore District, in the 26th year of the reign of his father, Parāntaka I.²

The position occupied by *Śōlaṇ-ṇalai-kōṇḍa* Vira-Pāṇḍya in the Pāṇḍya genealogy still remains undetermined. That he might have been the son of Śaḍaiyamāraṇ Rājasimha himself has been suggested by Mr. Ramanatha Ayyar.³ This may not be unlikely in view of the fact mentioned in the Larger Siṅṇamanūr plates that Rājasimha had 'prosperous sons worshipping at his feet'.⁴ Granting that Vira-Pāṇḍya was one of them, it still remains inexplicable why he does not call himself as Śaḍaiyan, being son and successor of Māraṇ Rājasimha. Could it be that these names Śaḍaiyan and Māraṇ were alternately used only by the anointed supreme sovereigns of the Pāṇḍya throne, and that Vira-Pāṇḍya was not perhaps anointed and hence could not lay claim to such a title? We know that the Pāṇḍya diadem and other regalia of supreme rulership necessary for such anointment were left in Ceylon by Rājasimha and were not recovered by the Pāṇḍyas even up to the time of Udaya IV (A. D. 945-93).⁵ The importance of these regalia for the exercise of supreme authority over the Pāṇḍya kingdom seems to have been recognised by the Chōla king Parāntaka I 'who wished to achieve consecration as king in the Pāṇḍya kingdom and sent (messengers) concerning the diadem and other things which the Pāṇḍu (king) had left behind (in Lankā) as the *Mahāvamsa* succinctly relates'.⁶

A word about the term *ślai* occurring in inscription B (line 59). In ordinary parlance the word is understood to mean 'order or document'. In literary usage⁷ we find it equated to *āvaṇam* in the same sense. *Āvaṇam* is evidently derived from Skt. *śrōvaṇam* 'causing to be heard'. Similarly, *ślai* would signify an order or document. The *Tamil Lexicon* gives *āvaṇa* as the Sanskrit root of *āvaṇam*, meaning market. It seems that it would be better to derive the word from *śrōvaṇam*. Expressions found in inscriptions such as *vilai-y-āvaṇam-śeydu*⁸ or *vilai-*

¹ It may be noted that Chōla Parāntaka I's records in the Pāṇḍya country fall partly in this interval, e.g., (1) No. 446 of 1917 of the Mad. Ep. Coll. dated 24th year = A. D. 932; (2) No. 63 of 1905 of the same collection (S. I. I., Vol. III, No. 106) dated year 33 = A. D. 940 and (3) No. 448 of 1917 of the same collection dated year [36] = [943] A. D. See *Colas*, Vol. I, p. 422 and n.

² S. I. I., Vol. V, No. 575. This prince was in the Pāṇḍya country in the 24th regnal year of his father, i.e. A. D. 931 (No. 446 of 1917 of the Mad. Ep. Coll.)

³ Above, Vol. XXV, p. 33.

⁴ S. I. I., Vol. III, p. 461, text l. 139.

⁵ *Colas*, Vol. I, p. 148.

⁶ *Ibid.* *Mahāvamsa* (*Culavamsa*), ch. 53, vv. 40 ff. Here it may be pointed out that it was Rājendra Chōla I who gained possession of the regalia from the Ceylonese king with whom they had remained all the time since they were first deposited with him by the Pāṇḍya king Rājasimha. It was after this event that Rājendra Chōla I crowned his son as the ruler of the Pāṇḍya country.

⁷ *Periyeppurānam*, (Kovai Tamil Saṅgam ed.), vv. 190, 193, 207.

⁸ S. I. I., Vol. III, No. 10, text ll. 2, 10 and 11. The translation of the words given here as 'executed the sale deed' would perhaps be better rendered as 'having declared its price'; cf. *vilai-pramāṇam-paṇṇai* occurring in similar context in inscriptions.

*śrāvaṇam śeydu*¹ and *vilai-y-āvaṇak-kaḷam* or *kaḷi*,² (i.e. place of declaration of sale price), would support our derivation of *āvaṇam*.

A few words may now be said about the geographical names mentioned in the two inscriptions. **Sālaigrāmam**, same as modern Sālaigrāmam in the Paramagudi *tāluk* of Ramnad District, the findspot of the inscriptions is stated in the records as being situated in Mayimākara-vaḷanāḍu *alias* Tuvvūr-kūrṇam. **Mayimākara** might either be a title of the Pāṇḍya king Śaḍayamāraṇ of the record (A) or of one of his predecessors. **Tuvvūr-kūrṇam** in which Sālaigrāmam is stated to have been situated may be the region around Tugavūr in the Paramagudi *tāluk*. In a number of late copperplate records of the Sētupati chiefs of Ramnad³ the territorial division Tugavūr-kūrṇam finds mention and this name may have been a later form of Tuvvūr-kūrṇam of the Pāṇḍya inscriptions edited here. **Nedurūr** may be identified with Nērūr in the Paramagudi *tāluk*. **Tiruppālaiyūr** where Vira-Pāṇḍya was staying (B. lines 13-14 seems to be identical with Tiruppālaikuḍi in the Tiruvadanai *tāluk* of the Ramnad District. I have not been able to locate Tirikkulungaḷūr of record B (lines 16-7).

A. TEXT

- 1 Svasti śrī[||*] Kōchchaḍai-
- 2 ya-Māṇarkku yāṇḍu
- 3 2 idaṇ=edir=ām=āṇ-
- 4 ḍu Mayimākara-va-
- 5 ḷaṇṣḍ=āyina Tuv-
- 6 vūr-kūrṇattut-
- 7 tēvadāṇa brahmadē-
- 8 yam Sālaigrā-
- 9 mattu Śrī-Varaṇa-
- 10 Ichchuvarttu Para-
- 11 masvāmigaḷuk-
- 12 ku dēvadāṇam=i-
- 13 ṇai śurukkiyum
- 14 nīr pāyavum Pe-
- 15 rumāṇaḍigaḷ Si-
- 16 valluvadēva-
- 17 r śirimugam ku-
- 18 dūttapaḍi Śri-
- 19 Kuḷuvāṇai [yē]ri-
- 20 yāl Kōṇō-iṇ-
- 21 mai-kōṇḍāṇ Mayi-
- 22 mākara-vaḷ[ū]nāṭ-
- 23 tu dēvadāṇa-brahmadē-
- 24 yam Sālaigrāmat
- 25 tu sabhaiyārkkku taṇ-
- 26 gaḷ=ūr śi-Varaṇa- Ich-
- 27 chuvarttu-dēvar [ū]r
- 28 varamoḷi-yēriyum

¹ S. I. I., Vol. III, p. 105 and note 19.

² S. I. I., Vol. VII, No. 96, text l. 12, ³ *kaḷaṇḍum=āvaṇak-kaḷiy=arak-konḍu*; cf. *in-nīlam viṇṇuk-kuduttu koḷvad-āna emmūl iṣaiṇda vilai-poruḷ mūṇṇam āvaṇak-kaḷiyē kiḷigaichchelaḷ-konḍu viṇṇuk-kuduttom* of No. 458 of 1905 (text ll. 10-11) of the Mad. Ep. Coll.

³ C. P. Nos. 31, 33, 35, 36 and 37 of the *An. Rep. on Indian Epigraphy for 1946-47*.

- 29 Vāsudēva-ēriyum i-
- 30 ttēvar nilam irai-
- 31 y=olīñju taṅgaḷ
- 32 nilamu[da]ḷḷuṇ(n) tāu-
- 33 gaḷ śurukkik-kuḍut-
- 34 ta nilattukku Kuḷuvā-
- 35 nai-yēriyāl nīr pāyu(yavu)-
- 36 m Nedu[rū]ruṇ ta[ḍu]k-
- 37 kapperā[dā*]gi Vaiguṇa-
- 38 śīyanakkaṇ=eḷuttu [||*]

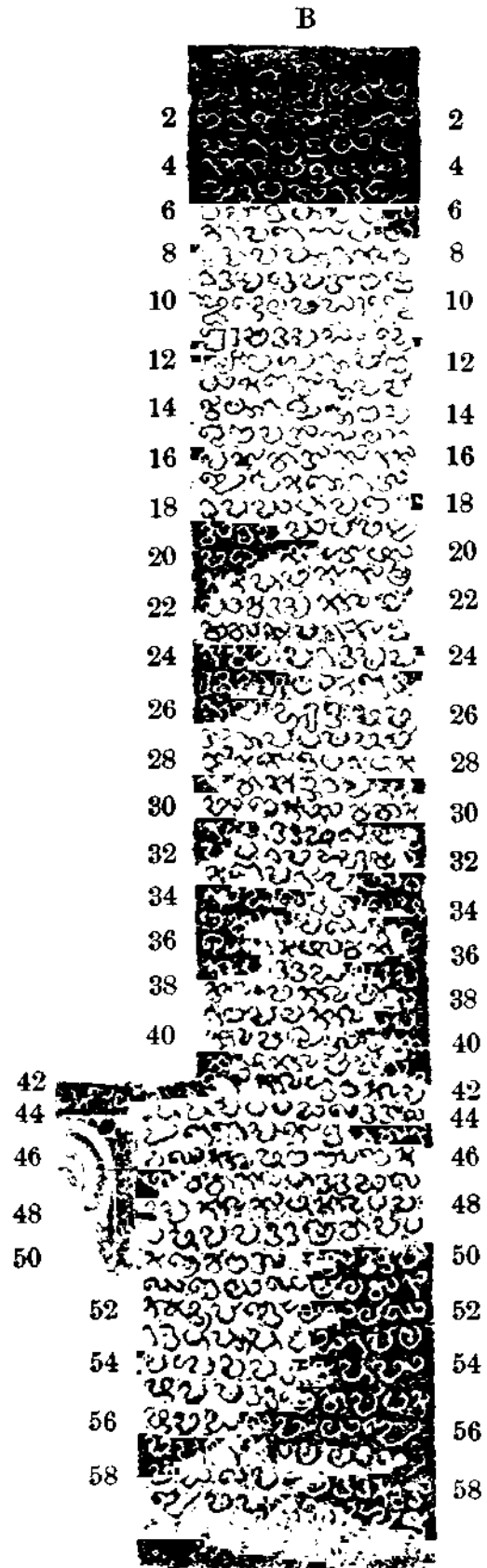
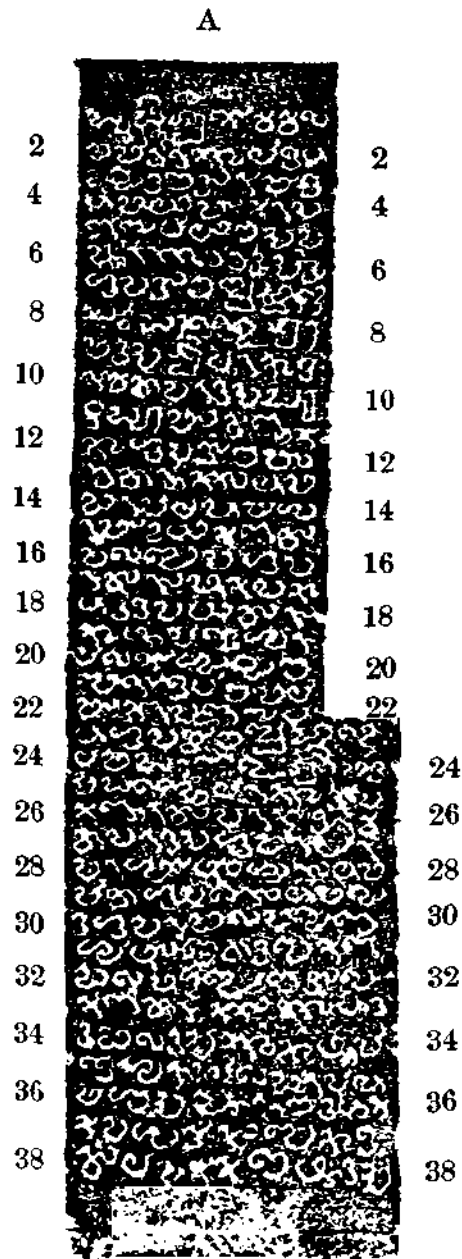
A. TRANSLATION

Hail ' Prosperity !

In the first year opposite the second year of (*the reign of*) king Śadaiya-Māraḥ, (*the following is the order of*) Kōñḍiṇmaikoṇḍāṇ (*addressed*) to the *sabhā* of Sāḷaigrāmam, a *dēvadāna-brahma ēya* in Tuvvūr-kūrṇam *alias* Mayimākara-vaḷanāḍu, (*wh reas*) in accordance with the *śīrimugam* (*śīrimukha*) of Perumāṇaḍigaḷ Śivalluvadēvar (*ordaining*) the grant of (*the village*) Sāḷaigrāmam as *dēvadāna* to god Śrī-Varaṇṇa-Īchhuvarattu-Paramasvāmigaḷ, free of taxes and with facilities for irrigation, you (*the sabhaiyūr*) have, in the village of Sāḷaigrāmam which is your village as also that of Śrī-Varaṇṇa-Īch huvarattudēvar, granted to the deity lands (*irrigated by the*) Varamoli-ēri (*tank*) and Vāsudēva-ēri (*tank*) making them free of all taxes, we do hereby permit the irrigation of the said lands by the waters of the Kuḷuvānai-ēri (*tank*) and (*the residents of*) Neduṇr shall not obstruct this, (*to which effect this is the*) signature of Vaiguṇaśīya-Nakkaṇ.

B. TEXT

- 1 Svasti śrī [||*] Śōḷa-
- 2 ṇ-ṇalai-koṇḍa Kō-
- 3 Vira-Pāṇḍiya-
- 4 rkku yāṇḍu 15-
- 5 idaṇ=dir 5 i-
- 6 vvāṇḍu Mayim[ā]-
- 7 karavaḷanāḍ=āyi-
- 8 ṇa Tuvvūr[k*]kūr-
- 9 rattu dēvadāna-bra-
- 10 hmadēyam Sāḷai-
- 11 grāmattu sabhai-
- 12 yōm [Pe]rumāṇa-
- 13 ḍigaḷ Tiruppā-
- 14 laiṇr iṇṇu(n)du
- 15 oṇḍadināyira-
- 16 ā-kāsu Tirikku-
- 17 luṅgaḷūr ti-
- 18 rapp=iḍuvaṇ=en (=iḍuvēṇ=eṇa
- 19 tiṇrapp=iḍāmsu-
- 20 m ik-kās=olī-
- 21 kkavum kāriya-



B. CH. CHHABRA

Reg No 3977 E'36-499'51

SCALE: ONE-EIGHTH

SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA

- 22 viśattukku ¹ { Yā}-
- 23 m śiri-Varaguna-
- 24 iehchubarattu Pa-
- 25 ramasvāmiga| ti-
- 26 ruv-ābharanamum
- 27 tiruv-appamum[=i]-
- 28 dikkonda ² i|ak-
- 29 kāsukku nūrukku-
- 30 m=iṛai ka|iechchuk-
- 31 kuḍutta nilam[=i]
- 32 p-paramasvāmi-
- 33 ga| Varamoli ē-
- 34 ri nilattil mu
- 35 n śirivalikku
- 36 iṛai ka|iechchuk-
- 37 kuḍutta nilattu-
- 38 kku mē[r*]kkum di-
- 39 raṇ-vāycku vaḍa-
- 40 kkum idipukku
- 41 kiḷakkum puṭavu-
- 42 [i]kku teṛkum
- 43 [mū]liyū=utpa|ḍa]³
- 44 naḍuvu-paṭṭa nilattil⁴
- 45 uḷḷadu koṇḍu śiri-
- 46 valikku munṇ=iṛai ka-
- 47 [i]iechchuk-kuḍutta nila-
- 48 ttukku kiḷakk=utpa-
- 49 ḍa muppattaṇju p[ā]ṭa-
- 50 kaṇ chaṇ(n)dir-āditta va-
- 51 l=iṛayiliyāy śiri-
- 52 kKu[u]vāṇai-yēriyāl=i-
- 53 raṇḍu pūvum nīr pāy-
- 54 vvaippad=āgavum=i[m*]
- 55 muppattaṇju pāṭaka-
- 56 m[u]m nilam-āyilu-
- 57 m [mu]||iy-āyilu-
- 58 m nilam=apaṭṭ=agatti-
- 59 lum-[mu]||iv=ōlai⁵

¹ This word evidently refers to the managing body of the temple.

² The letters =appamum[=i]dik- can also be read as =appamu[mā]rik-, but I am not able to understand it. Evidently =appamum[=i]dik- has to be corrected as =appamum=[i]darkkuk-

³ This line (43) has been inserted later between lines 42 and 44.

⁴ The letters nilattil may also be read as nilattāl.

⁵ The sense conveyed by the lines 56-59 is not clear.

No. 43]

TWO TAMIL INSCRIPTIONS FROM PUNGANUR

267

- 20 श्रेष्ठ दानाच्छेयोऽन(नु)पालनं(नम्) ॥ बहुभिर्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभिः सगरा-
दिभिः [1*] य-
- 21 स्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं (लम्) ॥ आस्फोटयन्ति पितरः
प्रवर्गं(त्वा)-
- 22 न्ति पितामहाः [1*] भूमिदाता कुले जातः सवस्त्रात(सर्वस्नात):¹
भविष्यति(ती)ति ॥ लिखितं
- 23 वक्त्रामात्यप्रणप्त्रा भोगिकनरदत्तनप्त्रा भोगिकरविदत्तपुत्रेण
- 24 महासान्धिविग्रहिकसूर्यदत्तेन [1*] दूतको नागसिंहः

Seal:

श्रीहस्तिराज्ञः(जस्य)

No. 43—TWO TAMIL INSCRIPTIONS FROM PUNGANUR

(1 Plate)

V. VENKATASUBBA AIYAR, MADRAS

The subjoined inscriptions A³ and B⁴ are found on both sides of two slabs found near the deserted Śiva temple at Puṅgaṇūr in the North Arcot District of the Madras State. Though the temple is now deserted without worship, its construction consisting of the central shrine with a *mahāmaṇḍapa* is intact containing inscriptions of Rājaraṇja I⁵ and Kulōttuṅga-Chōla III⁶ indicating the patronage it received under the Chōla monarchs. An inscription⁷ of Nripatuṅga-Vikrama-varman in the village indicates that the locality, prior to the Chōlas, was under the rule of the Pallavas.

Both the inscriptions, A and B, are in a fair state of preservation, though the slab containing B is broken into two pieces.

The language of these records is Tamil prose which does not call for any special remark. Minor peculiarities in the script and language are noticed in foot-notes under the texts.

These epigraphs are important because (1) they are dated in Śaka years without mentioning any overlord of the region ; (2) they throw fresh light on the chronology of the rule of Pārthivēndra-varman which has not yet been satisfactorily settled, and (3) one of them, i.e., inscription B, mentions a chief of the Lāṇḍa family which wielded considerable influence in the region roughly comprising the present North Arcot District in the 9th and 10th centuries A. C.

¹ [The reading is *sa nas-trāta(tā)*.—Ed.]

² This is upside down.

³ No. 13 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1940-41.

⁴ No. 14 " " " " for 1940-41.

⁵ Nos. 8, 9 and 11 " " " for 1940-41.

⁶ No. 7 " " " for 1940-41.

⁷ No. 12 " " " for 1940-41.

Inscription A is dated Śaka year 888=966-67 A. C. and it states that *Īśvarapichchan*, a member of (the trading corporation called) *Tigai-yāyirat-taiññurru-nagar* redeemed the lake at Puṇṇaṇūr by payment of gold to the *Uraṇar* of the village.

Inscription B dated in Śaka year 9 (*sic.*) records that *Āṇaiyamman*, son of *Ṇāḍarāyaṇ* *Tattāṇ* assigned (the taxes) *kaṇṇōlakkāṇam* (marriage fee), *ūrppadīṇkāḍi* and *pidā-nāḷi* derived from the village (for the upkeep) of the tank called 'Paramaṇḍalāditta-pērēri' which he had constructed at Puṇṇaṇūr.

It will be evident at the outset that both A and B refer to the same lake at Puṇṇaṇūr which was constructed by *Āṇaiyamman* and called 'Paramaṇḍalāditta-pērēri', evidently after his surname. Since A is definitely dated in Śaka 888 and as there is no difference in the palaeography of these records, we may surmise that the Śaka year 9 quoted in B is an engraver's mistake for Śaka 889, in preference to a possible reference to the 9th regnal year¹ of an unspecified king. If this supposition is correct, it may be maintained that in Śaka 888, this lake, which was originally dug by *Āṇaiyamman*, but which in the meanwhile was under encumbrances, was redeemed by *Īśvarapichchan* and that in the next year, the founder *Āṇaiyamman* himself retrieved the situation by endowing certain specified taxes for its upkeep.

As no overlord is mentioned in these records it would appear that no one was acknowledged as such in the region about this time. Inscriptions not mentioning any king are found in the North Arcot District, dated in Śaka 810,² 830,³ 832,⁴ 85*,⁵ 871,⁶ 875,⁷ 878,⁸ 880,⁹ 885,¹⁰ 891,¹¹ and 892,¹² i.e., from 888 to 970 A. C. This period was one of transition as it saw the end of Pallava rule, the intrusion and the temporary occupation of the region by Rāshtrakūṭa Kṛṣṇa III before the final conquest and consolidation of the Chōḷa power, replacing the Pallava domination. Time was therefore opportune for local chiefs like the *Lāḍas* to assert their power. In inscription B, *Āṇaiyamman* is introduced without mentioning any overlord, but at Tirumālpuram in the same North Arcot District, this chief figures as a subordinate in the 12th and 13th years of the reign of *Pārthivēndravarma*.¹³

The period of rule of *Pārthivēndravarma* is not yet definitely settled, but the highest regnal year so far found for him in inscriptions is 13. On the basis of the similarity of titles such as *Parakēsarivarman* and *Vira-Pāṇḍyaṇ-talai-konḍa*, etc., which both this ruler and the Chōḷa king *Āditya II* bore, he has been taken to be a contemporary of and even identical with the latter. But the late Mr. H. Krishna Sastriyar doubted if *Āditya II* and *Pārthivēndravarma* could be assigned to the same period, as records of neither of them supply names which give a clue to their contemporaneity.¹⁴

¹ The words *Śakara-yāṇḍa* would make it clear that the regnal year of any particular king was not intended.

² S. I. I., Vol. III, p. 95.

³ Nos. 203, 211, 212 and 228 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1915.

⁴ No. 168 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1921.

⁵ No. 157 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1921.

⁶ Above, Vol. VII, p. 194.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 195.

⁸ No. 473 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1925.

⁹ No. 469 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1925.

¹⁰ No. 470 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1925.

¹¹ Nos. 96 and 100 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1941-42.

¹² No. 246 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1909.

¹³ Nos. 323 and 267 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1906. The regnal year 3 (No. 267 of 1906) seems to be a mistake for 13 in the *Annual Report*.

¹⁴ *Madras Epigraphical Report* for 1910, pt. II, para 17.

Since Āṇaiyamman figures in B of Śaka year [88]9 (967 A.C.) which does not mention the ruling king and also in records of the 12th and 13th regnal years of Pārthivēndravarmaṇ, we have to take these regnal years as falling either before or after 967 A. C., and very probably after, because as stated above, there are inscriptions in this region dated in Śaka 875, 878, 880 and 885. Further, Vira-Pāṇḍya whose head is claimed to have been taken by Pārthivēndravarmaṇ and Āḍitya II, ruled from 946-47 A. C.¹ to 967, A. C. corresponding to his latest known regnal year 15+5th year.² Vira-Pāṇḍya, therefore, must have been alive till 966-67 A.C. I have elsewhere³ shown that the 2nd regnal year of Āḍitya II with whom Pārthivēndravarmaṇ has been sought to be identified must be placed after 959 A.C. from an examination of two records in one⁴ of which *Iruṅḡōlakkōṇ alias Puḡalvipparagandaṇ* figures in the Kali year 4060, i.e., 959 A.C. without mentioning any overlord, and in the other,⁵ dated in the 2nd regnal year of Parakēsarivarman 'who took the head of Vira-Pāṇḍya,' i.e., Āḍitya II. It will thus be seen that the accession date 956 A.C. given to Āḍitya II in *The Cōlas*⁶ has to be modified and that the theory of the contemporaneity of Pārthivēndravarmaṇ with Āḍitya II, which was doubted, gains in strength.

The family to which Āṇaiyamman mentioned above belonged is called *Ilāḍa*⁷ and *Virāṭa* in inscriptions. Members of this family describe themselves as of the Solar race and claim descent from *Sagara Virāṭa*. In the 9th and 10th centuries A.C. we find this family wielding power in the region roughly comprising the present North Arcot District, having marriage alliances with the local chiefs of *Paṅḡala-nāḍu*, the *Bāṇas* or *Vāṇakōvaraiyars* and the *Chōla* sovereigns. I have made an attempt to trace the history of this family in a paper entitled 'the *Lāḍa* Chiefs of the Tamil Country' published in the *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*,⁸ Seventh Session, Madras.

The genealogy of Āṇaiyamman is given as follows in an inscription from *Tirumālpuram*,⁹ North Arcot District.

Guṇaratnasindhu of the Solar race (and) of the family of *Sagara Virāṭa*.

—|
Āṇigōpa

—|
Kampadigaḷ

—|
Taṭṭāḷar

—|
Āṇaiyamman Paramaṇḍalāḍittan Virāṭarājan

Āṇaiyamman was a feudatory of Pārthivēndravarmaṇ. He is said to have built of stone the central shrine of the Śiva temple at Śrīmālpēr and the enclosing *maṇḍapa*,¹⁰ as also another *maṇḍapa* in the Viṣṇu temple of the village.¹¹ Further, he made a gift of land for providing water

¹ Above, Vol. XXV, pp. 37-8

² *Ibid.*

³ *Vide* my paper on 'the *Lāḍas* of the Tamil Country' published in the *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, Seventh Session, p. 210.

⁴ No. 240 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1916.

⁵ *S. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 375-6.

⁶ Vol. I, p. 180.

⁷ This has no connection with the country *Lāḍa* through which Mahāvira is supposed to have travelled (*J.A.S.B.* New Series, Vol. IV (1908), pp. 285-86 and *J.A.H.R.S.* Vol. II, p. 91) or *Rāḍha*, i.e., West Bengal.

⁸ Pp. 203 ff.

⁹ *Annual Report on Epigraphy, Madras*, for 1907, para. 65.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹ No. 323 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1906.

during summer and firewood during winter in the *maṇḍapa* at Gōvīndavāḍi,¹ besides making provision for feeding 15 Brāhmaṇas daily. The three taxes specified in B were evidently his levy, as the chief of the region, the proceeds of which he made over for the upkeep of the tank constructed by him and called after his surname Paramaṇḍalādittan.²

As stated in inscription A, Īśvarapichchan belonged to *Tijai* or *Tiśai-yāyiral-taiññūrru-nagar*, a trading corporation of South India whose activities extended even beyond the borders of India. An inscription in Tamil dated in Śaka 1010-1088 A.C. at Lobos Toewa, Baros, Sumatra,³ mentions this body which is also known as *Nānādēśi*,⁴ *Padinen-vishayattār* or *Padinen-bhūmi*⁵-*Tiśai-yāyiratt-aiññūrruvar*. In an inscription⁶ from Viriñchipuram, North Arcot District, members of this body are mentioned as "merchants of the 18 countries trading in the four directions." The present inscription is one of the few early records mentioning this body.

From its appellation, this organisation may be taken as one containing 1,500⁷ or 500 members, but an inscription from Kalasāpākkam⁸ (North Arcot District) favours the latter interpretation. This inscription records an endowment of land by the *Nānādēśis* for feeding people during the annual festival of the local temple in the *maṇḍapas* called *Nānādēśiyaṇ-sālai* and *Aiññūrruvan-ambalam*. Generally in lithic records, this organisation is introduced with an elaborate string of *birudas* and its members enjoyed a considerable measure of autonomy, owing no exclusive political allegiance to any king in particular.

Of the taxes specified in B, the meaning of *Pidā-nāli*⁹ is not clear. It also occurs in the form *Pudā-nāli*¹⁰ and *Pudāli*.¹¹ *Pudā* means a door and the term may be interpreted to mean a levy of 1 *nāli* on each house. *Urpadin-kāḍi*¹² may be taken as a levy of 10 *kāḍi* of grain due to *Ur*, i.e., assembly or village. *Kaṇṇālakkaṇam* is a fee of one *kāṇam* (of gold) received on every marriage occasion.¹³

The territorial division, Paḍavūr-kōṭṭam, comprised portions of the modern *taluks* of Arkonam, Walajapet, Vellore and Gudiyattam of the North Arcot District.

A. TEXT

Front Side

- 1 Śākar¹⁵ai yāṇḍu ¹⁶88-
- 2 8-ṭṭāvadu Paḍuvūr-kō-
- 3 ṭṭattu Puṇ[gaṇūr]

¹ *Ibid.*

² Nos. 267 and 323 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1906.

³ Above, Vol. IV, p. 293 : *Annual Report on Epigraphy, Madras*, 1892, para 11.

⁴ No. 82 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1907.

⁵ Nos. 193 and 402 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1939-40. People of the 18 *samayas* and *Nānādēśis* are mentioned in No. 387 of 1926.

⁶ No. 193 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1939-40.

⁷ A body called *Āyirattaiññūrruvar* is noticed in a record of Māraṇjaḍaiyan from Tiruppattūr in the Ramnad District (Nos. 136 and 138 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1908).

⁸ No. 291 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1939.

⁹ It is also mentioned in the Larger Leiden Grant (above, Vol. XXII, p. 234).

¹⁰ Taṇḍantōṭṭam Plates, *S.I.I.*, Vol. II, p. 521, text 1. 33.

¹¹ Vēlūrpālaiyam plates, *S.I.I.*, Vol. II, 509, text 1. 52.

¹² Cf. *Ūr-kaḷaṇju-kāṣu* and *Ūr-kaḷaṇju* in No. 113 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1896 (*S.I.I.*, Vol. V, No. 976, text-line 42).

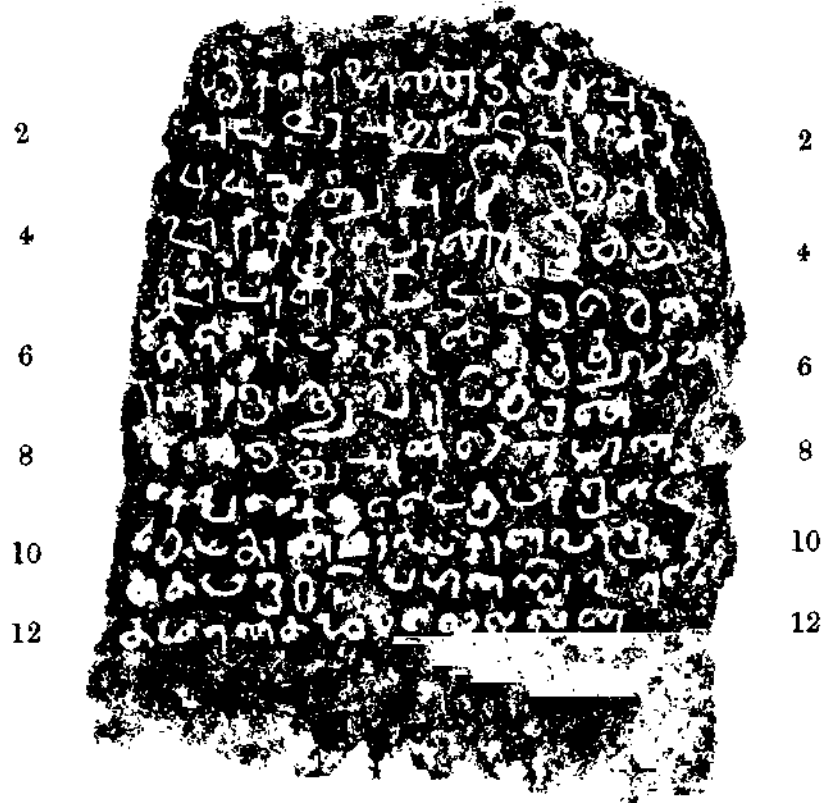
¹³ Above, Vol. XXII, p. 263.

¹⁴ The letter *ś* is engraved in Grantha.

¹⁵ The letter *r* is engraved with a circle at the top.

¹⁶ The sign for hundred after the first figure 8 is peculiar.

A
Front Side



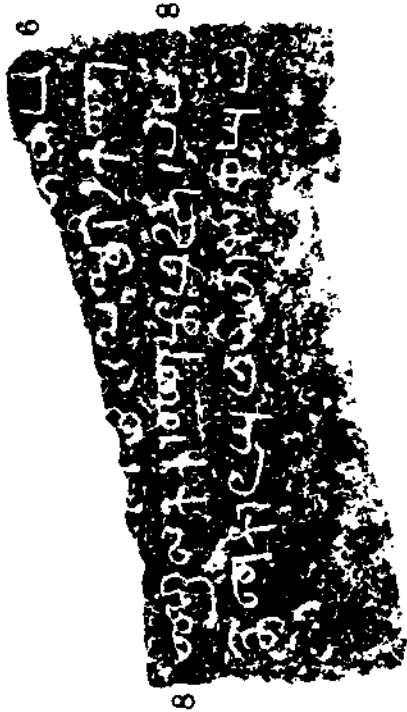
Back Side



Front Side



Back Side



No. 43]

TWO TAMIL INSCRIPTIONS FROM PUNGANUR

271

- 4 ūrkku Poṇ ku[du]ttu
- 5 Ū[ra*]var ē[ri] viḍuvichchēṇ
- 6 Tigai-yāi(yi)ra [t*]taiññūṟṟ¹u-
- 7 nagara I²sva(va)ra³pichchan
- 8 . . *idu anṇēṇbāṇ
- 9 Geṇgai-iḍai Kumari-iḍai
- 10 śeydāṇ pāva[n*] ko[vā [n*] i-
- 11 tta[n*]mam ira⁴[kshi]ppāṇ sri(śri)pā⁵
- 12 dam eṇ talai mēlla(la)ṇa [i*]

Back Side

- 13 ittaṇma[m*] [iḍai]
- 14 vilaṇḡi anṇā[-
- 15 kōvukku niśadam k[ā*]l
- 16 poṇ daṇḍipaḍa o-
- 17 tti kuḍuttōm [Pu] n-
- 18 [ga]nūr Ūrōm (Ūrōm) ira-
- 19 [kaḥip]pār śīpādam eṇ talai
- 20 [mē]l-aṇa [i*]

B. TEXT

Front Side

- 1 [Sva*]sti śri [||] Śakara yā-
- 2 [n]ḍu 9 t-āvadu Ilā-
- 3 ḍarāyaṇ Tattālaṇ ma-
- 4 gaṇ Āṇaiyammaṇē-
- 5 n Puṇṇaṇūr nāṇ kaṇ-
- 6 ḍa Paramaṇḍalā[dittap']-
- 7 pērērikku ivvūriḡ kaṇ-
- 8 ṇālakkāṇamum Ūrppa-
- 9 diṇkāḍiyum piḍānāliyum

Back Side

- 10 ivvūrp-Paramaṇ[ḍalā]-
- 11 [dittap] pērērikku ni...⁶
- 12 ṇmamāgach-che [ydēṇ Ilā]-
- 13 ḍarāyaṇ Āṇaiyamma-
- 14 ṇeṇ [i*] id=alippār [Gaṇ]-

¹ The letter ññ is written abnormally.

² Read *Iṣvara*.

³ The letter *v* is engraved in Grantha.

⁴ Two letters are erased here. Probably the letters *ṇēṇ* were originally engraved.

⁵ The letters *ra* and *śīpā* are in Grantha.

⁶ The slab is broken here.

⁷ The slab is so split into two that the beginnings of lines 6 and 7 are on the top piece, while the ends of these lines are on the lower piece.

⁸ This portion may be filled up with the letters *ṣka da*.

- 15 gai-yiḍaik=Kumari-yiḍai
16 [śe] ydār śeyda pāvat-
17 tiṛ paḍuvār i-dhanmam¹ rakshi-²
18 ppār=aḍi yeṇ muḍi mēlaṇa [!*

TRANSLATION

A

(In the) Śaka year 888, **Iśvarapichchan** (a member of the trading corporation) **Tigai-yāyira-** [t*]taiññūrru-nagar, released the tank of the *Uravar* (by) giving gold to the assembly (*Ūr*) of **Puṇṇaṇūr** in **Paḍuvūr-kōṭṭam**. He who says 'nay' to this shall incur the sins committed (by the sinners) between the *Gaṅgai* and *Kumari*. The sacred feet of him who protects this charity shall be on my head.

If this charity be violated, the *Uravar* of **Puṇṇaṇūr** agree to be liable for a penalty of a quarter *poṇ* daily to the reigning king. The sacred feet of those (who) protect (this charity) shall be on my head.

B

(In the) Śaka year 9, I, **Āṇaiyamman**, son of **Ilāḍarāyaṇ Tattālan**, made a gift of (the taxes) **Kaṇṇālak-kāṇam**, **Ūrppadiṇ-kāḍi** (and) **Piḍā-nāli** (derived from) this village (i.e., **Puṇṇaṇūr**) to **Paramaṇḍalādittap-pērēri** (which) I constructed at **Puṇṇaṇūr**.

(I), **Ilāḍarāyaṇ Āṇaiyamman** (assigned this) gift to **Paramaṇḍalādittap-pērēri** (of this) village. Those (who) destroy this (charity) shall incur the sins committed by the sinners between the *Gaṅgai* and *Kumari*. The feet of (those who) protect this charity shall be on my head.

No. 44—TWO GRANTS OF BHANJA KINGS OF VANJULVAKA

(2 Plates)

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND, AND P. ACHARYA, BHUBANESWAR

More than five years ago, two sets of copper-plate inscriptions were secured by Dr. Rādhā Charaṇa Paṇḍā, a medical practitioner of **Bālugaon** on the Bengal-Nāgpur Railway in the Puri District of Orissa. Ultimately the inscriptions found their way to the Orissa Museum, Bhubaneswar, where they are now lying. On examination it was found that both the charters belong to the **Bhaṇja** rulers of **Vanjulvaka**, a hitherto unidentified city in the present Ganjam region. One of the grants was issued by **Śilābhaṇja II** who was so long known only from the records of his descendants, while the other was issued by king **Nēṭṭabhaṇja Tribhuvanakalaśa** who is as yet unknown from any other sources. No information was supplied to us in regard to the findspot of the records and the story of their discovery.

A.—Plates of *Śilābhaṇja Tribhuvanakalaśa*

The inscription is written on a set of **three copper plates**. The outer sides of the first and third plates are blank. The plates measure each 6.6 inches by 2.9 inches. The central plate has

¹ The letters *dhanma* are engraved in Grantha.

² Engraved in Grantha.

No. 45.—HOSUR INSCRIPTION OF HOYSALA RAMANATHA

(1 Plate.)

C. R. SRINIVASAN, MYSORE

The subjoined inscription¹ is engraved on the south wall of the Vināyaka-mandapa in the Chandrachūdēśvara temple in Hosūr, Hosūr Taluk, Dharmapuri District, Tamil Nadu. The temple is situated on a hill top and a majority of inscriptions copied from this temple and its environs belong to the Hoysala period. The inscription edited below with the kind permission of the Chief Epigraphist was copied by me during my epigraphical survey of Hosur Taluk.

The language of the record is Sanskrit and the characters used are Grantha of about the 13th century. The letters are not deeply incised. The inscription consisting of only one verse is couched in *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* metre. The epigraph does not contain any orthographical feature worthy of note.

The inscription is important as it records the death of the Hoysala king Rāmanātha on Monday in the month of Pausa in the cyclic year Manmatha when the *tithi* was *datalamī* in the bright fortnight and the star was Rōhiṇī and also states that Tapōdhirāja, the preceptor (*guru*) of the king set up the deity Sambhu in a garden-land (*udyaṇa-bhūmi*) on the thirteenth day after the king's death. The epigraph does not give any distinguishing title or epithet or dynastic appellation to the king Rāmanātha. On paleographical grounds and on the basis of the details of the cyclic year Manmatha etc., it has to be inferred that Rāmanātha is evidently identical with the Hoysala king of the same name.

Rāmanātha, the son of Sōmēśvara had inherited a disputed territory viz., the Tamil Districts of the Hoysala kingdom on the eve of his father's death. He had to strive very hard to retain his hold over the Tamil districts. The initial reverses which he met with at the hands of Chaḍaiyavarman Sundarapāṇḍya (acc. 1251 A.D.) resulted in the loss of his capital Kaṇṇaṇūr which was occupied by his enemy. The hostile circumstances particularly the frequent attacks of the Pāṇḍyas made him transfer his capital to Kundāni, a place very near Hosūr as Kaṇṇaṇūr was unsafe. The inimical disposition of his brother, Narasiṃha III (1254-91 A.D.) was also another factor to be reckoned with. Rāmanātha's territories were mostly confined towards the end of his rule to the Taluks of Tumkur, Tiptur and Bangalore in the north which formed the eastern territories of his brother.

Rāmanātha seems to have fallen ill as evidenced by three inscriptions from Maḍivāla in Bowringpet Taluk, Kolar District dated in the 39th year, 41st year (Purattāṣi) and 41st year (Aṇṇaṣi)². According to the first of these inscriptions Mañjaya Māvuttar made a gift of land to provide for the conduct of a festival in the month of Purattāḍi (August—September) with *īrtham* on the final day of his natal star Śadaiyam for the physical well-being of the king (*dēvar tirumēnikku nanṇ-āga*) thus suggesting that the king fell ill sometime before the date of record viz., Vijaya, Purattāḍi in the 39th year (1293 A.D. August—September)⁴. As the donor

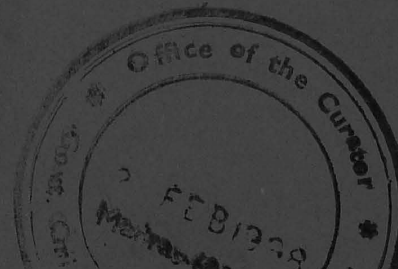
¹ A. R. Ep., 1969-70, App. B, No. 275.

² Ibid., Nos., 255-307.

³ Ep. Carn., Vol. X, Bp. 23, 25 a and 25 b

⁴ For a similar festival ending with the day of his star, see E.P. Carn., Vol. X, Cf. 88

Acc. 206 206



styles himself as *Īrāmanātha dēva Kumāra Mañjaya-Māvuttar*, it can be presumed that he may be one of the sons of Rāmanātha. It is possible, therefore, to surmise that the king suffered from protracted illness before his death in 1296 A.D.

It may be pointed out here that inscriptions such as the present one providing as it does the details of the date on which the king breathed his last are extremely rare.

The fact that Tapōdhirāja, the king's preceptor had installed Śambhu in the garden-land on the thirteenth day is very interesting. It is obvious that since the funeral rites continue upto the twelfth day when the dead soul is joined to the privileged group of the manes (*sapīṇḍī-karaṇa*) the auspicious act of setting up a deity, Śiva in this case, evidently in memory of Rāmanātha, was done on the thirteenth day¹. Even to-day this practice of authorising the performer of funeral rites to celebrate auspicious ceremonies from the thirteenth day onwards is obtained. The installation of the deity Śiva also points to the Śaivite leanings of the Hoysala king.

TEXT

- 1 Vāre Manmatha-Pausha-śukla-dāṣami Rōhiṇy-upētē Vidhōḥ kshmāpā-
- 2 lō=nugat-āvarōdham=agamat śrī Rāmanāthō divam [| *] antyām=asya Tapōdhirā[ja]
- 3 iti vikhyātō gurus=saḥ śriyā Kṛitv=ōdyāna-bhuvi trayōdaśa-dinē Śambhōḥ
- 4 pratishṭhām vyadhāt [|| *]

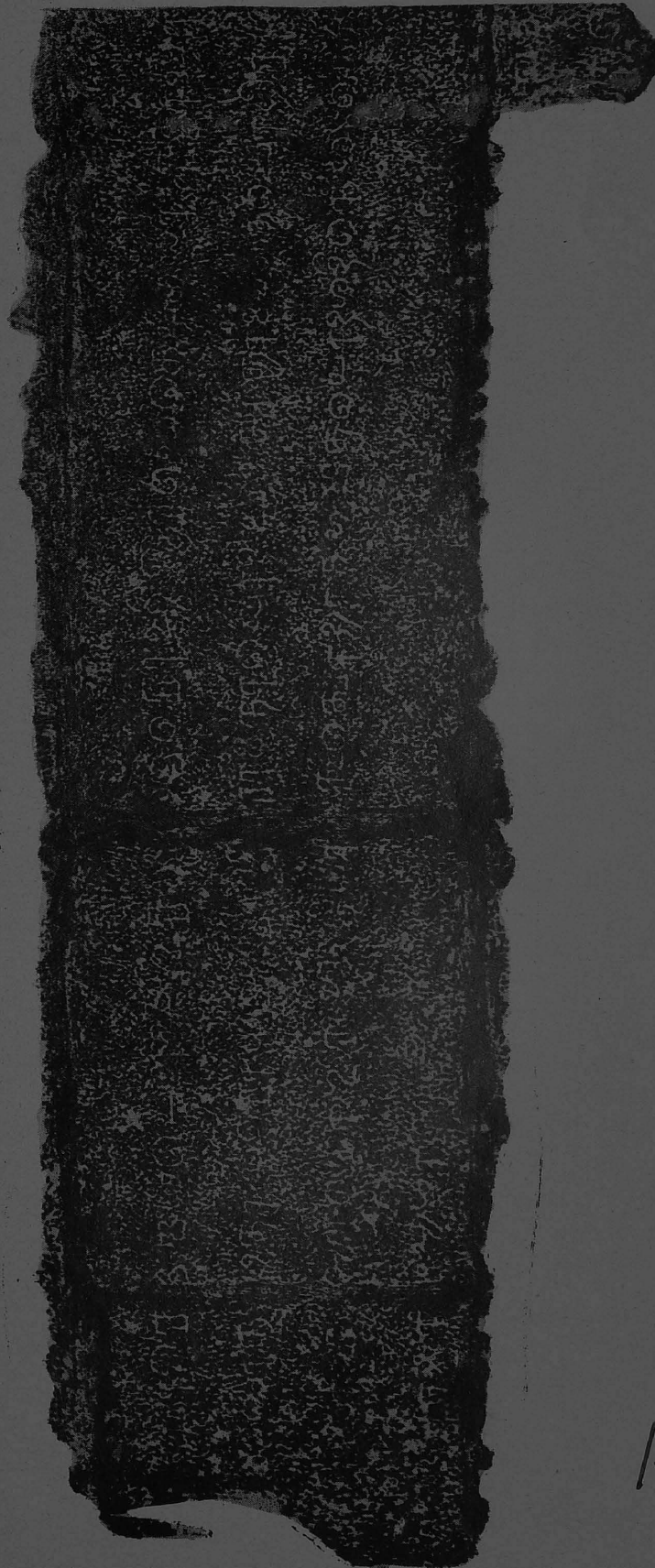
¹ [See *Smṛitīmuktāphāṣam*, p. 669—Ed.]

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2

4

HOSUR INSCRIPTION OF HOYSALA RAMANATHA



SCALE : One-eighth

Acc. 26206.

No. 6—FIVE CHERA INSCRIPTIONS FROM THE KONGU COUNTRY

(3 Plates)

C. R. SRINIVASAN, MYSORE

(Received on 20.1.1967)

Of the five inscriptions edited here with the kind permission of the Government Epigraphist for India, A and B come from **Ponnavādi**, Dharapuram Taluk, Coimbatore District, C and D from **Vellalūr** in Coimbatore Taluk and District, while E is from **Kirapūr**, Palani Taluk, Madurai District, all in Madras State.

Inscriptions A, B and C belong to the reign of **Kaṇḍan-Iravi** who bears the epithets *Chandrāditya-kula-tilakan* and *Sārvabhauman*. Inscription A gives him an additional epithet of *Satyavrat* and B *Kalinripa-kalvan*. While A and B do not give any date, C quotes the **year 24** of his reign. Inscription D belongs to the reign of **Kaṇḍan-Vīranārāyaṇan** and it is dated in the **11th regnal year**. Here too the king bears the epithets *Chandrāditya-kula-tilakan* and *Sārvabhauman*. Inscription E belongs to the reign of **Iravi-Kaṇḍan** and is dated in his **2nd year**. This Ravi-Kaṇḍan bears no epithets. The epithets of these kings and the provenance of these records along with considerations of palaeography lead us to conclude that all these rulers belonged to the same family and were not far removed in time from one another. Scholars have come to the conclusion that these were Chēras, on the ground that their names resemble those of the known Chēra kings (Sthānu, Ravi, etc.).¹ It would appear that the names Kaṇḍan and Iravi were popular among the rulers of this family. The two components of these names consist of the name of the father first and the ruler's own name next. Thus Kaṇḍan-Iravi and Kaṇḍan-Vīranārāyaṇan were the sons of Kaṇḍan. If both Iravi and Vīranārāyaṇan were the sons of the same Kaṇḍan, Vīranārāyaṇan of D was probably the younger of the two. He might have got the chance to rule during the minority of the heir to his elder brother. The names Kaṇḍan and Iravi are also found in the plates which were discovered at Nāmakkal and edited as Udayēndiram plates,² wherein the genealogy of a Virachōja, who was a subordinate of a Chōla ruler named Parakēsarivarman, is described. But whereas the kings in the present inscriptions claim to be of *Chandrāditya-kula* (i.e. born of a conjunction of both the Solar and Lunar races), the genealogy given in the extant portion of the fragmentary Nāmakkal plates is of the Solar family.³ But it is quite likely that the missing fourth plate gave the grounds on which this epithet is based. It may be that some members of this family had a marriage alliance with the Pāṇḍya family, who claimed lunar descent and that such an important alliance led them to assume this title.

¹ *A.R.Ep.*, 1916, Introduction, p. 61.

² Above, Vol. III, pp. 79-82. The second plate which is published gives the genealogy up to Raghu and the third plate continues the line as Daśaratha, Rāma and in the family of Rāma, Mahābāhu, Kērala Jagatpati(?), Maṇikuttava, Kōta (Kōḍai), Ravi, Kaṇḍan. The genealogy after Kaṇḍan up to Virachōja was evidently given in the fourth plate which is lost to us. It is not known whether the epithet *Chandrāditya-kula*, occurring in A, B, C and D above, occurs in the last plate though the ancestry is traced to the Sun. However, Virachōja, the donor of the copper plate was no doubt a prince of the family and was a feudatory of Parakēsari who can be no other than Parāntaka I after whose title the donor came to be known as Virachōja. The gap between Ravi-Kaṇḍan of inscription E and this Virachōja cannot however be restored in the present state of our knowledge. Another inscription from Pērūr (*SI*, Vol. V, No. 223) refers to Kaṇḍan Iravi and Iravi Kaṇḍan. It is not known whether they belong to this family. The identity of Kaṇḍan-Iravi with the namesakes of our records is not certain.

³ In this connection we may point out that some of the Pāṇḍya rulers of this period also described themselves as descended from both the Solar and Lunar families. Cf. *A. R. Ep.*, 1960-61, p. 15 wherein the king Jaṭilavarman has been designated as a *Chandrākānyadīpa*.

Inscriptions C and D record that the two pillars on which they are engraved were caused to be set up in the Nakkapār *maṇḍapa*, obviously the *maṇḍapa* where these pillars are today. But the *maṇḍapa* as it is today, as pointed out in the Annual Report,¹ is not in its original form, since there are other pillars bearing later inscriptions. One of them² recording the gift of the pillar on which it is engraved, is dated in the 14th year of king Vikramachōla who was removed from Kaṇḍan-Iraivi and Kaṇḍan-Vīraṇārāyaṇan by more than a century. This fact suggests that the whole *maṇḍapa* had been renovated later on.

An inscription from Piramiyam³ in Dharapuram Taluk, in Vaṭṭeluttu characters of a slightly earlier period, is dated in the 6+9th regnal year of a Varaguṇa Parāntaka described as *Chandrāditya-kula-tīlakaṇ* and *Sārvabhaumaṇ*. There was no doubt a Varaguṇa Parāntaka in the Pāṇḍya family. But the titles of this ruler coupled with considerations of palaeography and the provenance of this inscription preclude the identification of this ruler of the Piramiyam inscription with his namesake of the Pāṇḍya family. Probably herein we get an inkling into the origin of the epithet *Chandrādityakula-tīlakaṇ* as this prince might have been named so as his mother was a daughter of the Pāṇḍya king of that name.

A.—PONNIVĀḌI INSCRIPTION OF KAṆḌAN-IRAVI

This inscription⁴ in Grantha and Vaṭṭeluttu scripts of the 9th century and Tamil language is engraved on a loose stone which must have formed a balustrade in the Nirmalīśvara temple at Ponnivāḍi in Dharapuram Taluk, Coimbatore District. This undated inscription refers to the construction of a temple by Kalivāṇkaraiyaṇ, a servant (*aḍiyāṇ*) of the king, Kaṇḍan-Iraivi. The name of the temple or of the deity is not given in the record. The temple referred to here is evidently the one near which the stone on which the inscription is engraved was found. However, two later records⁵ engraved on the rock near inscription B, dated in the 7th (1214-15 A.D.) and 12th (1219-20 A.D.) years in the reign of Vīrarājendra, who is no doubt identical with the Koṅḍu king of that name, refer to the deity of this temple as Nirmaṇīśvaram-uḍaiyār and Nimmaṇḍēvar respectively. Both the inscriptions record endowments made by the residents of Nirmaṇi in Poṅgalūrkkā-nāḍu. The place which is now called Ponnivāḍi is evidently the Nirmaṇi of the inscriptions cited here and Nirmaṇīśvara has been, in course of time, changed into Nirmalīśvara as the deity is now called. However, inscription B which belongs to the same king as in A gives the name Nirmini (for Nirmaṇi)-vāykkāl as one of the boundaries of the land granted. The provenance indicates clearly that the names of the village and the deity would have been Nirmaṇi and Nirmaṇīśvara respectively in the period to which this record is assigned i.e., the 9th century.

Regarding orthography, the following may be noted. The form of *rēpha* in *rva* in line 3 is peculiar. The letters *a* of the previous word and *sa* of the following word are written as a conjunct letter in line 3 of the record. This can be seen in the case of *°bhauman Satyavratāṇ*. The medial vowel sign for *i* in *Kaliyāṇ°* in line 5 is written not in the Vaṭṭeluttu fashion but by putting it right above the letter as in the Tamil script. *Pullis* (dots) are marked over the consonants except in the following cases: line 6—the consonant *t* in the word *°eḍuppitta* and *k* in the word *°tirukkōyi*.

¹ A. R. Ep., 1911, Para 4, pp. 56-57. Also see, A. R. Ep., 1906, pp. 56-57.

² Ibid., 1910, No. B 145.

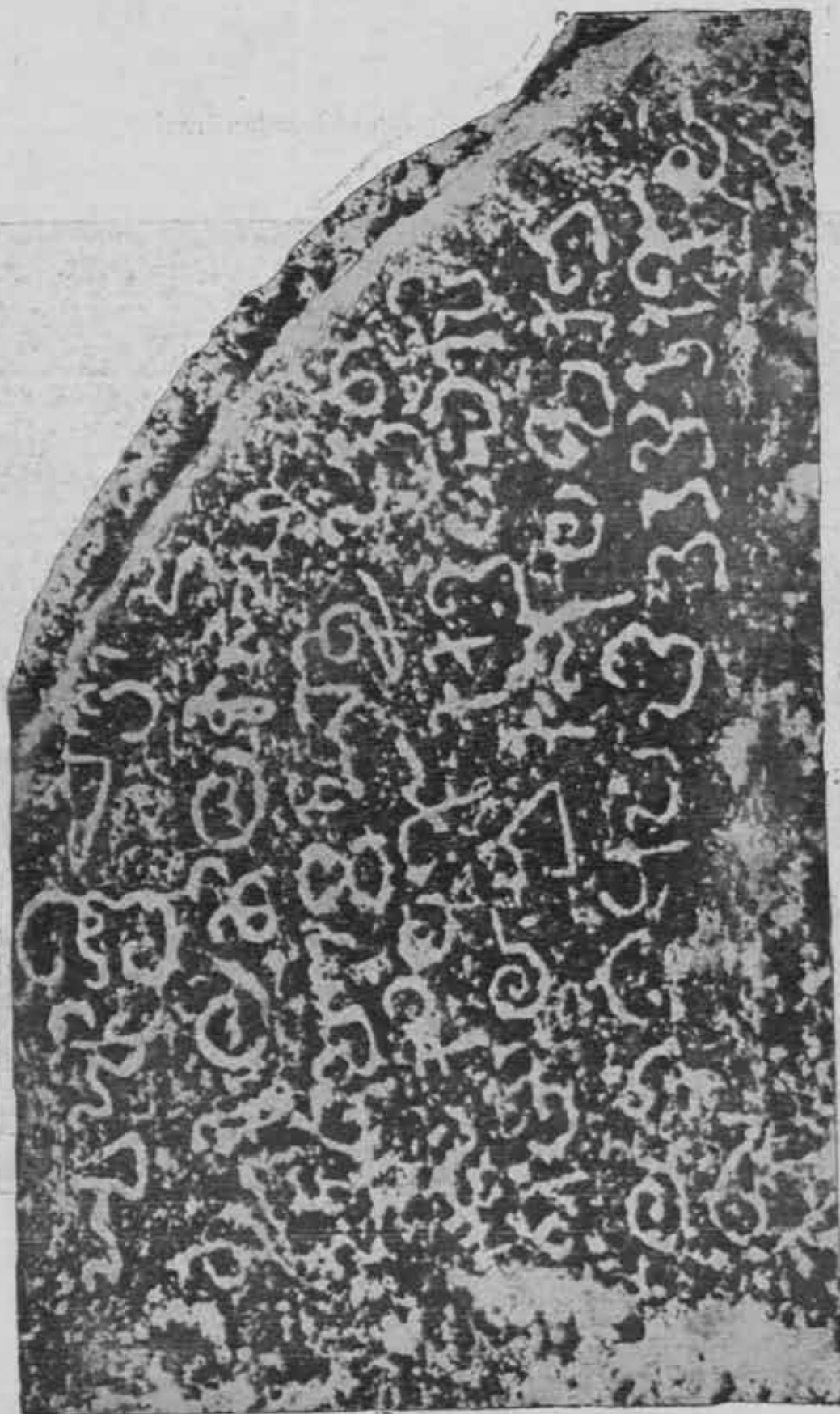
³ Ibid., 1920, No. B. 208.

⁴ Ibid., 1961-62, No. B. 269.

⁵ Ibid., No. B. 272 and 273.

FIVE CHERA INSCRIPTIONS FROM THE KONGU COUNTRY — PLATE I

A. Ponnivādi Inscription of Kandam-Iravi



Scale : One-third

G. S. Gal

B. Ponnivādi Inscription of Kandan-Iravi



Scale : One-fourth

TEXT¹

- 1 Svasti Śrī [||*] Chandrādi-
- 2 tya-kula-tilakan-Sā-
- 3 rvabhauman=Satyavrata-
- 4 ṇ=āgiya kōk-Kaṇḍaṇ-Iraṇi
- 5 aḍiyāṇ Kaliyāṇkaṇai-
- 6 yāṇ eḍuppitta tiruk-kōyi-
- 7 I [||*]

B.—PONNIVĀḌI INSCRIPTION OF KAṆḌAN-IRAVI

This inscription² in Tamil script of the 9th century and Tamil language with the usual admixture of Grantha characters is engraved on a rock in front of the Gaṇēśa shrine to the south of the same temple as in A. This records a grant of land in Śēkerinallūr (Śēkhari-nallūr) as *uṇṇāḷigaip-puram* for the maintenance of worship of the god in the *uṇṇāḷiga* i.e., the central shrine by Maṇiyaṇ, a servant (*aḍi-āḷ*) of the king. The land is said to have been brought under cultivation by the donor himself.

Dots (*pullis*) are used in all the consonants of the record. N is written with the short *ṇ* and the sign for length instead of the extension of its downward stroke and *āyina* is written³ as *āina* in line 2. The vowels *a* and *ā* in the Tamil word *aḍi-āḷ*⁴ are in Grantha. The engraver had apparently drawn lines before engraving the record and had also enclosed the sides with vertical lines making up a square and thus had intended to engrave the entire record between the lines. Yet the last two lines could not be accommodated and hence they are out side the square.

TEXT¹

- 1 Svasti Śrī [||*] Cha⁵ndrāti(di)tyak⁶-kula-tilakan Sā-
- 2 rvvabhauman Kaliniruva(pa)-kaḷvaṇ-āina kō-
- 3 k-Kaṇḍaṇ-Iraṇi aḍi-āḷāga⁷ Maṇiyaṇ Śēkeri[na]-
- 4 llūrt-tāṇ vayakkina nilattir-Paḷḷap-pō-
- 5 li[yi]r [Ner]petṭup-pōliyiṇ vaḍakku Maṇi-
- 6 yaṇ-vayakkukkup-pōnda kava[ri]ṇ mēkku Nirmiṇi-vā-
- 7 yk[kā]ḷiṇ kiḷakku Śe[ṅ]an[ti]ḍarkāga[k]⁸ kavarupōli uṇṇā-
- 8 ḷigaip-puram-āga aṭṭinēṇ[]
- 9 Maṇiyaṇ vāya...⁹

¹ From impressions.

² A. R. Ep., 1961-62 No. B 271.

³ Cf. above, Vol. XXXVI, p. 115. This appears to be a general feature of the early Tamil records in Vatteluttu characters.

⁴ This letter is in Tamil and is actually written like *chī*.

⁵ This letter is unnecessary.

⁶ Read **aḷāga* or **āḷāgiya*.

⁷ Read *Śēgantiṇṇaṭṭu-ṭeṭṭu āga*.

Read *vayakku* or **vayakkū*.

C.—VELLALŪR INSCRIPTION OF KANḌAN-IRAVI : YEAR 24

This inscription¹ in Tamil script, with an admixture of Grantha, of the 9th century and Tamil language, is engraved on two faces of a pillar in the *maṇḍapa* in front of the central shrine in the Tēnīśvara temple at Vellalūr, Dharapuram Taluk, Coimbatore District. It is dated in the 24th regnal year of the king Kanḍan-Iraivi and refers to the gift of the stone pillar, apparently the one on which the inscription is engraved, to the Nakkanūr *maṇḍapa* at Vellūr-Tennūr by Kanna-Kāvan, a resident (or headman) of Māgalūr. The king, in this record bears the title *Chandrāditya-kula-tilaka* and *Sārvabhauma*. The name of the place according to the inscription is Vēlilūr which in course of time has changed into Vellalūr. Tennūr is probably the name of the locality where the temple is situated. The names Tennūr-Patiyulār and Tenūr-Āṇḍār occurring in other inscriptions² copied from this place lend support to this inference. The expression *Nakkanūr-maṇḍapattukku* indicates that Nakkanūr may be the name of a deity.

The form of letter *n* is not uniform throughout the record. Traces of influence of Vaṭṭeluttu can be seen from the way in which the *i* sign in line 4 is written. The letters *n* of the previous word and *sa* of the following word in line 3 of the record are written as a conjunct letter.³ The Grantha ligature *ṇḍa* is used throughout the record e.g., *Kanḍa* (line 4), *yāṇḍu* (line 6), *āṇḍu* (line 8) and *maṇḍapa* (line 10). The place Māgalūr cannot be identified.

TEXT⁴

Face 1

- 1 Svasthi(ti) Śrī [||*] Chantrā(drā)-
- 2 ditya-kula-[ti]laka-
- 3 n-Sārvabhauma[n-ā]-
- 4 giya śrī-kōk-Kanḍa-
- 5 n-Iravikkuch-che-
- 6 lānira yāṇḍu
- 7 irupattu-nān-
- 8 gu ivv-āṇḍu Vēlī-

Face 2

- 9 lūrt-Tennū-
- 10 r-Nakkanūr-maṇḍa-
- 11 pattukku Ōma-
- 12 [yintira] Māgalū-
- 13 r-kile(lā)n Kna-

¹ A. R. Ep., 1910, No. B. 148.

² Ibid., Nos. 144 and 149 respectively.

³ See A above.

⁴ From impressions.

⁵ There is an unnecessary medial *i* sign added to *na*.

FIVE CHERA INSCRIPTIONS FROM THE KONGU COUNTRY — PLATE II

C. Vellalūr Inscription of Kaṇḍaṇ-Iraṇi

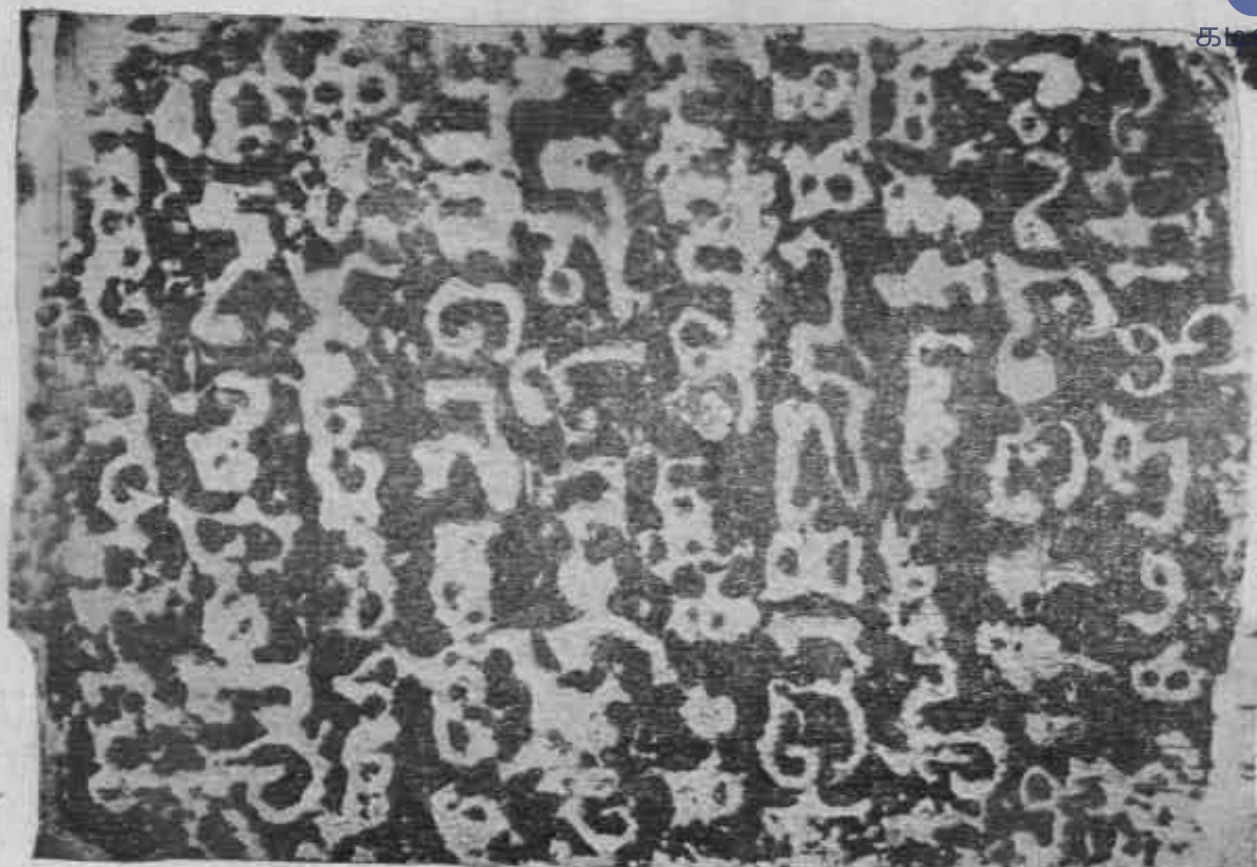
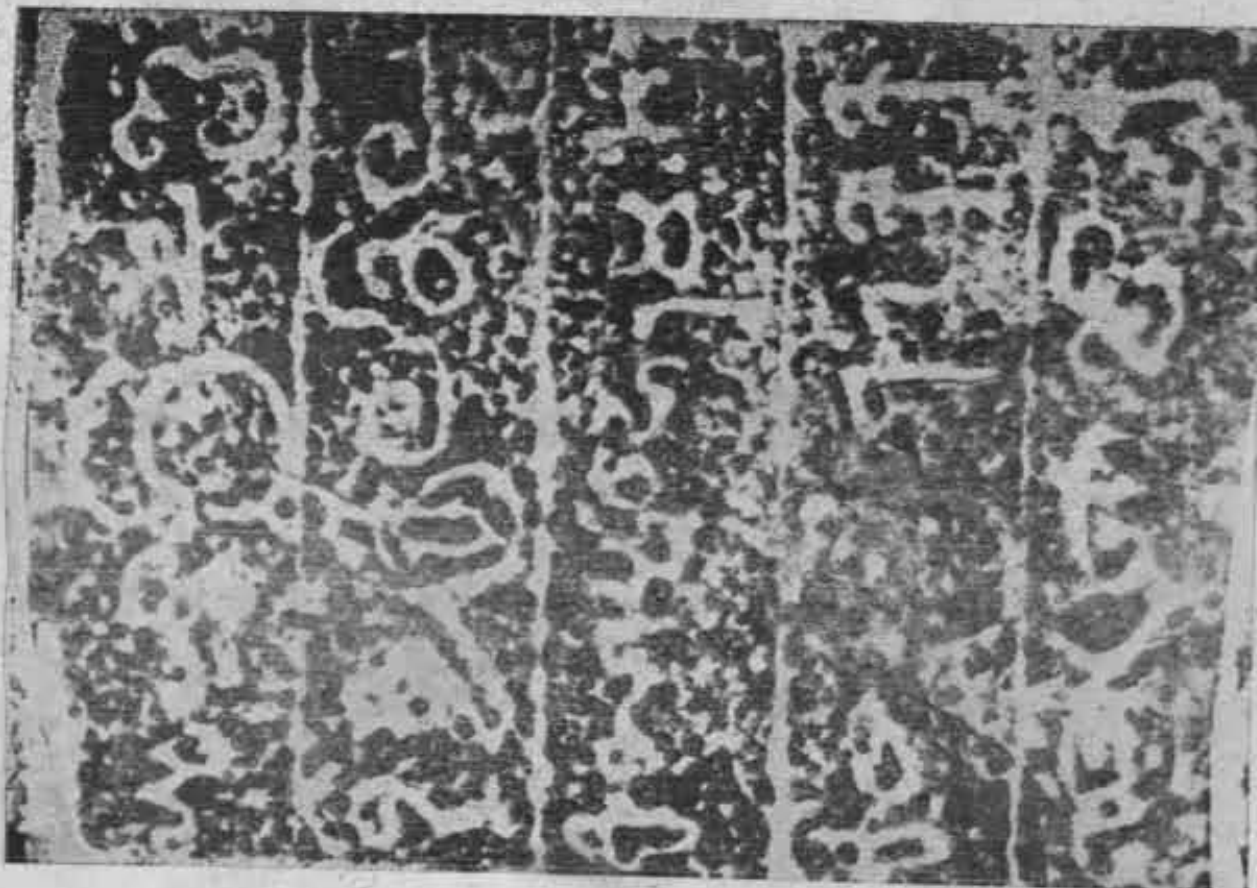


Scale : Two-fifths



Scale : One-third

D. Vellalūr Inscription of Kandaṇ-Vīraṇārāyaṇaḥ : Year 11



Scale : Two-fifths

14 ṇaṇ-Kāvaṇaṇ

15 ṇā[ṇ*] naḍuvitta

16 kaṇ-rūṇ [ṇ*]

D.—VELLALŪR INSCRIPTION OF KAṆḌAN VĪRANĀRĀYAṆAN:

YEAR 11

This inscription¹ in Tamil script, with the usual admixture of Grantha, of the 9th century and Tamil language is engraved on three faces of another pillar in the same *maṇḍapa* where inscription C is engraved. The titles occurring in the first three lines are written in Grantha as in A above. This inscription is dated in the 11th regnal year of the king, Kaṇḍan-Vīranārāyaṇan and it records the gift of the stone pillar to the *maṇḍapa* of Nakkaṇār at Vellilūrt-Tēppūr by Vaṇṇakkaṇ Mūrkkāṇ-Chellaṇ and his younger brother Mūrkkāṇ-Ēraṇ for the merit of their father Ēra-Mūrkkāṇar.

Straight lines are drawn at the bottom of the first four lines only in this record by the engraver.

TEXT²

Face 1

1 Svasti Śrī [ṇ*] Chandrā-

2 ditya-kula-tila-

3 ka [n-Sā]rvvabhauman=ā-

4 giya śrī-kōk-Ka-

5 ṇḍan-Vīra-

Face 2

6 nārāyaṇa[r]-

7 kuch=chellāni-

8 ṇṛa yāṇḍu padi-

9 ṇṇṇu ivv-ā-

10 ṇḍu Vellilūr-

11 t-Tēppūr-Nak-

12 kaṇār-maṇḍapattu-

13 kku Vaṇṇakkaṇ

14 Mūrkkāṇ-Chella-

15 [ṇu][m*] tambi Mūrkkā[n-Ē]

¹ A. R. Ep., 1910, No. 147.² From impressions.

16 raṇum tamm-a-

17 ppaṇār Era-Mūr-

18 kkaṇāraich=chār-

19 tti[na]duvitta-ka-

20 ri(ḥ)-rūa [||*]

E.—KIRANŪR INSCRIPTION OF RAVI-KANḌAN : YEAR 2

This inscription* in Tamil script of the 9th-10th century and Tamil language is engraved at the door-step of the kitchen in the Vāgīśvarasvāmī temple at Kiranūr in Palani Taluk, Madurai District. It is incomplete. It quotes the year 2 of the reign of King Iravi(Ravi)-Kandāṇ. Its purport is not known since the portion recording the grant is lost. The use of dots (puḷḷis) is noteworthy. Straight lines have been drawn between which the text of the inscription is engraved.* In quoting the king's regnal year the inscription uses the expression *tiruveḷuttu* (line 3) which is absent in the other dated inscriptions (C and D) edited above. It may be noted that this expression is ordinarily found to be used in the later records² of the rulers of this area as *tiruveḷutt-iffuch-chellāniṇṇa*. Thus this is the earliest inscription where this expression *tiruveḷuttu-ch-chellāniṇṇa* is used.

TEXT*

1 Śrī [||*]Kōv-Iravi-

2 Kaṇḍarkut-

3 tiruveḷuttu-

4 eb=chellāni-

5 nra yāṭ-

6 ḍu iraṇḍu a[rru]-

7 ppēr. lu*

A. R. Ep., 1964-65, No. B. 252.

* Cf. A. R. Ep., 1961-62, Nos. B 272 and 1910, No. 147.

² See above, Vol. XXX, pp. 162 ff.

* From impressions.

* The remaining portion is lost.

Kiraṇūr Inscription of
Ravi-Kaṇḍaṇ : Year 2

D. Vellalūr Inscription of Kaṇḍaṇ-Viraṇārāyaṇaṇ,
Year 11



16

18

20

Scale : Two-fifths

16

18

20

2

4

6



2

4

6

Scale : One-fourth

No. 7—VARADA INSCRIPTION OF CHAHAMANA SAMANTASIMHA, VIKRAMA 1347

(1 Plate)

C. L. SURI, MYSORE

(Received on 15.9.1967)

The inscription¹ edited below with the kind permission of the Government Epigraphist for India was copied by me at Varādā, Sirohi Tahsil and District, Rajasthan, during my collection tour in the beginning of 1963. The marble stone bearing the inscription was found under a tree about half a mile to the north of the village. The record is engraved below the representations, in relief, of the sun and the moon, and a cow with a calf. It consists of 12 lines of writing which covers an area measuring 27.5 cm × 26 cm. The last line begins from the middle of the slab. The record is in a fairly good state of preservation. However, a few letters have been damaged in lines 8 and 9. The last letter at the end of some of the lines is also damaged due to the peeling off of the stone; but they can be restored without any difficulty.

The record is written in Nāgarī characters which are regular for the period in question. The form of medial ū in pūjā (line 7) and bhūmi (line 11) is interesting. Medial ē and ō are indicated by a prishthamātrā except in rājyē (line 3) where a śirōmātrā is used to indicate it. Medial ai and au are invariably indicated by one prishthamātrā and one śirōmātrā. The central curve of ja has almost become a vertical stroke in some places (see Jābālī° and rājakula, line 2) while the earlier form with the central curve is also found (see vijaya, line 3 and rājabhīṣ, line 10).

The language of the record is Sanskrit and its composition is in prose but for an imprecatory verse at the end. The use of the word dyayēha for adyēha and Sāmmata° for Sāmantata° perhaps shows the influence of local pronunciation on the orthography. It may also be noted that b has been distinguished from v (cf. jābālī, line 2 and bahubhīṣ, line 10) and that the consonants following r have not been reduplicated except once in pravartta° (line 5). The abbreviated forms maham° (line 4) and Sō° (line 8) are found in the record. Of these, maham° is well known and occurs in numerous records of this period. Sō° appears to be another form of Sau° standing for Śolāṅki.

The record is dated Vikrama 1347, Chaitra vadi 10, Sunday which regularly corresponds to 1291 A.D., February 25, according to the Kārttikādi system.

The inscription refers to the victorious reign of Mahārājakula Sāmantasīhadēva ruling at Jābālipura. He is no doubt identical with Sāmantasīma, son and successor of Mahārājakula Chāchigadēva of the Sōngirā or Jalore branch of the Chāhamāna family. A number of records of this king has been discovered with dates ranging between V.S. 1339 and 1362.⁴

¹ This is No. B 449 of A.R. Ep., 1963-64.

² For the abbreviation Sō°, see Diskalkar, Kathiawad Inscriptions, No. 80.

³ Cf. A. R. Ep., 1964-65, No. B 475.

⁴ See Bhandarkar's List, p. 383. Another new record of this king has been found at Pōṣitarā in the Sirohi Tahsil. This inscription is considerably damaged, resulting in the loss of its date portion. That the record belongs to the later part of Sāmantasīma's reign is indicated by the mention of his son and successor Rāja Kā[ṣhadēva] (cf. A. R. Ep., 1964-65, No. B 591 and Introduction p. 8).

No. 18—SAKREPATNA PLATES OF PALLAVA SIMHAVARMAN, YEAR 41

(2 Plates)

G. S. GAI, MYSORE

(Received on 17.1.1969)

The copper-plates containing the inscription edited below were sent to me for examination by Shri T. T. Sharma, Editor of the *Journal of the Mythic Society*, Bangalore, in April 1967. He informed me that the plates were unearthed while digging a pit in a village near **Sakrepātṇa**, the headquarters of the Taluk of the same name in the Chikmagalur District of the Mysore State. I am thankful to Shri Sharma for sending me the plates and enabling me to edit the same in this Journal.

The set consists of **five plates**, each plate measuring 20 cm by 6.3 cm. Near the left margin of each plate, there is a ring-hole, about 1 cm in diameter, through which passes a copper-ring the ends of which were soldered into the bottom of a circular **seal**. But nearly half of the seal and a portion of the ring were broken away and lost when the plates were received by me. Hence it is not possible to make out the figure on the surface of the seal which, however, might have been a couchant bull as found in the case of similar seals. The first and the last plates are engraved on the inner sides only while the remaining plates contain writing on both the sides. Each of the written sides contains 4 lines and so there are 32 lines in all. The reverse sides of the second, third and fourth plates respectively contain the numerical figures 2, 3 and 4, on the left margin, indicating the number of the plate in the set. The engraving is bold and neat and the preservation of the writing is excellent, though the rims of the plates are not raised to protect this writing. The five plates together weigh 1420 g while the existing portion of the ring and seal weighs 165 g.

The **characters** of the grant resemble those of similar charters of what is commonly known as the Pallavas of the Sanskrit charters. They may be compared with those of the Māṅgaḷūr,¹ Pikira² and Vēsanta³ grants. The Vēsanta grant, however, contains more ornate flourishes on the strokes of the letters and the box-heads (*talakaṭṭu*) are more pronounced while the letters of the Māṅgaḷūr grant are more cursive than those of our grant. They, however, bear closer affinity to the characters of the Pikira grant. Initial *a* is found in line 4, initial *ā* in line 27 and initial *ē* in line 21. The *akshara* *t* is represented with a loop while *n* is without any loop. Final consonants are written a little below the line in smaller characters : cf. final *m* in lines 16, 17, 21-22, 25-26 and 30, final *t* in lines 2 and 28. The sign for *upadhāniya* is found in line 26. As regards **orthography**, it may be observed that the consonant following *r* is doubled but rightly not so in the case of *śh* in line 26. The class-nasal is used instead of *anumāra*. The **language** is

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. V, pp. 154 ff. and plates.

² *Above*, Vol. VIII, pp. 159 ff. and plates.

³ *Copper-plate Inscriptions of Andhra Pradesh Government Museum*, Vol. I (1962), pp. 211 ff. and plates.

Sanskrit and the composition is prose except the four benedictory and imprecatory verses. The text is free from errors and the *sandhi* rules have been observed in most of the cases.

The charter was issued from the victorious camp at **Maudgali-taṭa** by the Pallava king **Siṃhavarman** who is described as the son of **Skandavarman II**, the grandson of **Viravarman** and the great-grandson of **Skandavarman I**. And its object is to register the gift, made by Siṃhavarman, of all the royal enjoyments in the **Valvili** or **Valvilli-agrahāra** in **Sēndraka-rājya** to the brahmins of the same *agrahāra*. The charter is dated in the king's regnal year 41, tenth day of the dark fortnight of the month of **Praushthapada** (Bhādrapada).

The record is important in many respects. It belongs to that group of charters which is commonly known to the scholars as the Sanskrit charters of the early Pallavas and is an important addition to the series¹ in as much as it throws welcome light on what is called 'the Siṃhavarman problem'.

As stated above, the present charter mentions four generations of kings, viz. Skandavarman I, his son Viravarman, his son Skandavarman II and his son Siṃhavarman, the ruling king. The first three kings, Skandavarman I—Viravarman—Skandavarman II, are mentioned in the same order in the Ōṃgōḍu-I grant which also gives the name of Kumāraviśṇu, the father of Skandavarman I. This grant is, therefore, the earliest of the series known so far. The names of Skandavarman I—Viravarman—Skandavarman II appear in the Uruvupalli and Neḍuṅgarāya grants of Skandavarman II's son Yuvamahārāja Viśṇugōpa but the charters are dated in the 11th and 12th regnal years respectively, of a certain Mahārāja Siṃhavarman. The four grants, viz. Ōṃgōḍu-II, Pikira, Māṅgaḷūr and Viḷavaṭṭi mention only two names of our charter, viz. Viravarman and his son Skandavarman II while the charters themselves belong to the reign of king Siṃhavarman, mentioned as the son of Yuvamahārāja Viśṇugōpa and the grandson of Skandavarman II. The Vēsanta grant, however, gives the names of the last three kings of our charter viz. Viravarman—Skandavarman II—Siṃhavarman in the same order. Thus while the Ōṃgōḍu-I grant mentions the first three kings of our charter, the Vēsanta grant gives the names of the last three kings. But the present record is the only charter discovered so far which gives the names of the four generations starting with Skandavarman I and ending with Siṃhavarman, son of Skandavarman II. In other words, though the ruling kings of the present charter and of the Vēsanta grant are identical, the present charter commences the genealogy of the family with an earlier member, viz. Skandavarman I, father and predecessor of Viravarman. It may also be pointed out that while the Vēsanta grant gives the genealogy for only three generations, the remaining grants of the series mention four generations of kings. The genealogies of the different charters discussed here may be shown in the tabulated form for better understanding.

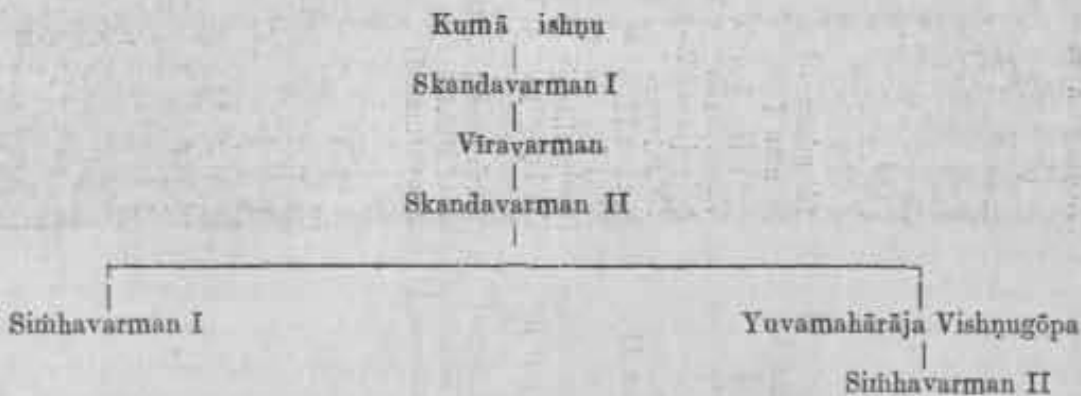
¹ Amongst the charters of this class, the following may be listed here: (1) Ōṃgōḍu-I grant of Skandavarman II (above, Vol. XV, pp. 246 ff.); (2) Vēsanta grant of Siṃhavarman, son of Skandavarman II (*C. P. Inscriptions of Andhra Pradesh Govt. Museum*, Vol. I (1962), ed. by N. Ramesan, pp. 211 ff.); (3) Uruvupalli grant of Yuvamahārāja Viśṇugōpa issued in the 11th regnal year of Mahārāja Siṃhavarman (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. V, pp. 50 ff.); (4) Neḍuṅgarāya grant of Yuvamahārāja Viśṇugōpa issued in the 12th regnal year of Mahārāja Siṃhavarman (*Bhāratī*, Vol. 18 (1941), pp. 69 ff.; *A. R. Ep.*, 1941-42, No. A 2); (5) Ōṃgōḍu-II grant of Siṃhavarman, son of Yuvamahārāja Viśṇugōpa (above, Vol. XV, pp. 252 ff.); (6) Pikira grant of the same king as in No. 5 (above, Vol. VIII, pp. 159 ff.); (7) Māṅgaḷūr grant of the same king as in No. 5 (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. V, pp. 154 ff.); (8) Viḷavaṭṭi grant of the same king as in No. 5 (above, Vol. XXIV, pp. 298 ff.).

No. 18] SAKREPATNA PLATES OF PALLAVA SIMHAVARMAN, YEAR 41

101

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 |
|--|--|---|---|---|--|--|--|--|
| Ōṅgōḍu-I | Sakrepātṇa plates (present charter) | Vāsanta | Uruvupalli | Nedunṅarāya | Ōṅgōḍu-II | Pikira | Māṅgalūr | Vijivattī |
| Kumāra- viṣṇu — Skanda- varman I — Viravarman — Skanda- varman II | Skandavar- man I — Viravarman — Skanda- varman II — Simhavar- man I | Viravar- man — Skanda- varman II — Simhavar- man I | Skandavar- man I — Viravarman — Skandavar- man II — Yuvamahārāja Viṣṇugōpa (11th regnal year of Mahārāja Simhavarman I) | Skandavar- man I — Viravarman — Skandavar- man II — Yuvamahārāja Viṣṇugōpa (12th regnal year of Mahārāja Simhavarman I) | Viravarman — Skanda- varman II — Yuvamahārāja Viṣṇugōpa — Simhavarman II | Viravarman — Skanda- varman II — Yuvamahārāja Viṣṇugōpa — Simhavarman II | Viravarman — Skanda- varman II — Yuvamahārāja Viṣṇugōpa — Simhavarman II | Viravarman — Skanda- varman II — Yuvamahārāja Viṣṇugōpa — Simhavarman II |

From the above discussion, it may be seen that the *Siṃhavarman* mentioned in the *Uruvupalli* and *Neḍuṅgarāya* grants may be identified with the *Siṃhavarman* of the *Vēsanta* grant and the present charter under whom *Vishṇugōpa* was a *Yuvarāja* or *Yuvamahārāja*. This would support the surmise made long ago by Fleet that *Siṃhavarman* mentioned in the *Uruvupalli* grant might have been an elder brother of *Yuvamahārāja Vishṇugōpa*. Thus we get four charters of this *Siṃhavarman*, son of *Skandavarman II* and elder brother of *Yuvamahārāja Vishṇugōpa*. These are (1) the *Uruvupalli* grant, dated in his 11th regnal year, (2) *Neḍuṅgarāya* grant dated in his 12th regnal year, (3) the *Vēsanta* grant dated in his 19th regnal year and (4) the present *Sakrepaṭṇa* plates dated in his 41st regnal year. While the *Uruvupalli* grant furnishes the earliest known regnal year, viz. 11 for this king, the present *Sakrepaṭṇa* plates give the latest regnal year, viz. 41 for him, showing thereby that he ruled for at least 41 years. In the absence of any charter issued in the regnal year of *Yuvamahārāja Vishṇugōpa*, it appears that he predeceased his elder brother who does not seem to have had any male issue to succeed him and hence the throne passed on to the son of *Yuvamahārāja Vishṇugōpa* who was also named *Siṃhavarman*. For this *Siṃhavarman II*, son of *Vishṇugōpa*, there are four charters, viz. the *Ōṃgōḍu-II*, *Pikira*, *Māṅgaḷūr* and *Viḷavattī* grants. The *Pallava* genealogy of the *Sankarita* charters of this period would, therefore, stand as follows :



As already pointed out by the earlier writers,¹ some of the epithets and expressions applied to the earlier members of the family are found associated with other members of the family in the different grants. Thus the epithets *sva-bāhu-bal-ārjita*, etc. applied in our grant to *Skandavarman I* are attached to the first king *Viravarman* in the *Pikira* grant. Similarly the epithets *abhyuchchita-śakti-siddhi-sampannasya*, etc. applied to *Viravarman* in the present grant are associated with his son *Skandavarman II* in the other grant. It has been pointed out² that the ornate eulogy of the several kings as found in the *Uruvupalli*, *Pikira*, and *Ōṃgōḍu-II* grants was for the first time composed and brought into use in the reign of *Yuvamahārāja Vishṇugōpa*.³ But in view of the fact that the draft containing this eulogy is found in the present charter of

¹ Above, Vol. XXIV, pp. 290 ff.

² Ibid.

³ The draft of the *Māṅgaḷūr* grant is different.

SAKREPATNA PLATES OF PALLAVA SIMHAVARMAN, YEAR 41 — PLATE I

i

1
2
3
4

1
2
3
4

1
2
3
4

ii, a

6
8

6
8

6
8

ii, b

10
12

10
12

10
12

iii, a

14
16

யலா : புநா : குய்யுளா டாஸுமூட்டி
ஸுத்த : ருசீரூஸுத்தஸுத்தாடா
புநா : ருசீரூஸுத்தஸுத்தாடா
புநா : ருசீரூஸுத்தஸுத்தாடா

14
16

iii, b

18
20

யலா : புநா : குய்யுளா டாஸுமூட்டி
ஸுத்த : ருசீரூஸுத்தஸுத்தாடா
புநா : ருசீரூஸுத்தஸுத்தாடா
புநா : ருசீரூஸுத்தஸுத்தாடா

18
20

iv, a

22
24

யலா : புநா : குய்யுளா டாஸுமூட்டி
ஸுத்த : ருசீரூஸுத்தஸுத்தாடா
புநா : ருசீரூஸுத்தஸுத்தாடா
புநா : ருசீரூஸுத்தஸுத்தாடா

22
24

Scale : Three-Fourth

Simhavarman, the elder brother of Yuvamahārāja Viṣṇugōpa and also in view of the fact that both the Uruvupalli and Neḍuṅgarāya grants which have a common draft are shown to belong to Simhavarman I, it may be stated that the said draft was composed during the reign of this Simhavarman I, although the epithets applied to Simhavarman in our grant are found applied to Viṣṇugōpa in the other two grants. The draft of the Vēsanta grant is, however, different from the other grants of the series.

As noted above, the present charter was issued from Maudgali-tāṭa, i.e. the bank of the river Maudgali and the king made some gifts in Valvili or Valvilli-agrahāra situated in Sēndraka-rājya. It is difficult to identify the river Maudgali as well as the place Valvili or Valvilli. But Sēndraka-rājya, which is mentioned as Sēndraka-vishaya in some of the Kadamba grants, comprised the area round about modern Shimoga District in Mysore State.¹ It is, therefore, clear that Simhavarman was ruling over this area at the time of the grant.

Since all the charters of the series mentioned above, except the one under study, came from the Nellore-Guntur region of Andhra Pradesh, some scholars have suggested that the Pallavas of the Sanskrit charters belong to a northern branch of the main Pallavas of Kāñchī i.e. Conjeevaram near Madras.² One of the reasons for this suggestion was that none of these Sanskrit charters was issued from Kāñchī, except the Udayēndiram plates³ of Nandivarman and the Chendalūr plates⁴ of Kumāravishṇu II, which were considered to be later grants and which were issued from Kāñchīpura.⁵ So the Vēsanta grant of Simhavarman is the first charter of this series to have been issued from Kāñchīpura from which evidence the editor of the grant, Shri N. Ramesan, thought that the Pallava kings of the Sanskrit charters ruled from Kāñchī or Conjeevaram. As against this, Shri T. G. Aravamuthan has suggested that we have to look for another place Kāñchī or Kāñchīpuram in the Nellore-Guntur region wherefrom not only all the Sanskrit charters of this series but also some of the earlier Prakrit charters of the Pallavas are either issued or register gifts of villages or lands in that area.⁶ It is indeed difficult to set aside this suggestion of Shri Aravamuthan unless and until we get positive evidence to prove that the place Kāñchī or Kāñchīpura mentioned in the Prakrit and Sanskrit charters of the Pallavas referred only to modern Kāñchīpuram or Conjeevaram near Madras which was undoubtedly the capital of the Pallavas of the Simhavishṇu line. But the discovery of the present Sakrepātṇa plates may throw some light on this problem. As stated above, this record shows that the Pallava king Simhavarman held sway over Sēndraka-rājya i.e. parts of Shimoga District in Mysore State. This area is nearer to Kāñchīpuram near Madras than to any other Kāñchīpuram in the Nellore-Guntur region. Hence it is likely that the Kāñchīpuram from where the Vēsanta grant of this ruler was issued might be the famous Kāñchī or Conjeevaram.

Only three **geographical localities** are mentioned in the charter under study, viz. Maudgali river, Sēndraka-rājya and Valvili or Valvilli-agrahāra in it and these have been already discussed above.

¹ Sircar, *Sac. Sat.*, p. 244.

² *Ibid.*, p. 169.

³ Above, Vol. III, pp. 142 ff.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. VIII, pp. 233 ff.

⁵ While the Udayēndiram grant refers to a gift of the village Kāñchivāyil, the Chendalūr grant registers the gift of the village Chendalūra in Karmāṇka-rāṣṭra (i.e. Nellore-Guntur region).

⁶ *Arch. Soc. of South India* (Silver Jubilee Vol.), 1962, pp. 71, 83-84.

1 DGA/69

TEXT¹*First Plate*

- 1 Siddham² [*] Jitam=bhagavatā [*] Svasti [*] Vijaya-skandhāvārān=**Maudgali-taṭa**⁴
- 2 vāsakāt parama-brahmanyasya sva-bāhu-bal-ārjjit-ārjjita-kehātra-tapō-
- 3 midhēr=vvidhi-vihita-sarvva-maryyādasya sthiti-sthitasy=āmitātmanō
- 4 mahārāja-śrī-**Skandavarman** praputraḥ abhyuchchita-

Second Plate, First Side

- 5 śakti-siddhi-sampannasya pratāp-ōpanata-rāja-maṇḍalasya vasudhā-
- 6 tal-aika-vīrasya mahārāja-śrī-**Vīravarm** putraḥ dēva-dvija-
- 7 guru-vṛiddh-āpachāyinō vivṛiddha-vinayasy=ānēka-gō-hiranya-bhū-
- 8 my-ādi-pradānaiḥ pravṛiddha-dharmma-saṁchayasya prajā-pālana-dakshasya

Second Plate, Second Side

- 9 lōkapālānām-pañchamasya lōkapālasya satyātmanō mahā-
- 10 rāja-śrī-**Skandavarman** putraḥ bhagavad-bhakti-sambhāvita-sarvva-
- 11 kalyāṇaḥ prajā-saṁrañjana-paripālan-ōdyōga-satata-
- 12 satra-vrata-dīkshitaḥ n-aika-samara-sāhas-āvamardda-labdha-vija-

Third Plate, First Side

- 13 ya-yaśaḥ-prakāśaḥ kaliyuga-dōsh-āvasanna-dharmm-ōddharāṇa-nitya-
- 14 sannaddhaḥ rājarshi-guṇa-sarvva-sandōha-vijigishur-ddharmma-vijigishuh
- 15 bhagavat-pād-ānuddhyātō bappa-bhaṭṭāraka-pāda-bhaktaḥ parama-
- 16 bhāgavatō Bhāradvājaḥ sva-vīkram-ākraṁt-ānya-nṛipa-śrī-nilayānām

Third Plate, Second Side

- 17 yathāvad=āhṛit-ānēk-āsavamōdhānām **Pallavānān**=dharmma-mahārā-
- 18 ja-śrī-**Simhavarm** Sēndraka-rājyē sarvva-naiyōgika-vallabhā-
- 19 n=vaishayikāmś=ch=ājñāpayati atr=āsmābhis=**Sēndraka-rājyē**
- 20 **Valvily-agrahār** nairantaryyēṇa bhujyamānē upari-bhāgama(m=ā)diṁ=kṛitvā

¹ From the impressions prepared in my office.² Expressed by a symbol.³ This punctuation mark is denoted by a horizontal stroke.⁴ The small stroke at the bottom which gives an impression that this letter *ta* may also be read as *a* appears to be due to a scratch on the plate.

SAKREPATNA PLATES OF PALLAVA SIMHAVARMAN, YEAR 41 — PLATE II

iv, b

26
28

26
28

v

30
32

30
32

Scale : Three-Fourth

Seal



(From Photograph)

Fourth Plate, First Side

- 21 yad=yad=rāja-bhōgyan=tat=sarvvan=tad-agrahārikēbhya ēva brāhmaṇēbhyō dattam
 22 sarvva-parihārās=ch=ātr-ānujñātāḥ tad-avagamyā tathā sarvvair=vvarttitavyam
 23 pariharttavyañ=ch=ēti [*] Bhūmi-dānāt=paran=dānan=na bhūtan=na bhavishyati [*]
 24 tasy=aiva harapāt=pāpan=na bhūtan=na bhavishyati || 1 ||

Fourth Plate, Second Side

- 25 Sva-dattām=para-dattām vā yō harēta vasundharām [*] gavām śata-
 26 sahasrasya hantuh=pibati kilbisham || 2 || Varsha-kōṭṭ(ṭi)-
 27 sahaarāpi svarggē kriḍati bhūmidah [*] ākshēptā ch=ānu-
 28 mantā cha tāvanti narakē vasēt || 3 || Bahubhir=vvasudhā dattā

Fifth Plate

- 29 bahubhiś=ch=ānupālītā [*] yasya yasya yadā bhūmis=tasya tasya
 30 tadā phalam || 4 || Pravarddhamāna-vijaya-rājya-samvatsarē
 31 ēka-chatvārimsē Praushthapada-māsa-bahula-paksha-daśamyā-
 32 n=dattā paṭṭikā [*] svayam-ājñā(jñā)ptam=iti [*] gō-brāhmaṇam(ṇa)n=nandatu ||

No. 38—SRIRANGAM INSCRIPTION OF PATTAMAHADEVI

K. G. KRISHNAN, MYSORE

The subjoined inscription¹ edited with the kind permission of the Chief Epigraphist is engraved on the west wall of the fifth *prākāra* in the Rāṅganāthasvāmi temple at Śrīraṅgam in Tiruchirappalli District in the state of Tamil Nadu. The inscription is very much damaged in some parts thus affecting the reading of important passages in the text.

The epigraph is in two parts. The first part in six lines introducing the donors is in Kannaḍa language and is engraved in Grantha characters of about the 12th century.² The second part is entirely in Tamil language and is engraved in Tamil characters of about the 12th century. Some Sanskrit words in this part are engraved partly in Grantha and Tamil as is usual in the case of Tamil inscriptions. The letter *k* exhibits an earlier form in which the central vertical stem ends far lower down from the horizontal middle curve, whereas in the thirteenth century the tendency was to reduce the stem and accentuate the middle curve. The *talaikkattu* also is yet to extend into a fully drawn lower arm to the left which is a feature in the later inscriptions. These considerations along with some other forms of Tamil letters point to the period of 12th century as the date of the record. The text in the first part introducing the donors is very faulty. The other palaeographical and orthographical features of the record do not call for any special remarks.

Some words of lexical interest occurring in the record may be discussed. The word *ubhaiyam* (line 11) is used in the sense of an endowment.³ The word which means etymologically 'dual' gains the meaning of endowment in the context of the transaction recorded here, for which there are two parties viz., the donor and the donee. This appears to be one of the early instances of the use of this word which has survived to-day. Another word *vaṇamālai* (line 7) is also of some interest. This word, as an equivalent of Sanskrit *vanamālā*, may mean a garland of wood or wild flowers,⁴ but, in Vaiṣṇava parlance this word is generally understood as a garland of basil (*tulasi*) specially offered to god Viṣṇu in every South Indian temple. *Viṣṇappam* in line 11 is an equivalent of Sanskrit *vijñāpaka* derived through Prakrit and not of *Vijñapti*.⁵

The inscription records the creation of an endowment of two plots of land, each one *mā* in extent, by Paṭṭamahādēvi and Kittidēva, by purchase, for tending gardens for the supply of two *vaṇamālai* to god Śrī-Rāṅganātha for their own merit. The two plots of land were purchased by the donors from Brahmachakravarttiga] (Brahma-chakravarttiga)] and Kēśavaṇ Tiruvaḷu-dināḍu-tādan respectively. The lands are described as forming part of *tiruppaḷittāma-nīlai* (area

¹ A. R. Ep., 1937-38, No. 117.

² The characters are assigned to the 12th century in the above report.

³ The meaning 'offering' quoted by Sircar (*Indian Epigraphical Glossary*, p. 346) is not supported by the reference cited (*SII.*, Vol. I, p. 82) where the actual word in the text is *ubhaiyu-mārggam* referring to the duties on exports and imports.

⁴ *Śabdakalpavṛkṣa* quotes a verse from the *Śaṅkṣamālā* defining *vanamālā* as a long garland upto the knee with all types of flowers and with bulbous pendant flowers.

⁵ *SII.*, Vol. III, p. 444.

set apart for cultivation of flowers for garlands). The lands, 2 *mā* (i.e., 200 *kūṭi*) in extent, were purchased by the donors for 10000 *kāṣu* from the parties and entrusted to Vēdanāyakapperumāḷ *alias* Nalantigaḷ-Nārāyaṇa Amudiṇār, son of Karuṇākaraṇ *alias* Paḍineṇṇivahaya-chakravarttigal of Vaṅgippuṇam among the Śrīvaiṣṇavas of the sacred place and to Kēśavaṇ Tiruvaḷudinaḍu-tādan among the Tādanambimār.¹ The latter is evidently identical with his namesake from whom the second plot of land was purchased. The two men were required to supply one garland each apparently daily and also to maintain themselves out of this endowment. It is also stated that this proposal was presented to the deity whose name is lost due to the damage on stone (line 11). Since the garlands were to be offered to god Śrī-Raṅganātha (line 5) it is perhaps the same deity to whom the proposal was presented.

The inscription is important as it throws light on the relationship of the Ālupas with the Pāṇḍyas of Madurai. The preamble, i.e., the first part in Kannada introducing the donors, begins with a long *praśasti*. This part may be split up into three sections. The first contains the epithets *samasta-bhuvana-rikhyāta*, *Sōmakula-tilaka*, *Pāṇḍyamahārājādhirāja*, *Paramēśvaram*, *Paramabhāṭṭarakam*. The second section begins with *śrīmat Chandrakulaśekhara* (line 1) etc., and ends with *Madhurādhibhāvara* Śrīman-Mānābharaṇadēvar (lines 4-5). The third and final section of this preamble contains the well-known Ālupa birudas *Vairibha-kaṇṭhiravam*, *Niśamkamalla*..... *Śrī-Maṅjunāthadēvara-divya-śrīpāda-padmārādhaka* (lines 5-6), etc. These epithets are attributed in the record to Pāṇḍya-chakravartti Vira Kavy-Ālupendra whose relationship with Paṭṭamahādēvi, one of the two donors occurring next, is not known on account of the damage in this part of the text. The other donor Kittidēva is mentioned next. Here ends the Kannada preamble introducing the donors. It may be noted that the first and the third sections together make up the full *praśasti* of the Ālupas, of which the present record seems to contain the earliest version. The passage in the first section is not met with in the Pāṇḍya records, though it is applicable to the kings of that dynasty. Further the repetition of the phrase *śrīmat Chandrakulaśekhara* at the beginning of the second section as against *Sōmakulatilaka* in the first section justifies our understanding of the Kannada preamble and its splitting up into three sections. We will revert to the Ālupa *praśasti* in the sequel while discussing the third section. In the second section attributed to Mānābharaṇa, epithets such as *Chandrakulaśekhara* (the head ornament of the lunar race), *Chōḷakulāntaka* (the god of death to the Chōḷa family), *Surēndra-divyāsana-madhyastha-mastakasthita* (one who is seated on the head in the centre of the excellent seat of Indra among the *dēvas*) and *Madhurādhibhāvara* (the lord of Madhurā, i.e., Madurai) clearly point to the fact that Mānābharaṇa was a prince of the royal house of the Pāṇḍyas of Madurai. During the 12th century we do not have any inscription which refers to the reign of this prince, as a ruler in his own right. But there are other references to him as a prince holding some influence over the contemporary affairs. An inscription from Rājasiṅgamaṅgalam in Tiruvadanai Taluk in Ramanathapuram District in Tamil Nadu engraved on the walls of the Kailāsanāthasvāmī temple in the village, dated in the 10th year (1130-31 A. D.) in the reign of Jaṭāvarmaṇ Śrīvallabha, contains a reference to *nam-pillai* Mānādharaṇa having issued an order pertaining to some transaction.² The expression *nam-pillai* implies that he was a son of the reigning king Jaṭāvarmaṇ Śrīvallabha who ascended the throne, in our opinion, sometime between 1120 and 1122 A.D.³ Mānābharaṇa of our record may be

¹ This group is composed of Vaiṣṇava devotees among the *śūdras* who formed an important class of servants in Vaiṣṇava house-holds and temples. Tādan is evidently a *tatsama* of *Dāna*.

² *SIL*, Vol. XIV, No. 225. Though the text is made up from fragments, with some portions lost, there is no doubt that the reference in question belongs to the record proper.

³ This date has been calculated by us on the basis of some astronomical data found in his records (*Ibid.*, Introduction, p. vi).

identified with his namesake referred to here on account of the proximity of the period. Another reference is available in the *Cūlavamsa*¹ where it is stated that Vijayabāhu I, the then ruling king of Ceylon (1055-1111 A. D.)² gave his sister Mittā to the Paṇḍu (Pāṇḍya) king in marriage and Mittā gave birth to three sons Mānābharapa, Kittisirimēgha and Sirivallabha. The *Cūlavamsa* further reports that this Mānābharapa married Ratanāvali, the daughter of Vijayabāhu. The Pāṇḍya king's identity is not disclosed in the *Cūlavamsa*. The proximity of the period would suggest the identity of this Mānābharapa also with his namesake in our record. In that case the Pāṇḍya queen Mittā's husband would be identical with Jaṭāvarman Śrīvallabha in whose record Mānābharapa is referred to as *nam pillai*. We find that this Mānābharapa, born of the Siṃhaḷa princess Mittā, gained through his mother's influence at the Ceylonese court, the position of *uparāja* after the death of Vijayabāhu in 1110-11 A.D., when on this date his father Jaṭāvarman Śrīvallabha was yet to become a king in his own right.³ There is nothing to preclude the presence of this prince in the Tamil country later in the tenth year (1130-31 A.D.) in his father's reign. Two Tamil inscriptions⁴ from Budumuttāva in Kurunagale District in Ceylon refer respectively to Śrī Virabāhudēvar and Pāṇḍiyanār Virapperumāl. Both the inscriptions are dated in the eighth year (1118-19 A.D.) in the reign of Jayabāhu, Vijayabāhu's brother and successor. On the basis of the name Virabāhu given to Mānābharapa according to the *Cūlavamsa*⁵ Virabāhu and Virapperumāl have been identified with Mānābharapa.⁶ It is significant to note that in the second inscription, Chuttamalli-ālvār, the donor, is described as the queen of Virapperumāl and as the daughter of Kulōttuṅgachōḷa. Thus we can safely surmise that Mānābharapa introduced in the preamble of the present record was a prince, born of Pāṇḍya Jaṭāvarman Śrīvallabha and his Siṃhaḷa queen Mittā, and married Ratanāvali, the daughter of Vijayabāhu, and also Chuttamalli-ālvār, the daughter of Kulōttuṅga I.

After introducing Mānābharapa in the second section it proceeds to describe the donor Paṭṭamahādēvi. The passage immediately following the name Mānābharapadēvar (line 5) where one can expect the terms of relationship that connect Mānābharapa with Kavi-Āḷupēndra and Paṭṭamahādēvi is damaged.⁷ The epithets that follow further on from 'Vairibha-Kaṇṭhīravam' upto 'Pāṇḍyachakravartti' are attributed to Vira Kavi-Āḷupēndra. The Āḷupa *prastuti* obtained here appears to be the earliest occurrence so far noticed and the later instances are met with from the inscriptions of Āḷupa Virapāṇḍyadēva, Ballamahādēvi, etc.⁸ One of the inscriptions of Ballamahādēvi from Keñjūru in Udipi Taluk in South Kanara District in Myaore State dated Śaka 1200, (wrong for 1203), Viśhu for Vpisha (1281 A.D.) describes the queen as belonging to the lineage of Mānābharapādēvaradēva.⁹ This Mānābharapa seems to be referred to in the present record.

¹ Translated by Wilhelm Geiger and Mabel Rickmers. Part I, pp. 212 and 230.

² *A Concise History of Ceylon*, p. 198.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 199. The fact that Jaṭāvarman Śrīvallabha himself had not yet become king in 1111 A. D., should have prompted this prince along with his brother to seek his fortunes on his mother's side.

⁴ *Ep. Zeyl.*, Vol. III, pp. 302-12.

⁵ Chapter 61, verse 26.

⁶ *Ep. Zeyl.*, Vol. III, pp. 302-12. A signatory in the first record is styled Vijayābharapam evidently analogous to the name of his master Virabāhu identified with Mānābharapa.

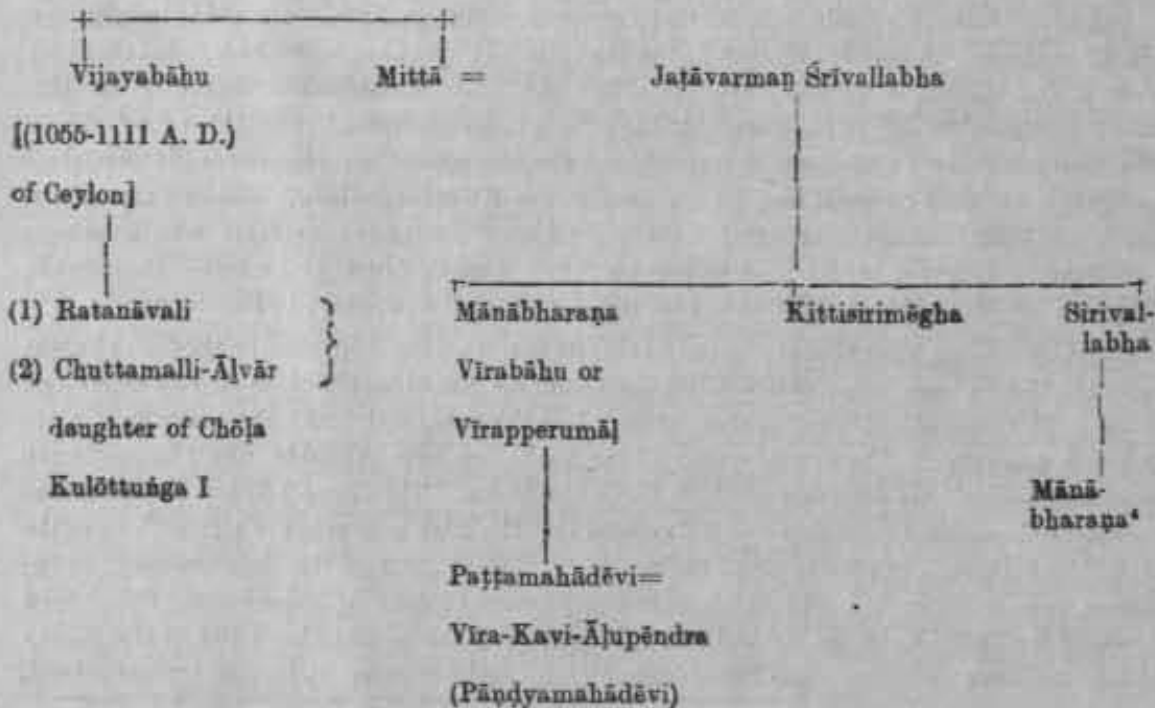
⁷ There is a word *śukūlaram* in line 5 which is misplaced.

⁸ *A. R. Ep.*, 1928-29, No. 500; 1929-30, No. 554; 1931-32, Nos. 236, 243; *SII.*, Vol. VII, Nos. 213, 221 and 225. Some of these versions substitute the word 'Mañjunātha' by Kōṭṭēvara or Chārekirti thus indicating the individual or local preferences of the respective rulers. The reference to Mañjunātha in the present record, probably identical with the deity of the same name now in vogue at Kadiri in Mangalore Taluk in South Kanara District is the earliest obtained so far.

⁹ *A. R. Ep.*, 1931-32, No. 336, p. 61. The identification of Mānābharapa with his namesake, an adversary of Chōḷa Rājādhirāja I (*ibid.*) is not correct. This reference implies that this queen was a Pāṇḍya princess. See below.

We will not be wrong if we surmise that Paṭṭamahādēvi was the queen of Kavi-Ālupēndra and the daughter of Mānābharapa. The possibility of this lady being the daughter (*duhitaram* line 5) of a Pāṇḍya is strengthened by a reference to a Pāṇḍyamahādēvi in a record dated Śaka 1077 (1154 A. D.) in the reign of Kavi-Ālupēndra.¹ In that case both Paṭṭamahādēvi and Pāṇḍyamahādēvi could be only titles, the former referring to her status and the latter to the dynasty of her origin.² In view of the title Pāṇḍya-chakravarttigaḷ of Kavi-Ālupa, this title Pāṇḍyamahādēvi could also be interpreted as the great queen of the Pāṇḍya i.e., the Ālupa. But the relationship of this queen as the daughter of Mānābharapa suggests the interpretation preferred here.³ It is significant that Pāṇḍya names such as Kulāśekhara and Virapāṇḍya commence to appear in the Ālupa genealogy after the reign of Kavi-Ālupēndra.

Kittidēva, the other donor whose relationship with others mentioned in the record is not stated, is perhaps identical with Mānābharapa's brother Kittisirimēgha.⁴ The discussion on these genealogical connections is represented in a tabular form below :—



Thus the present record confirms the continuity of the connections that the Ālupas had with the Pāṇḍyas of Madurai which perhaps commenced from at least about the 8th century.⁵ It

¹ *SIJ.*, Vol. VII, No. 376.

² This Pāṇḍyamahādēvi has been wrongly identified (*Ancient Karnāṭaka*, Vol. I, pp. 234-36) with another Paṭṭamahādēvi, the queen of Pāṇḍyadēvarasa both of whom are mentioned in an undated but paleographically later inscription (*SIJ.*, Vol. VII, No. 380) from Kōṭakēri in Udipi Taluk in South Kanara District. This Pāṇḍyadēvarasa could be identified only with Virapāṇḍya or Pāṇḍyadēva-Ālupa (*ibid.*, Vol. IX, Part I, Nos. 395 and 396) of the later half of the 13th century, and not with Kavi-Ālupēndradēva (*Ancient Karnāṭaka*, *op. cit.*) who lived in the 12th century.

³ Cf. for instance Śōjan Śōṇḍaiyāḷ alias Kāḍavṇmahādēvi apparently a princess of Pallava extraction, a queen of Kulōttuṅga I (*The Cōlas*, second edition, p. 333).

⁴ *Cālcasa* (p. 358). It is significant that the other brother Śrīvallabha named his son Mānābharapa in memory of the elder Mānābharapa.

⁵ Above, Vol. XXXVII, p. 270.

is interesting to note here that this continuity was maintained till the times of Jaṭavarman Sundarapāṇḍya I (C. 1251- 68 A. D.) who, as stated in a record from Śrīraṅgam, made his younger brother Virapāṇḍya, the ruler of Kōṅkaṇarāja.¹ There was actually a Virapāṇḍya, styling himself as an Ājupēndra, who ruled from 1254 A. D., to at least 1272 A.D.,² thus prompting us to suggest the identity of the two Virapāṇḍyas. Further, this Virapāṇḍya's successor from 1277 A.D.,³ was queen Ballamahādēvi who, as stated above is described as belonging to the lineage of Mānābharaṇēśvaradēva. The absence of a clear indication of the relationship between the two⁴ seems to point to the possibility of the latter being the daughter of the former and thus would have entitled her to claim descent from Mānābharaṇa of Madurai evidently through Virapāṇḍya.⁵ Virapāṇḍya's records refer to a Paṭṭamahādēvi at the beginning.⁶ The identity of this Paṭṭamahādēvi is uncertain. Ballamahādēvi is referred to only in one of the records of Virapāṇḍya, as being present at the palace along with the other dignitaries.⁷

The name, Nalantigaḷ-Nārāyaṇa Amudiṇār alias Vēdanāyakapperumāl is interesting. It recalls the name Nalantigaḷ-Nārāyaṇa Jiyar of a pontificate that was created at Śrīraṅgam in the latter half of the 12th century after the time of Rāmānuja.⁸ We have here a reference to the name, which is contemporaneous with the creation of this pontificate.

Vaṅgiṭṭupuram, the place from where Karuṇākaran, the Śrīvaiṣṇava mentioned in the record (line 7) hails originally is the same as Vaṅgiṭṭur in Guntur District in Andhra Pradesh.

TEXT*

- 1 Svasti śrī [||*] Samasta-bhuvana-vikhyāta Sōmakulatilaka Pāṇḍya(ṇḍya)mahārājādhirāja
Paramēśvaram Paramabhaṭṭārakam Śrīmat Chantrakulachēkara¹⁰ Nala-Naku(hu)sha-
- 2 [Jana]. Bharatha(ta)...sha...Japati cha. Kā[śyapa]...rata Vēda-ghōshāchishṭhāta¹¹ Dēvēndra-
vallabha.....makar-ālay-āmbu[kṛi]pālana-Kālamēkha(gha) Śrīṅgiṭṭikṛita sū-
- 3 tikāmaya Chō[akulāntakam samastha(ta).....mēru.....haka....
syālācha...[ru]m Chakravartti(rtti) Sarvvalō..ya āśrivatam¹²-jana-kalpa-vri(vṛi)-
- 4 kaha[m-n*]samāna-vīram makarad[h*]vajam Dakṣhiṇa.....ham Sūtētrō¹³ divy-āsana-
madhyastha mastaka-sti(sthi)tha(ta)[m*] sakala-śāstra-vēda-su(pu)rāṇa-prathita-Madhur-
ādhiśvara śrīma-

¹ A. R. Ep., 1938-39, No. 81, pp. 83-84. No regnal year or Śaka date is cited in the record.

² Ibid., 1928-29, No. 509; 1929-30, 533.

³ Ibid., 1928-29, No. 491.

⁴ This appears to be the general feature of the later Ājupa records where the queens are mentioned at the beginning before the kings are introduced (cf. *SHI.*, Vol. IX, Part I, Nos. 395, 396 etc.)

⁵ A. R. Ep., 1929-30, part II, para. 83 suggests that Ballamahādēvi could have been the sister of the previous ruler.

⁶ *SHI.*, Vol. IX, Part I, Nos. 395 and 396.

⁷ A. R. Ep., 1931-32, No. 241. It may be noted that this record introduces a Paṭṭada-piriyaṇai at the beginning.

⁸ Above, XXIX, pp. 74-75.

⁹ From inked impressions.

¹⁰ Read *Chandrakulachēkara*.

¹¹ The intended reading is possibly *ghōshāchishṭha*.

¹² Read *āśrita*.

¹³ Read *Sutēndra*.

- 5 n-Mānābharaṇadēvar.....rum va(vai)ribha-ka[ni]ṭhīramva(vam) duhitaram rē....
Nīśaka[malla]¹ satya-ratnākaram śaraṇ-āgata-vajra-paṇcha(ṇja)ra Śrī-Ma[ṇju]nātha-
dēvara
- 6 ditba(divya)-śrīpātā(da)-patmadhara² parabaḷasādhaka.....t-Pādya(ṇḍya)-chakrava-
[r*]tti Vira-[Ka]vy-Āḷup-ētra(ndra)-dēvara . paranuṣi³ [Pa]..⁴mahādēviyarū Śrī-
Rāṅganāthar[k]ku gai⁵ Kinti(tti)dēvarum
- 7 iraṇḍu vanamālai⁶ irunūru kuḷikkut-tiruppati⁷ Śrī-[vayishṇavargaḷil] Vaṅgippurattuk=Karunā-
karan-āṇa Padineṇ-vishaiya-chakravattigaḷ magan Vēdanāyakapperumāl=āṇa Nalan-
tiga[-Nā=
- 8 rāyaṇa Amudipār oru tirumālaiyum Tāda-nambimāril Kō[śa]vaṇ Tīruvali[lu]di-nāḍu-tādan
oru tirumālaiyum...ṅaḷukku nanr-āgach=Chandir-ādittavar=chelvad-āga vaitta.....⁸
- 9 raip-paṇṇil tenn-oḷuḷil Brammachchakkaravattigaḷ pakkal vilai koṇḍu viṭṭa tiruppallit-tāma-
nilai [ni]lam oru māyum Kēṣavaṇ Tīruvaludināḍu⁹-tādan¹⁰.....
- 10 ttāma-nilai nila[m] oru mā[vum āga nilam] iraṇḍu māyum vilai koṇḍa kāśu 10,1000¹¹ ik-kāśu
patt-āyirattukkum in-nilam iraṇḍu māyum vilai koṇḍu viṭṭuk=Kittidēvan-eṇ.....
- 11 dēva....perumāl tirumunbē viṇṇappaṇ-cheydu tirumālai Chandir-ādittavar=chelvad-āga
ubhaiyām(yam)=āga koṇḍu viṭṭamaikku in-nilattāl-uḷḷa bhōkam(gam) taṇṇaḷukku jīvana-
[ttukku vaittu]
- 12 it..ivargalē cheluttavar-āga kal-veṭṭi-kuḍuttōm Kittidēvanum Paṭṭamahādēviyum ivv-
iruvōm ippaḍi ubaiyam viṭṭamaikku ivai Sēnai¹².....

¹ Read *Nīśakamalla*.

² Read *padma-śrīdhara*.

³ Is this possibly a mistake for *paṭṭamahāśi*?

⁴ This may be restored as *Paṭṭa*.

⁵ This word is not intelligible.

⁶ There is another *ga* written below the *ga* of this word, which may be ignored.

⁷ There is another *ru*, a redundant.

⁸ This may be restored as *tīruk-ku*.

⁹ The letter *lu* is corrected from *li* written at first, see line 8.

¹⁰ The gap here may be restored as *pakkal vilai koṇḍu viṭṭa tiruppallit*.

¹¹ I.e. 10,000. These numbers are represented by Tamil symbols.

¹² This word may be restored as *Sēnaimudaliyār* (Vish-aksēna).

No. 39—KALIGI INSCRIPTION OF KALACHURI SOYIDEVA—YEAR 7

(1 Plate)

K. V. RAMESH, MYSORE

The inscription, edited here with the kind permission of the Chief Epigraphist, Archaeological Survey of India, Mysore, was copied by me in October, 1960, in the course of conducting the epigraphical survey of Chitapur Taluk, Gulbarga District, Mysore State. It was found engraved on a slab fixed into the wall of the Kālēśvara temple in the village of Kāṭṭi. It has been noticed in the *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy* for 1960-61 as No. 499 of App. B.

The inscription, consisting of 62 lines of writing in all, is in a fairly good state of preservation. Barring a part of line 42 and the whole of lines 43 and 44, which are written in Nāgarī characters, the entire inscription is engraved in the Kannaḍa script. While the Nāgarī portion and the invocatory and imprecatory stanzas are in Sanskrit, the **language** of the rest of the record is Kannaḍa. The text is a mixture of verse and prose, the total number of verses being 30. As will be seen below the record under study belongs to the second half of the 12th century and both the Nāgarī and Kannaḍa characters are regular for the period.

As regards **palaeography**, it may be pointed out that once in line 20 and thrice in lines 9, 20 and 25, *y* and *m* respectively are written in their cursive forms. As regards **orthography**, more often than not, the *anuseāra* takes the place of the class nasals and the doubling of the consonant immediately following *r* is not effected in some cases.

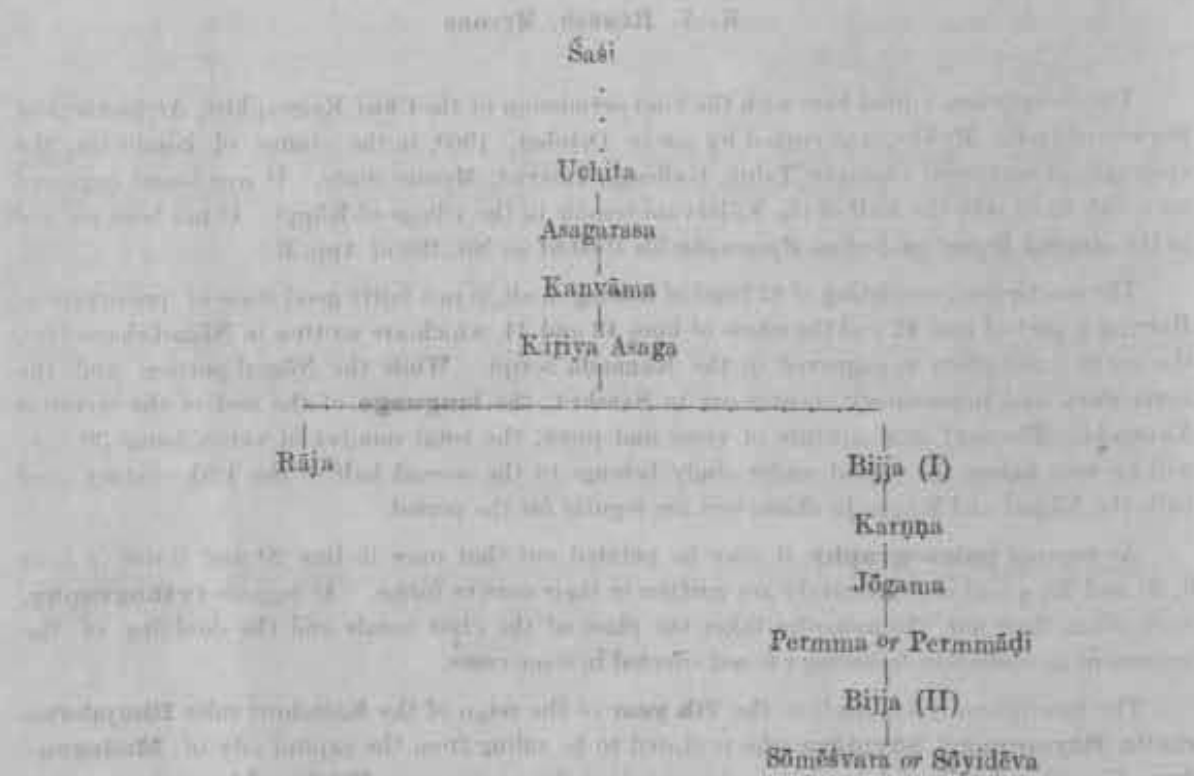
The inscription refers itself to the **7th year** of the reign of the Kalachuri ruler **Bhujabala-malla Rāyamurāri Sōyidēva** who is stated to be ruling from the capital city of **Modagan-ṅru**. The other details of date given in the record are the cyclic year **Vijaya, Āsvayuja śu. 10, Thursday, Vishu-saṁkramaṇa**. Sōyidēva is known to have succeeded his father Bijjala, who abdicated the throne in his son's favour in 1167 A.D. Thus the 7th year of his reign and the cyclic year Vijaya are to be referred to 1173 A.D. Though some of the details of date given in the record under study viz., śu. 10, Thursday, Vishu-saṁkramaṇa are irregular, śu. 10 corresponding to Tuesday and there being no *saṁkramaṇa*, the intended date, in all probability, was 1173 A.D. September 18, Tuesday (and not Thursday).

The inscription records (lines 53-61) the grant of the village Mārūḍige, situated in Teṅḡli-Seventy, to the deity Svayambhu-Kālēśvara of Kāluge, the head-quarters of the division known as Mannedaḍi-nāḍu, jointly by *Mahāpradhāna, Sēnādhipati, Bāhattaraniyōgādhipati, Hiṇya-ḍaṇḍanāyaka* Mādhavayya and *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Vira-Gomkarasa (IV), son of Udayāditya-Vira-Kālarasa and grandson of Vira-Gomkarasa (III). The grant was entrusted to Rāmēśvara-panḍita, the *sthānapati* of the Kālēśvara temple.

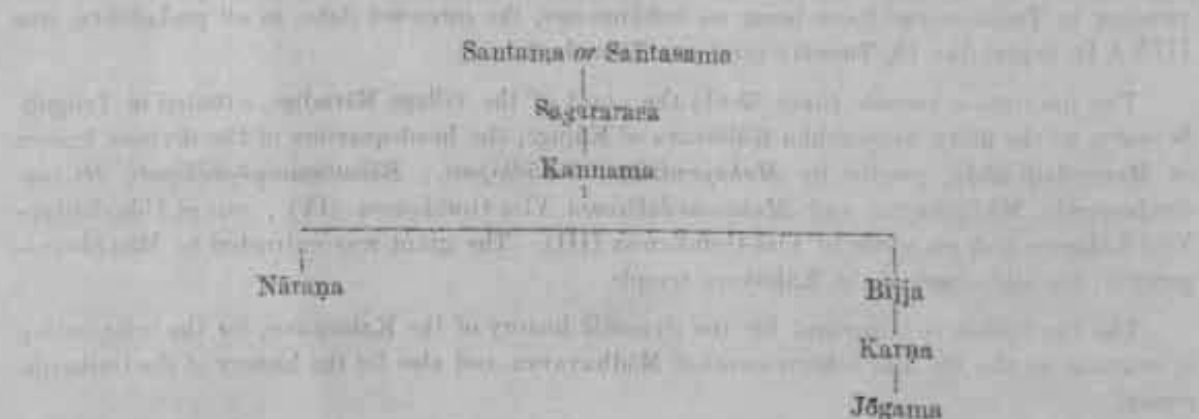
The inscription is important for the dynastic history of the Kalachuris, for the information it contains on the life and achievements of Mādhavayya and also for the history of the Gulbarga region.

¹ *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 484.

The inscription, which commences with the invocatory stanza *Namas=tunga* etc. (verse 1: line 1), states (verses 2-3: lines 1-5) that, at the time of the churning of the Ocean of milk (*im-gaḍal*), which was the abode, among others, of Lakshmi (*Śrīvadhū*) and Nārāyaṇa (*Śrī-vallabha*), by the gods and demona, the Moon was born and from him sprang up the lunar race (*Chandra-kula*). Many famous rulers had adorned this family and among them was Uchita, the apt lord of the damsel that was the earth. Verses 4-15 (lines 5-24) contain a detailed genealogical account of the Kalachuri family which, for the sake of convenience, is given below in tabular form:



While discussing the genealogy of the Kalachuri dynasty, Fleet, basing his conclusions on the present epigraph as also another Kannada inscription, also belonging to the reign of Sōyidēva, from Harasūr, Gulbarga Taluk and District, formulated the following line of succession,*



* A. B. Ep. 1962-63, App. B. No. 787.

* Bom. Gaz., Vol. I, part II, p. 468.

Lines 1-24 of the present inscription and lines 4-23 of the Harasūr Kannada Inscription, referred to above, which contain genealogical accounts of the Kalachuri family, are exactly the same in their contents. It is likely that Fleet mistook *santama-ene* in line 6 of the present epigraph, which only refers to the nature of Uchita's rule, for the name (Santama or Santasama) of the progenitor of the dynasty. So also, the name of Sagarasasa in Fleet's genealogical account appears to have resulted from a wrong reading of the passage *asamltarav-Asagarasana-āldan* in line 6. The name of Nārāya for the elder son of Kannama seems to have resulted from a wrong reading of the last three letters in the passage *Uttamarene-Rāja* in line 7.

Besides the inscription under study and the Harasūr Kannada inscription referred to above which contain the names of Uchita and Asagarasa, a Sanskrit inscription¹ from Harasūr itself and belonging to the reign of Sōyidēva, also names the earliest two members of the Kalachuri family as Uchita and Asaga. But verse 4 of the last mentioned inscription has been taken elsewhere² to contain not only the name of Uchita but also that of his younger brother, Rāja. This verse has been read there as:

Tad-vamśa-sambhavō bhūbhṛd=

Uchitas-tasya ch=ānujō(jah) |

Mahān=Rājō mahā-vīryō

Tau(sau)bhadrā-kulā-bhūṣhaṇō(vah) ||

while the correct reading is:

Tad-vamśa-sambhavō bhūbhṛd=

Uchitas-tasya cha-ānujau |

mahā-bhūjau mahā-vīryau

tau bhadrā-kulā-bhūṣhaṇau ||

Thus the reference here is to two brothers of Uchita who are not named in the record. It is likely that while, by their achievements, they merited a reference in the record, they were not named because they did not succeed to the estate of their brother.

The Harasūr Sanskrit inscription, after mentioning Uchita and Asaga, directly passes on to Rāja, thus passing over the names of Kannama and Kiriya-Asaga who, according to the epigraph under study (verse 5: lines 6-8), were respectively the son and grandson of Asagarasa. The Harasūr Kannada inscription, on the other hand, gives the name of Kannama and his son, whose name is irretrievably lost, after that of Asagarasa. The name of Kiriya-Asaga, Kannama's son and successor is thus, for the first time, known from the inscription under study.

We learn from the present record that Rāja and Bijja I, sons of Kiriya-Asaga, succeeded one another in that order (verse 6: line 8). But the Harihar inscription³ of Kalachuri Bijja-nadēva, according to which Rāja and Bijja (I) were the sons of Kannama and not of Kiriya-Asaga, states that Bijja (I) was the elder of the two and that he succeeded Kannama and was then succeeded by Rāja. The accuracy of this latter statement is thrown into doubts by the record under study which specifically states that Rāja and Bijja (I), sons of Kiriya-Asaga, succeeded one another in that order (see *ant-avar-kramadinid-āld-ilayan*, etc., in line 8).

¹ A. R. Ep., 1962-63, App. B. No. 786.

² Above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 24, 28-29.

³ Ep. Car., Vol. XI, Pg. 42

In the record under study, Uchita, Asagarasa and Kannama are referred to, in general terms, as having ruled over the entire earth. No reference is made to the reign of Kiriya-Asaga who is merely mentioned as the son of Kannama and father of Rāja and Bijja (I), who are also referred to as rulers of the earth.

Of the two brothers Rāja and Bijja (I), Karṇa was the son of the latter and he was the very Yama to his enemies and had attained great prowess through the boon of Lord Śiva. He is mentioned in the record as Karṇa *nṛipāḷaka* and *°nṛipati* (verses 6-7: lines 9-10).

Karṇa's son was Jōgama-rāṇa whose fame pervaded everywhere, who was the beloved of the earth and who had triumphed in many a battle (verse 7: lines 10-11). Jōgama is the earliest Kalachuri ruler to find mention in a contemporaneous record. An inscription¹ from Kōḷagiri, Jath State, states that he was ruling over Karahāḍa-Four Thousand in 1087-88 A.D. as a feudatory of Chālukya Vikramāditya VI (1076-1126 A.D.).

Jōgama was succeeded by his son Permma or Permmāḍi who, according to the present inscription (verse 8: lines 12-13), successfully destroyed the circle of his enemies and whose great arms had become famous as a result of his victories in battles. Permmāḍi is known to have been governing the Tardavāḍi district, in the neighbourhood of Bijapur, in A.D. 1128 as a feudatory of Western Chālukya Sōmēśvara III (1126-38 A.D.).²

Permmāḍi's son, who is named in our record as Bijja, was the famous Bijjaḷa, who brought forth the eclipse of the imperial power of the Western Chālukyas of Kalyāṇa in about 1162 A.D. The present record states (verses 9-11 lines 13-16) that Bijja secured control over the entire Kuntaḷa-rājya and destroyed the (might of the) Chālukya emperor. The inscription further credits him with victories over the rulers of Nēpāḷa, Beṅgi, i.e., Vēṅgi, the capital of the Eastern Chālukyas, Kaḷiṅga, Gūrjara, Lāḷa, i.e., Lāṭa and Baṅgāḷa. In the absence of corroborative historical evidence, the claim for Bijjaḷa's victories over such distant rulers as have been named in our inscription cannot but be dismissed as a mere conventional hyperbole. Bijjaḷa abdicated the throne in favour of his son Sōyidēva sometime after the 19th July, 1167 A.D.³

Sōmēśvara, Bijjaḷa's son and successor, surpassed his father in brilliance as a victor and freed the world from evil rulers (verse 12: lines 16-19). In three explanatory verses, which follow in lines 19-24, it is stated that enemy rulers, on hearing that Rāyamurāri Sōyidēva had been crowned king, marched their cavalry and elephant corps against him. But, when Sōma-nṛipati i.e., Sōyidēva, prepared for warding off the invaders, the very sound of his war-drums ensured his resounding victory. Among the enemy kings who were thus defeated by Sōyidēva are mentioned those of Aṅga, Koṅgaḷa (Koṅga?), Aṁdhra, Chōḷa and Kaḷiṅga.

That the accession of Sōyidēva was disputed, as is implied by the present inscription, appears to be a historical fact; but the enemies, whom Sōyidēva had to put down in order to ensure the throne for himself, were the scions of his own family.⁴ As in the case of his father, Sōyidēva's claim for defeating so many powerful and distant rulers will have to be treated, in the present state of our knowledge, as mere exaggeration.

Verse 16 (lines 25-27) states that while *Kalachuri-Chakravartti* Sōma-bhūtaḷapati was ruling over the earth bounded by the oceans, *daṇḍanāyaka* Mādhava was administering many a *dēśa*

¹ B. K. No. 103 of *A. R. Ep.*, 1940-41.

² *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, part II, p. 470.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 477.

⁴ Above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 26-27.

including Mannedaḍi-nāḍu. Verses 17-22 (lines 27-37) give the genealogical descent of Mādhava as follows :

Aja (Brahmā)
|
Vasishtha¹
|
Anṇama-chamūpa
|
Vishṇudēva-rathinātha
|
Māmyidēva-chamūpa
(married Sāvitrīdēvi)
|
Mādhava-daṇḍanāyaka
(married Rēkaladēvi)

It is interesting to note that Mādhava belonged to a family of brāhmaṇas who were, for generations, army generals by profession. Verse 23 (lines 37-38) states that Mādhava became famous by restoring order in the kingdom of the Kalachuri emperor by putting an end to the chaos created by the *durmantri* Kasapeya and his associates. The next verse (verse 24; lines 38-40) reveals that the confusion was caused by the usurpation of the Kalachuri throne (and country) by one Karṇa and that Mādhava killed the usurper and restored Sōma-nripa to the throne. Karṇa has been identified elsewhere² with the grandson of Bijjala and son of a brother of Sōyidēva. Kasapeya was a powerful official during the reign of Bijjala II³ and it is likely that he rose against Sōyidēva and temporarily succeeded in displacing him and placing his own candidate on the throne. Whatever the ulterior motives of Kasapeya were, his designs were defeated by Mādhava-daṇḍanāyaka. Verses 25-26 (lines 40-44) describe Mādhava's greatness as a vanquisher of enemies and allude to his widespread fame. Verse 27 (line 44) mentions Rēkaladēvi as Mādhava's wife. Line 44 ends with the words *Nārāyaṇāya namaḥ*.

While verse 28 (lines 45-46) repeats that Rēkaladēvi was Mādhava's wife, the next verse (verse 29; lines 46-47) compares her virtues to those of Sati, Sarasvatī and Lakshmi.

Lines 47-53 introduce the reigning king Rāyamurāri Sōyidēva, with all the usual imperial titles and epithets, as ruling from the capital city of Modaganūru.

Lines 53-61 record the grant, details of which have been given above, while lines 58-59 give the details of the date, discussed above. Lines 61-62 contain the well-known imprecatory verse (verse 30) *Sea-dattāṃ para-dattāṃ vā*, etc.

Of the two donors, Mādhava and Vira-Gomkarasa, the former is also known from the Harasūr Sanskrit inscription, referred to above, wherein he is stated to have installed a *sucarpa-kalāṣa* on the top of the temple of Lakshmi-pati (i.e. Viṣṇu), built earlier by Paramardidēva, (i.e., Permāḍi, the father of Bijjala II)⁴. The Harasūr epigraph also informs us that Mādhava's parents were Māmyidēva and Sāvitrī and that he belonged to the Vasishṭha-varṇa.⁵

¹ The verse in lines 29-31 alludes to Vasishṭha's curse upon Nimi as a result of which the latter lost his body and also to the former's conflict with Kauśika (i.e., Viśvāmitra).

² Above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 26-27.

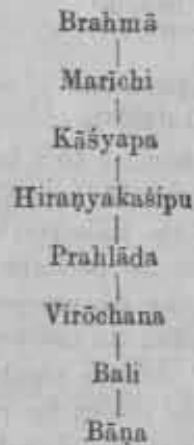
³ *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, part II, pp. 460 and 472; *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. VII, Sk. 102, Vol. XI, Dg. 5 and 42.

⁴ Cf. above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 23 where it has been wrongly stated that the temple of Lakshmi-pati was built by Mādhava himself.

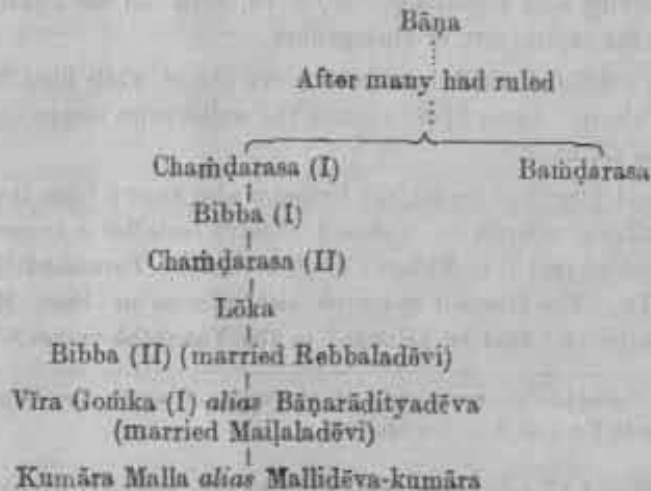
⁵ Mādhava also figures in a Kannada inscription of Sōyidēva (*A. R. Ep.*, 1962-63, No. B 787) belonging to 1172 A.D. and found in Harasūr itself. While he is introduced in it in identical passages as in the record under study, the Harasūr inscription records a grant made to the deity Bhūḍēvarā of Nāḷeyasīma jointly by Mādhava, Mahāmaṇḍalēvara Vira-Bāmadēvarasa and Vira-Gomkarasa.

The other donor, Vira-Gomkarasa, receives the subordinate epithets of *Samadhigatapam-chamahāśabda* and *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* and is mentioned as the son of Udayāditya Vira-Kālarasa and grandson of Vira-Gomkarasa and as belonging to the Bāṇa-vamśa. The existence of a Bāṇa family in the Gulbarga region during the 10th-12th centuries is attested to by a few more inscriptions copied from the Chitapur and Gulbarga Taluks of the Gulbarga District. A brief narrative of the known history of this family, as gleaned from such inscriptions, is given below.

An inscription¹ from Teṅgli, Chitapur Taluk, Gulbarga District, belonging to A.D. 1162-63 and to the reign of Western Chālukya Taila III, gives the mythical genealogy of the above family as follows :



The inscription then states that in the Bāṇa-kula was born the king Bibba who performed many acts of piety and bravery at Jivanikāpura.² He was followed by a number of rulers and, at the time of the engraving of the Teṅgli inscription, Vira-Gomkarasa was ruling over his kingdom. The inscription ascribes to him the epithets *Khāṇḍava-maṇḍalādhiśvara* and *Bāṇa-vamś-odbhava* and gives the name of his wife as Mañjaladēvi. A much damaged inscription³ from Kāligi itself, belonging to 1102 A.D., provides us with the names of Bibba's immediate predecessors and successors. The line of succession, as given in this record, is as follows :



¹ *A. R. Ep.*, 1960-61, No. B 51. I have made use of the unpublished transcript lying in the Office of the Chief Epigraphist, Archaeological Survey of India, Mysore-5.

² Jivanikāpura is to be identified with the modern village of Jivanagi in the Chitapur Taluk. This village has yielded two inscriptions of the Western Chālukyas of Kālyāṇa (*A. R. Ep.*, 1962-63, Nos. B 796-97).

³ *Ibid.*, 1960-61, No. B 504. The date of the inscription, which could not be read at the time of its notice, is as follows : Saka 10[23], Vriṣha, Pūṣya ba. 15, Monday, Solar eclipse. Barring the solar eclipse, the other details regularly correspond to 1102 A.D., January 20.

NO. 47—TWO WESTERN GANGA INSCRIPTIONS

(2 Plates)

K.G. KRISHNAN, MYSORE

The two subjoined inscriptions¹ were copied by me from **Navalai** in **Harur Taluk, Dharmapuri District, Tamil Nadu** in February 1968. They are edited here with the permission of the Chief Epigraphist, Mysore. They are marked *A* and *B*.

A.—Inscription² of Śivamāravarmān I, Year 3

This inscription is engraved on a hero-stone lying inside a pond called **Ettikuttai** to the north of the highway passing through the village. The stone bears three lines of writing on the top. The writing is continued on the left of a sculpture carved in relief in the middle. The sculpture is that of a hero with his face turned to his left. His lifted right hand holds a dagger with its point to the right and his left hand holds a bow. His body is pierced by an arrow at the waist. A sheath is hanging down from his garment from below the waist. His feet are turned in the direction of the left. There are on the ground a water pot in front and a crude representation of a sculpture looking like a pedestal, behind him.³

The inscription is in **Tamil language** and is engraved in **Vatteluttu characters**. Some of the salient features of the script may be noticed here. The letter *y* (lines 1 and 2) is formed by a concave semi-circle from the left bottom of which another slightly bigger semi-circle is drawn to its right. *N* has its top in a curved form and *t* in a small angular form. Both tend to be straight lines at their bottom. These characteristics point to a date earlier than the two inscriptions of Gaṅga Śrīpuruṣa (C. 735-88 A.D.) from **Oḍḍappatti, Harur Taluk, Dharmapuri District, in Tamil language and Vatteluttu characters**.⁴ In these later inscriptions *n* has a curved top beginning with a loop and *t* has a rounded top. Therefore this record may be placed about the seventh-eighth centuries.

The word *paḷaittan* (lines 5-6) is of some lexicographical interest. It can be compared with *paḷaiyar* occurring in an inscription of **Kampavarman**.⁵ It is apparent that both mean 'a member of the regiment'.

This inscription is dated in the 3rd year in the reign of **Śivamāravarmān**. It records that while **Kanda-Vāṇnadiyaraiyar** was ruling over **Puṇamalai-nāḍu** and when **Vāṇaperuṇān** attacked **Kōḍal** (for **Kūḍal**), **Kōṭṭi (Kaṭṭi)-Nātti**, a member of the regiment of **Charuvappannār**, died. He is obviously the hero represented in the sculpture.

The palaeography of the record and the name of the king make the record an important one in several respects. **Śivamāravarmān** in whose reign it is dated may be identified with the

¹ *A.R.Ep.*, 1967-68, Nos. B 240 and 241.

² *Ibid.*, No. 240.

³ Cf. plate facing p. 111, above, Vol. XXXII, where a small shrine is carved apparently pointing to the practice of erecting shrines for the dead. Hero-stones bearing such figures are worshipped even today in the north-western parts of Tamil Nadu. They are called locally **Vēḍiyappaṇ temples**. These hero-stones were generally called **Kaṇṇāḍu** (above, Vol. XXII, p. 113) or **Kaḷāḍu** (*SII.*, Vol. VII, No. 581).

⁴ *A. R. Ep.*, 1910, Nos. 211 and 212.

⁵ Above, Vol. XXII, p. 145.

first king of that name among the Gaṅgas of Talaikkāḍu. The Hallegere plates belonging to the reign of this king are dated Śaka 635 (713-14 A.D.) equated with the 34th year of his reign.¹ This yields 679-80 A.D. as the date of his accession. If so,² the date of the present record of the 3rd year of his reign will be 682-83 A.D. This is the only record of this king so far discovered in the north-western parts of the Tamil country, and it is also the earliest Vatteḷuttu inscription for this dynasty in this region and thus testifies to the use of Vatteḷuttu also during this period.

Kanda-Vāṇṇadaiyaraiyar was evidently a member of the Bāṇa family. The name is obviously a Tamil *tatsama* of the Sanskrit Skanda-Bāṇādhirāja.³ A chief bearing the same name figures in an inscription from Baṅgavāḍi in Mulbagal Taluk in Kolar district, Mysore State.⁴ This inscription in Tamil language and script of about the eighth century is dated in the reign of Narasimhavarman who was also a Gaṅga king.⁵ Another inscription⁶ of this king in Tamil language and Vatteḷuttu characters of about the same period from Vēlūr, Chengam Taluk, North Arcot District, Tamil Nadu refers to a Vāṇakōṅ-adiyaraśar. The chief mentioned in our record is evidently different from the Bāṇa chief mentioned in the above records on account of palaeography, though the two might have belonged to the same family. Kanda-Vāṇṇadaiyaraiyar of our record is stated to be ruling over Puṇamalai-nāḍu and Vāṇaperumāṇ is stated to have attacked Kūḍal. It is apparent that Kūḍal attacked by Vāṇaperumāṇ was situated in Puṇamalai-nāḍu. This indicates that Kānda-Vāṇṇadaiyaraiyar and Vāṇaperumāṇ, though of the same dynasty, were adversaries. The circumstances under which two members of the same stock had to fight each other are not now known.⁷ Charuvappanṅār was perhaps a commander under Kanda-Vāṇṇadaiyaraiyar and Koṭṭi (Kaṭṭi)-Nātti the hero was a member of the former's regiment (*paḍaittaṅ*). This word Koṭṭi which is perhaps a corruption of Kaṭṭi recalls to us a chieftain of the early Saṅgam period⁸ who is described as a Gaṅga⁹ and whose territory is stated to be on the borders beyond which a different language was spoken. The chiefs of the Yādavarāya family who ruled over the region along the north-western and the northern borders of the Tamil country in the 12th century had the titles Ghaṭṭiyadēva,¹⁰ Ghaṭṭidēva¹¹ or Kaṭṭi-araśar.¹² There was a Kaṭṭi-mudaliyār

¹ *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. III, Md. 113, pp. 107 ff., and plates. It is noteworthy that while most other Gaṅga copper plates give full details of date, this charter does not give them except *Jyēṣṭha-mās* and *Pauṇamīyā*.

² Fleet had his reservation in accepting the genuineness of this copper-plate (*Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, p. 301, note 1).

³ *Above*, Vol. VII, p. 22; *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. X, Md. 227.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *Above*, Vol. IV, p. 177. Though he has been correctly considered as a Gaṅga, his identity is yet to be established. There was no Gaṅga king of that name during the eighth century to which we assign his records. However, we find a Narasimhavarman among the Gaṅgas, who is removed from Śivamāra I by five generations. It is not known whether Śivamāra I or II was also called Narasimhavarman. The Śaṛadhamputra copper-plates, which are patently spurious (*Ep. Carn.*, Vol. IX, Dv. 44), mention Narasimhavarman as another name for Śivamāra II.

⁶ *Above*, Vol. XXXII, pp. 111 ff and plate. The characters of this record are assigned there to the 9th century. The view that the scribe or the hero of this record was responsible for the introduction of Vatteḷuttu in this region is untenable. Nor is the script unusual to this area as stated therein.

⁷ It is a curious coincidence that the Baṅgavāḍi inscription (*above* Vol. VII, pp. 22 ff.) of Narasimhavarman also points to the same situation whereby a servant of Kanda-Vāṇṇadaiyaraiyar fought against a group in which there was a Vāṇarāśar.

⁸ *Kaṇumogai*, verse No. 11; *Ahaṇṅgāru*, verse Nos. 44 and 226.

⁹ *Ibid.*, No. 44. Gaṅga, a dynastic name may better be taken to qualify the following name Kaṭṭi (contra. *Pre-Pallava Tamil Index*, s.v.).

¹⁰ *SHI.*, Vol. VII, Nos. 488 and 500.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, No. 531.

¹² *Ibid.*, No. 101.

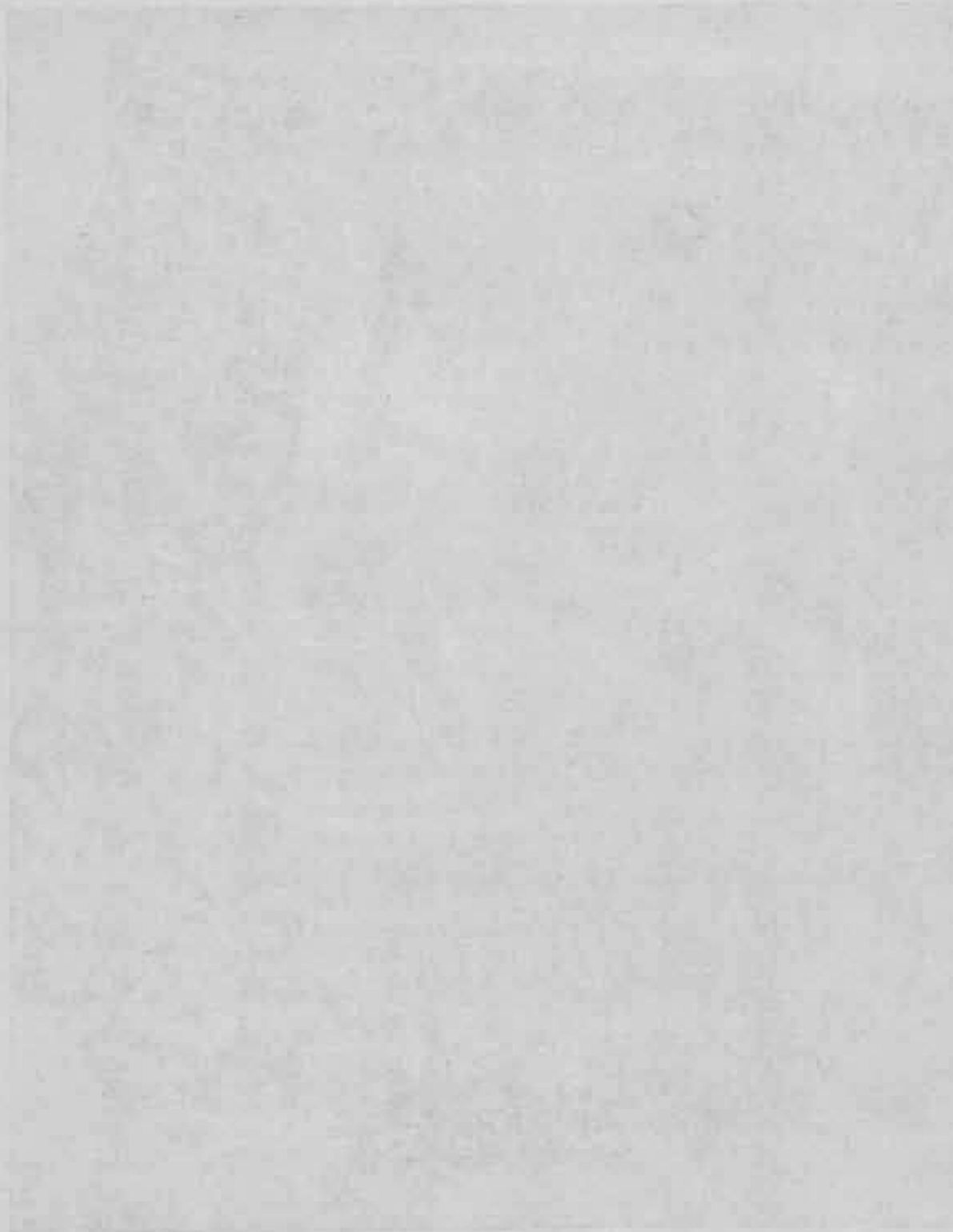


PLATE I

INSCRIPTION OF SIVAMARAVARMAN I, YEAR 3



Scale : One-fifth

G. S. Gai

Ep. Ind., Vol. XXXVIII

among the well-known chieftains of Tāramaṅgalam in Omalur Taluk in Salem District in 1540-41 A.D.¹

Puramalai-nāḍu ruled over by Kanda-Vāṇṇadiyaraiyar is stated to have been included in Tagadūr-nāḍu in Gaṅga-nāḍu in later inscriptions.² It roughly comprises the area to the north of the Śervarāyan (Shevaroy) hills on the borders of the Salem Taluk in Salem District and to the west of the Kalrāyan hills on the south-eastern borders of the Harur Taluk in Dharmapuri District. The name Puramalai-nāḍu is geographically very apt because the area to the south and east of this nāḍu beyond the two hills, was called Malaināḍu or Milāḍu³ for short and Puramalai-nāḍu, as now identified, lies outside (*para*) this Malai-nāḍu. The present record contains the earliest reference to Puramalai-nāḍu. Two inscriptions⁴ from Tirthamalai in Harur Taluk, Dharmapuri District, dated in the 4th year (1015-16 A.D.) in the reign of Chōḷa Rājēndra I seem to refer to a local deity as Kūḍal-ālvār. Another from the same place dated in the 8th year (1153-54 A.D.) in the reign of Chōḷa Rājārāja II also refers to Kūḍal in Puramalai-nāḍu.⁵ This Kūḍal was important enough for a minor division under the nāḍu to be named itself as Kūḍal-parru in the days of Vijayanagara rulers. Kūḍal is the same as Kūḍalūr (spelt as Gūḍalūr on the map) near Tirthamalai and about fifteen miles east by south as the crow flies from Navalai, the findspot of the record.⁶ The relevance of the hero-stone being set up at Navalai, away from the place of the fight is, however, not clear.

TEXT⁷

- 1 Śrī Śivamāraparumark-iyāṇḍu mūṇṇāvaḍu
- 2 Kandavāṇṇadiyaraiyar Puramalai-nāḍ-āḷa
- 3 Vāṇaperumāṇ Kō(Kū)ḍall-eri⁸nda āṇṇu Charu-
- 4 vappan-
- 5 nār paḍai-
- 6 ttan Ko(Ka)t-
- 7 ti-Nātti
- 8 paṭṭāṇ

B.—Inscription⁹ of [Śivamāra II], Year 17

This record is engraved on another hero-stone set up inside a lake locally called Vikkalēri, to the south of the highway passing through Navalai. The stone bears five lines of writing above a

¹ *Ibid.*, Nos. 21 and 28.

² *Ibid.*, No. 9; *A.R. Ep.*, 1905, No. 676.

³ *A.R. Ep.*, 1913, No. 407.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 1905, Nos. 672 and 673.

⁵ *Ibid.*, No. 660.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 1905, No. 658. It is possible that the name Kūḍal was given to this place since it is so near the confluence where the rivers Pāmbāru from the north and Vāṇiyāru from the south-east mingle with Pennai (now called Poṇṇaiyār).

⁷ From impressions.

⁸ The letter *ri* is engraved below the line.

⁹ *A.R. Ep.*, 1907-68, No. B-241.

sculpture, and the last two lines (6 and 7) are engraved below the fifth line at the right end. The sculpture in relief depicts a hero in the posture of attacking a horse which he seems to hold by its reins in his left hand, his right hand holding aloft a dagger. There are also on the ground a pot behind him and another pot with elongated body and a spout to its left.

The inscription is in Tamil language and is engraved in Vatteluttu characters of about the 9th century. The letter *y* has a loop inside at the beginning of the concave form. *N* has a curved upper part with a loop at the beginning and has also a curved lower part. *T* is in a transitional stage with both a prominent angular upper part (line 3) and a curved one (line 5). These indicate that this inscription should be assigned to a date much later to record *A* published here and also to the inscriptions of Śrīpuruṣa referred to above.¹ It may be assigned to about the ninth century. From the orthographical point of view it may be noted that the word *Kudirai* (line 5) is also written as *Kudurai* (line 4). This word has *kudi* (to gallop) as its root. The form *Kudurai* is apparently the result of an attempt to make the spelling uniform allowing the vowel *u* in *Ku* to occur concurrently.² In this connection the word *Kudure*³ in Kannada may be compared.

The inscription is dated in the seventeenth year in the reign of a king whose name is lost due to damage. It records that while somebody, presumably the king (himself) was ruling over Gaṅga-nāḍu, Koyirūr-nāḍu, Velāl-nāḍu, Kovūnūr-nāḍu, Eyīṇa-nāḍu, Puṇamalai-nāḍu and Tāyanūr-nāḍu, Kōindaraiyaṇ came with thousand horses and attacked Vaḍa-Vellūr and that, on that occasion, Pūṇḡḍi Vaḍuḡaṇ stabbed (some) horses and died.

This inscription raises two problems: (1) the identity of the king and (2) that of Kōindaraiyaṇ. In trying to solve them in the sequel it is found that it affords a striking confirmation of Rāṣṭrakūṭa Gōvinda (III)'s second campaign in the south.

The identity of the king in whose reign the record is dated can be arrived at by a consideration of the area said to have been ruled over by him. Among such territorial divisions (*nāḍu*), Gaṅga-nāḍu is given first. This *nāḍu* is probably the original home of the Gaṅgas near about Nandi and Kōlār in Karnataka.⁴ The expansion of the Gaṅgas in early times brought them to the north-western frontiers of the Tamil country and thus we find in later inscriptions⁵ that Gaṅga-nāḍu is stated to include Tagaḍa or Tagaḍūr-nāḍu (Dharmapuri) and the latter to include Puṇamalai-nāḍu⁶ which is stated separately in the present record. While the other divisions mentioned in our record cannot be identified in the present state of our knowledge, Gaṅga-nāḍu and Puṇamalai-nāḍu appear to indicate the extent of the area i.e., from Chikballāpur in the north-west to Harur in the south-east. This, it will be seen, roughly aligns with the basin watered by the river Poṇṇai locally called Poṇṇaiyār. It should be, however, noted that the inscriptions copied from the intervening area do not contain these names such as Koyirūr-nāḍu, Kovūnūr-nāḍu, Eyīṇa-nāḍu, and Tāyanūr-nāḍu. An inscription⁷ from Tirthamalai in Harur Taluk, Dharmapuri District, Tamil Nadu refers to Miniyūr in Tāyal-nāḍu, which, though it cannot be identified, is the same as

¹ Above, p. 275, note 4.

² The uniform usage of *koḍu* (to give) as *ku'u* in Tamil inscriptions (*SIH.*, Vol. XIII, Nos. 1, 2, etc.) suggests the influence of the second *u* on the first *o*.

³ See *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. X, pp. 228. Further the interchange of *ai* and *u* between Tamil and Kannada is a well known phenomenon. Cf. Puṇamalai-nāḍu in *A* above with Puṇamale-nāḍu (*Ibid.*, Vol. VII, No. 2).

⁴ While the epithet *Keeṇāḷepura-paramācāra*, of the Gaṅgas points to Kōlār being their original capital, their another epithet *Nandagiri-nātha* refers to the famous Nandi Hills as their possession.

⁵ *SIH.*, Vol. VII, Nos. 11, 18; Vol. VIII, No. 126.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Vol. VII, No. 9.

⁷ *A.R. Ep.*, 1905, No. 661.

PLATE II

INSCRIPTION OF [SIVAMARA II], YEAR 17



Scale : One-fifth

G. S. Gal

Ep. Ind., Vol. XXXVIII

Tāyalūr-nāḍu. The contiguity of the area seems to suggest that the ruler, whose name is lost, but in whose reign the record is dated, may be considered to be a member of Western Gaṅga family. An inscription¹ from Rāyachōṭi in Krishnagiri Taluk, Dharmapuri District, in Kannaḍa language and characters of about the 8th-9th centuries, dated in the 4th year of the reign of a Mahābali-Bāṇarasa states that the chief was ruling over among others Gaṅga-nāḍu, Poṛamale-nāḍu, Kovūnūr-nāḍu, Tāyalu-nāḍu, and Meḷala-nāḍu which are no doubt identical with their namesakes in the present record.² Another inscription³ in Tamil language and Vaṭṭeḷuttu characters of about the ninth century from Dharmapuri also refers to the rule of one Arimidaia-Māvali-Vāṇarāyar over Gaṅga-nāḍu, Puṛamalai-nāḍu, Koyiṇūr-nāḍu, Kōvūr-nāḍu and Tāyanūr-nāḍu. The nature of the damage in the present record rules out the possibility of a Bāṇa name being read. The frequent change in the control of this area identically described in both the present record and the Bāṇa records mentioned above, between the Gaṅga and the Bāṇa was otherwise a well-known feature in the times to which the present record is assigned.

The event which is next described in the record leads us further to find out the identity of the Gaṅga king and also that of Kōṇḍaraiyaṇ. It is stated that while the king was ruling over the said area, Kōṇḍaraiyaṇ came with thousand horses and attacked Vaḍa-Vellūr and that Pūṇḍuḍi Vaḍugaṇ fell after killing some horses. The name Kōṇḍaraiyaṇ⁴ is apparently a corrupt form of Gōvindaraiyaṇ. There was no chief or king of this name during the 8th-9th centuries anywhere near this area. On the other hand it is well known that Rāshtrakūṭa Gōvinda III conducted his southern campaign after November 803 A.D., and before December 805 A.D.⁵ It is, therefore, very likely that the attack on Vaḍa-Vellūr by Gōvinda formed part of this campaign. The contemporary Gaṅga ruler on this date was Śivamāra II, the son and successor of Śrīpuruṣa, to whose reign the present record may be assigned. Śrīpuruṣa is known to have ruled till at least 788 A.D.⁶ Śivamāra II should have succeeded him immediately so that the date 17th year in his reign could just be 804-05 A.D., the upper limit of his southern campaign referred to above. The wording in the text of this inscription seems to imply that Gōvinda III could have come in person to lead the campaign against the Pallava and the Gaṅga. In the course of this campaign Śivamāra was again imprisoned.⁷ Vaḍa-Vellūr, the target of Gōvinda's attack cannot be identified.

TEXT*

1. [Śrī]...[paru]markku yāṇḍu paḍinē[ā]vaḍu Gaṅga-nā-
2. ḍum Koyiṇūr-nāḍum Vai(Ve)lāl-nāḍum Kovūnūr-nāḍum E-
3. yiṇa-nāḍum Puṛa[ma]lai-nāḍum Tāyaṇūr-nāḍum ālā-

¹ *SII.*, Vol. VII, No. 2.

² The difference in spelling is due to the fact that the inscription is in Kannaḍa.

³ *Ibid.*, No. 581.

⁴ It may be noted that the name Kōṇḍaraiyaṇ is nearer in form to Gōvindara of the British Museum Plates (above, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 327 ff.) of Rāshtrakūṭa Gōvinda III.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ *A.R. Arch. Sur. Mys.*, 1918, p. 42.

⁷ Above, Vol. VI, pp. 239 ff. Verses 6 and 14 of the Radhanpur plates refer to the imprisonment of the Gaṅga once by Dhōṭa and again, after release, by Gōvinda himself. Śivamāra's chequered career would not have, however, prevented him from citing his own regnal years. Altekar dates the second imprisonment to c. 798 A.D. (*The Rāshtrakūṭas and Their Times*, p. 63).

* From impressions.

4 *niṛka Kōṇdaraiyaṇ āyiraṇ-kuduraiyoḍu va-*

5 *ndu Vaṇa-Vellūr eṇi.....ṛu¹ kudirai kutti*

6 *paṭṭāṇ Pūh-*

7 *guḍi Vaṇuga[n]*

¹ This may be restored as *eyinda nūṇṛu*.

No. 3—THREE INSCRIPTIONS OF VIRA-NOLAMBA

(3 Plates)

K. G. KRISHNAN, MYSORE

The three subjoined inscriptions on hero-stones edited here with the kind, permission of the Chief Epigraphist, were copied from Harur Taluk, Dharmapuri District, Tamil Nadu. Inscription A was copied from the village of Muttānūr,¹ B and C from Navalai.²

Inscription A is in Tamil characters relevant to the date Śaka 847 (925-26 A.D.) given in the record. The other two records (B and C) are in Kannaḍa language and characters of about the tenth century to which they have to be assigned as they are dated in the reign of Vīra-Noḷamba to whom the inscription A also belongs. The use of the consonant *ga* in place of *ka* of the Tamil name Takaḍūr in line 2 of B indicates the true phonetic value of *ka* as spelt medially in this word. This provides one more instance of the utility of Kannaḍa transliteration of Tamil words in settling the question of the phonetic values of some of the letters of the Tamil alphabet.³ The persistent use of *la* in the name Noḷamba in both the Kannaḍa inscriptions as against Nuḷambaṇ used in the Tamil record seems to point to the possibility of the former being the original name. The use of the auxiliary *iḷdu* in the expressions *āl-iḷdu* in line 2 and *chogut-iḷdu* in line 3 of B indicating the sense of 'occasion' is noteworthy. This auxiliary *iḷdu* is met with in its finite form in *salutt-iḷdudu* in line 10 of the text of the Haldipur plates of the Pallavarāja Gōpāladēva, where the sense of continuity is indicated.⁴ The form *irddu* in an inscription from Dēvagēri in Dhārwar District seems to give us a clue as to the probable origin of the word from the common Dravidian root of *ir* or *iru*.⁵ This meaning is also conveyed by the expression *alli* in line 3 of C and by the suffix *e* in the case of *āle* in line 2 of C. The expression *āluttirē* is also used to convey the same meaning in line 3 of C. The expressions *andu* and *kondu* respectively in lines 1 and 4 of C remind us of the corresponding Tamil forms *aṇṇu* and *koṇṇu*, though the latter are not found to be used in contemporary inscriptions. This expression *aṇṇu* is comparable to *ñāṇṇu* bearing the same meaning but used in a different context. So also the cognate of the expression *sattam* in line 5 of C is not used in the Tamil text (A) where the word *paṭṭār* (line 13) is used, though the former is derived from the common root *sā* or *sāy*. The correspondence between *uḷchu* in line 3 of C and *urittu* or *urichchu* in Tamil both conveying the meaning of 'stripping off' is interesting. This form *uḷchu* is used in some other contemporaneous Kannaḍa records⁶. This got transformed into *uchcha* in an inscription of the eleventh century⁷. The interchange of *l* and *r* is noteworthy. The word *uḍe* (line 3 of C) meaning dress used in the same context may be compared to Tamil *uḍai*. This interchange of *e-ai* is also met with in the case of *male* or

¹ This inscription is registered as No. B 225, *A.R. Ep.*, 1975-76.

² These two are respectively No. B 242 of *A.R. Ep.* 1967-68 and No. B 175 of *A.R. Ep.*, 1968-69.

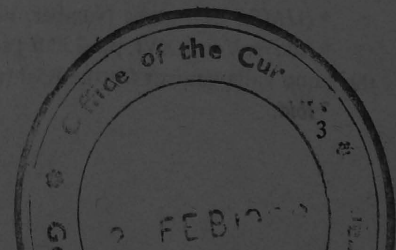
³ See for a detailed discussion on this question by me in *Indo-Iranian Journal*, Vol. XIV, No. 3/4 (1972), pp. 239-46.

⁴ Above, Vol. XXI, p. 178, Vol. XIX, p. 185, line 23 ; p. 188, lines 17-18.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 192, line 21.

⁶ *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. X, Mb. 161 and 163.

⁷ *Ibid.*, Sp. 14.



malai in line 2 of C.⁴ The word *biḷdi* in line 3 of B used probably in the sense of 'having fallen upon' is comparable to Tamil *viḷundu*, indicating the well-known interchange of *va* and *bu*. The name, Bīra, of the king spelt as Vira in the Tamil inscription is an instance to the point.

Inscription A in Tamil language and characters relevant to the period is dated in Śaka 847 (925-26 A.D.) equated with the 2nd regnal year of Anṇiyaṇ Vira-Noḷamba. It records the death of Kāmuṇḍar Maḍaiyar Maṇiyamaṇār of Poṇṇaiyūr after rescuing the cattle which were captured by Vallavaraiyar and Nāṭṭār.² Inscription B, in Kannaḍa language and characters of the same period, is not dated but belongs to the reign of Vira-Noḷamba. It records the death of Punnāga, the ruler of Navilūr who fought the robbers probably in the course of his attack and destruction of Tagaḍūr. It seems to indicate that the stone was set up by Bhāvuḍeya, the son-in-law of Punnāga. Inscription C, also in Kannaḍa language and characters of about the tenth century, records the death of Pṛituva, son of Puliyanna ruling over Navilūr, while Kundayya was ruling over Poṛa[ma]le-nāḍu in the 15th regnal year of Vira-Noḷamba. Pṛituva is stated to have died in the course of defending women who were stripped of their dress i.e., when their modesty was about to be outraged.

The contents of these inscriptions are very interesting from the point of view of the chronology of the period of Vira-Noḷamba and that of the contemporary events and social life. Inscription A gives the date Śaka 847 (A.D. 925-26) equating it with the 2nd regnal year of Anṇiyaṇ Vira-Noḷamba, thus indicating that his reign should have commenced sometime during 923 Feb-925 Feb. Two other inscriptions of Vira-Noḷamba from Kurubūru in Chintamani Taluk in Kolar District, Karnataka State cite the Śaka year 853 equating it with the cyclic year Raudri.³ The Śaka year does not correspond to Raudri but only to Khara.⁴ The period of reign covered by these two śaka dates is extended further upto 938-40 A.D., if the 15th year cited in record C represents the highest regnal year. It has been surmised that Vira-Noḷamba who is also known as Anṇiga may have commenced to rule from a year between 923 A.D. and 929 A.D.⁵ The present record (A) affords clinching evidence in favour of the earlier of the two dates suggested. This Tamil inscription contains an interesting reference to the capture of cattle by Vallavaraiyar and Nāṭṭār. The name Vallavaraiyar has been used in Tamil inscriptions of this period to denote the Rāshtrakūṭa kings.⁶ It is therefore possible to identify this Vallavaraiyar with the contemporary Rāshtrakūṭa king Gōvinda IV, who is known to have had an alliance with the Chōḷa Parāntaka I.⁷ The association of the Nāṭṭār with the Rāshtrakūṭa king in this cattle-lifting campaign seems to indicate the interest of the local people and the Rāshtrakūṭa relative of the Chōḷa in confronting the Noḷamba. It is possible that the Noḷamba intrusion was resented by the people at large, though the Noḷamba continued to have his hold till at least his fifteenth year. Ultimately he was defeated by Rāshtrakūṭa Kṛishṇa III.

The hero Maṇiyamaṇār is described as Kāmuṇḍar Maḍaiyar. Maḍaiyar is obviously the name of a sub-division of the Kāmuṇḍar community which is often referred to in the later

¹ See for the instance of *kudure*, above, Vol. XXXVIII, p. 278.

² *Contra*. Kalveṭṭu, Ananda, Aippaṣi, *idaḷ* 3, p.1.

³ *Ep., Carn.*, Vol. X, Cm. 43 and 44.

⁴ The details of date given in the second record *viz.*, Mārgaśira śu. 3, Thursday and Rēvatī are irregular.

⁵ *QJMS.*, Karnataka Number, Vol. XLVIII, pp. 34-35; see also *A.R.Ep.*, 1968-69, Introduction p.5.

⁶ Above, Vol. XXVI, pp. 230 ff; see also above, Vol. XXXVIII, p. 275 ff., for another instance of the use of the name Vallavaraiyar for the Rāshtrakūṭas.

⁷ *Ibid.*

inscriptions of the Koṅgu country. This inscription affords one of the early instances where the name of the community is mentioned.

The sculpture representing this hero is of the usual type obtained in the inscriptions of this area. But this panel contains only the figures of two cattle facing right and a pot with a base and conical lid, obviously representing a pot of liquor or water.

Inscription B records the death of Punnāga in the course of his attack on Tagaḍūr i.e., Dharmapuri. Punnāga is stated to be ruling over Navilūr which is the same as Navalai, the findspot of the inscription. This leads us to surmise that on the date of this epigraph Tagaḍūr was not in the hands of the Noḷambas. There is an inscription at Dharmapuri dated Śaka 851 (A.D. 929-30) in the reign of Iṟuḷachōra, the son of Vira-Noḷamba.¹ It has been suggested correctly that Iṟuḷachōra was ruling the kingdom jointly with his father.² Therefore it may be surmised that the campaign against Tagaḍūr sometime before 929-30 A.D., was successful and that Vira-Noḷamba placed his son Iṟuḷachōra as the governor of the area around the important centre of Tagaḍūr. The circumstances under which Punnāga had to fight the robbers are, however, not clear. His son-in-law probably called Bhāvuḍeya is mentioned at the end of the record. Though the record ends abruptly at this point, it is possible to hold that he erected the stone in memory of the fallen hero.

Inscription C dated in the 15th regnal year (938-39 A.D.) of Vira-Noḷamba refers to Kundayya, the governor of Poṟa[ma]lle-nāḍu apparently because Navilūr, the seat of the government of Puḷiyaṇṇa, the hero's father, was included in that nāḍu. This is already known to us from the two Gaṅga inscriptions edited in this journal.³ This throws some light on the administrative set up of the area during the Noḷamba rule. Navilūr was recognised as an important centre to merit the attention of an independent local ruler.

The circumstance under which Prituva, the hero, died is interesting. It was in the course of the laudable task of defending the honour of women who were molested. The sculpture depicts clearly the women to the left of the hero and the fallen offender to his right. The hero, however, had to give up his life. He is shown as being received with full honours by the celestial women. Recorded instances of this type, especially during this period are not unknown.⁴ But in the case of these instances it is found that this unseemly act of molesting women preceded the capture of cattle, whereas it was not so in the case of the present record. The role of women in keeping watch over the cattle is probably indicated by these instances, thus leading to their modesty being outraged.

Puḷiyaṇṇa, the hero's father, is described as Raṁjana-kshatriya. It is not known whether this has reference to his caste. This was probably his epithet denoting his delightful personality.

Kundayya, the governor of Poṟamale-nāḍu seems to be identical with his namesake mentioned in an undated inscription from Nekkundi as the governor of Nekkundi-nāḍu in the reign of Noḷambādhiraḷa who may be identified with Aṇṇiga Vira-Noḷamba or his father.⁵ There, is however, no other evidence, forthcoming at present, to support this identity.

Among the places mentioned in the inscriptions **Poppaiyūr** from where the hero of inscription A hailed cannot be identified in the absence of more information. **Navilūr**

¹ S.I.I., Vol. IX, Pt. I, No. 23.

² QJMS., Karnataka Number, Vol. XLVIII, pp. 34-35.

³ Above, Vol. XXXVIII, p. 277.

⁴ Ep. Carn., Vol. X, Mb. 161 and 163; Sp. 14. The last reference is also the latest belonging to the reign of Rājēndrachōḷa I.

⁵ *ibid.*, Ct. 36.

mentioned in both the inscriptions **B** and **C** is the same as Navalai, their findspot, as already stated. **Tagaḍūr** is the ancient name of Dharmapuri. The geographical division **Pora[ma]le-nāḍu** which is the same as Puṇamalai-nāḍu has been discussed in the context of two inscriptions already edited.¹

TEXTS²

A

- 1 Śvaṣṭi (Svasti)Śrī[1*] Śakarai yāṇḍ=En-
- 2 nūrṟu nār-patt-ēlāvadu Aṇ-
- 3 ṇiyaṇ Vira-Nuḷambaṇukk-āṇḍ=I-
- 4 raṇḍ=āvadu Vallavaraiya[ru]n=Nāṭṭārun=
- 5 toruk-ko³
- 6 ḷḷap Po-
- 7 ṇṇaiyūr
- 8 Kamunḍar
- 9 Maḍaiyar-Ma-
- 10 ṇiyamaṇā-
- 11 r toru mī-
- 12 ṭṭup=
- 13 paṭṭār [||*]

B⁴

- 1 Svasti⁵ Śrī [|] Bīra-Noḷamba⁶-
- 2 na rājyada Navilūr-āl iḷdu Ta[gaḍū]-
- 3 rg[g]e biḷdi chogut-iḷdu negava Pu[m]-
- 4 [nā]gaṁ kaḷḷar kādi sattaṁ Punnāga-
- 5 n - aḷiyaṁ Bhāvuḍeye⁷

C⁶

- 1 Svasti Śrī [|] Bīra-Noḷambana rājyada Padinaydu varisadā(da)-
- 2 ndu Kundayya Pora[ma]le-nāḍ-āḷe⁸ Raṁjana-kshatriya Puḷiyanna Navilūrān āḷu-
- 3 ttire ātanā(na) maga⁹|| Pṛituva peṇḍirā uḍeyan=uḷchuv=alli
- 4 kādi kondu
- 5 sattaṁ

¹ See above, Vol. XXXVIII, p. 275 ff.

² From impressions.

³ Lines 5-11 are engraved to the right of the sculpture and lines 12-13, to the left.

⁴ There appear to be two symbols probably standing for the Sun and the Moon, one a full circle over the letter *Bī* and another crescent (?) only the bottom of which is seen, over letter *bā*, both in line 1.

⁵ There is a superfluous sign looking like *ka* at the beginning of the letter *sva*.

⁶ Each line of the text is separated from the following line by a line drawn between the two.

⁷ The last two syllables are engraved one below the other, below the letter *vu*.

⁸ There is an unnecessary medial *e* sign on the letter *ḍā*.

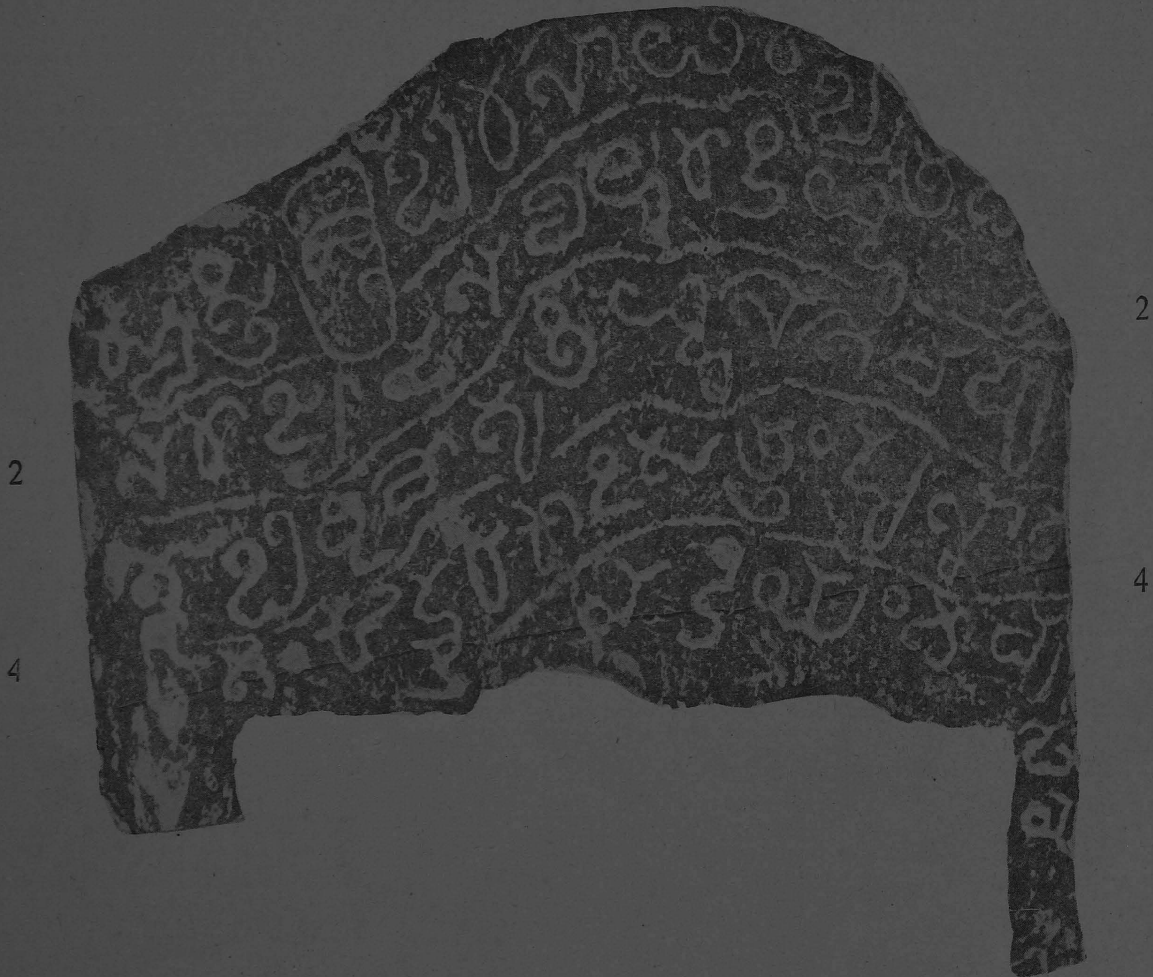
⁹ There is a horizontal hook above *ma* which is unnecessary.

MUTTANUR INSCRIPTION OF VIRA NOLAMBA, SAKA 847



SCALE : One-eighth

NAVALAI INSCRIPTION OF VIRA NOLAMBA



SCALE : One-fifth

NAVALAI INSCRIPTION OF VIRA NOLAMBA, YEAR 15



SCALE : One-sixth

No. 32—TWO HERO-STONE INSCRIPTIONS FROM IRULAPPATTI

(1 Plate)

K. G. KRISHNAN, MYSORE

The two inscriptions edited here are engraved on two hero-stones in a site locally called Vēdiyappaṇ temple in Pāppāmbāḍi, the hamlet of the village Irulappatti in Harur Taluk, Dharmapuri District, Tamil Nadu.¹ They are continued to be worshipped even to-day. They are, for the sake of convenience marked as A and B.²

Inscriptions A and B are in Tamil language engraved in Vaṭṭeḷuttu characters of about the fifth century A.D. Among these two, the inscription B is engraved in slightly later characters. Both may be placed midway between the Arachchalūr record³ and the Tirunātharkunru inscription⁴ from the point of view of their development. The crucial letters that show definite stages in their evolution from the Arachchalūr record are *ṇ*, *ṇ*, *va* and *l*. The letter *ṇ* is written in the Arachchalūr record by slanting the central vertical stem in continuation of the horizontal line and by curving the lower horizontal line, whereas in the present record this slanting line is written as a full curve resulting in the form of two concaves placed one below the other. *ṇ* assumes the form of a curve in the second part of the letter drawn continuously from and not on the base line. The letter *v* has taken the form in which a vertical line and curve extending from its base upwards to its right joins the line a little lower than its top. *l* has its initial curve accentuated and the right vertical stem reduced completely. Apart from these marked factors, the practice of marking dots over the consonants is also obtained in these records though the place of the dots is not uniform. The medial *o* is marked with a dot in the only example available in Korrandai in the shorter record. The sign for *o* is made up of a leftward sign on the top and a length sign on the cross line of *ka*.⁵ The letters *ṇ* and *ṇ* discussed above are definitely the Vaṭṭeḷuttu forms distinguishable from their counterparts in the Tamil script which are evolved by placing two concave curves horizontally.⁶

It was once considered that these inscriptions along with some others placed during this period may be said to be engraved in a mixed variety of alphabet using both Vaṭṭeḷuttu and Tamil.⁷ It seems that it is better to visualise some stages where some common forms continued to be used in both the scripts retaining at the same time individual letters entitling them to be called Vaṭṭeḷuttu or Tamil as the case may be. Since the forms of *ṇ* and *ṇ* can never be expected to be used in a record engraved in Tamil script at any time during this period on account of the different evolutionary processes, the script of these records may be considered to be Vaṭṭeḷuttu.

¹ They were discovered by the Director of Archaeology, Tamil Nadu and published in *Damilica*, Vol. I, part III, pp. 92 ff. and plate 26.

² They are registered in *A. R. Ep.*, 1967-68, Nos. B 243 and 244 respectively.

³ *A. R. Ep.*, 1961-62, No. B 280 and plate II.

⁴ *SII.*, Vol. XVII, frontispiece.

⁵ But it should be noted that in the case of *Kō* in *Kōḍaṇ* the signs are marked on the top, to the left and to the right.

⁶ See Vallam inscription (*SII.*, Vol. II, plate X, opposite p. 340).

⁷ *A. R. Ep.* 1967-68 pp. 9 and 42; *SII.*, Vol. XVII Introduction p. 8.

Inscription **B** is considered here to be of a slightly later period on account of the following reasons : The curve drawn from the middle of the vertical stem of the letter *t* in inscription **A** is drawn from the base of the stem in this inscription. In the case of *η* the concave curves are accentuated by looping. These two developments cannot be considered to be transitional on any count. Therefore inscription **B** is later to inscription **A**.¹

The inscription **A** provides the earliest use of title *Ēnādi* in Epigraphy, which was bestowed by the king upon generals or ministers. The expression *araiśaru* affords an early evidence of the use of the euphonic *u* found in Kannaḍa and Telugu records.

The first inscription (**A**) is engraved to the left of the sculptures of the two heroes in whose honour the stone was set up and below the raised right arm of the hero on the left. It records that it is the stone (set up in memory) of *Viṇṇapēr-ēṇādi*² who ruled over *Viśaiyamaṅgalam* (*Vijayamaṅgalam*), who was the son of *Uḷamu[ṇu]kaṇ* and who was a servant of *Vāṇaparuma-araiśaru*. Another short inscription engraved on the same slab between the two sculptures states that this (same stone) is the stone (set up in memory) of *Korrandai Kōḍaṇ*, the servant of *Viṇṇap-ēr-ēṇādi*.³ Thus the sculptures represent two heroes, the left being that of the master *Viṇṇappēr-ēṇādi* and the right one being that of his servant. The straight double-edged and pointed sword, the flat shield with a bulging centre, and conspicuous *kunḍalas* on his ears, his dress with a sash and the hilt on his belt all distinguish the master from his servant who is shown with a single-edged sword, a simple bent shield etc.

Vāṇaparuma-araiśaru (*Bāṇavarma-rājā*) is evidently a *Bāṇa* chief. But his name is not revealed. His general's name also is not disclosed; but his title *Viṇṇappēr-ēṇādi* indicates that he has acquired the title obviously after *Viṇṇaṇ* whose relationship with *Vāṇavarmaṇ* is not stated. It is not improbable that *Viṇṇaṇ* or *Viṇṇavarmaṇ* was the supreme ruler though the inscription has not chosen to mention the same.

The second inscription (**B**) is dated in the fourth year in the reign of *Kō-Viśaiya* (*Vijaya*) *Viṇṇaparumaṇ* (*Viṇṇavarmaṇ*). It records the death of *Vāṇaparuma-araiśaru* in the course of his attack against the army that came upon *Kaṅgaraiśaru* (*Gaṅgaraśa*) who was ruling over *Kuṇuvagaiyūr-nāḍu*. The hero is depicted in a panel above the inscription in an attacking pose portraying the vigour completely.

We have placed this inscription palaeographically later as pointed out above. It is, therefore clear that *Viṇṇa* after whom *Viṇṇap-ēr-ēṇādi* of inscription **A** was named and *Viṇṇavarmaṇ* of inscription **B** are different and are probably separated by one generation.³ Three persons were involved in the encounter recorded in the second inscription (**B**). *Viṇṇavarmaṇ* was the king. *Gaṅgaraiśaru*, a chief of the well-known *Gaṅga* family was ruling over *Kuṇuvagaiyūr-nāḍu*, which, though not identifiable, should have formed part of *Viṇṇavarmaṇ*'s territories. *Vāṇaparumaraiśaru* attacked the army of an unnamed enemy that came upon the *Gaṅga* chief and fell. It is indeed interesting to note that *Viṇṇavarmaṇ* was quite powerful enough to have with him two feudatories from the well-known, probably collateral, families of the *Gaṅgas* and the *Bāṇas*. It is not known whether *Viṇṇavarmaṇ* is a personal name or dynastic name. We meet with *Viṇṇa* in the names *Siṅgaviṇṇa* (*Siṃhavishṇu*),

¹ [The style of the bas-relief sculptures of *A* seems to be earlier than that of the sculpture of *B*, which may also be considered a point in support of this statement.—Ed.]

² *Sandhi* is observed in the shorter inscription.

³ *Damiliḥa*, Vol. I, part III, pp. 92 ff. Both the inscriptions are considered by Nagaswamy as referring to one and the same encounter. According to us both the records were not engraved in the same period. See above for a discussion of their palaeography.

PAPPAMBADI HERO STONE INSCRIPTION

(A)



Size : One-sixth

PAPPAMBADI HERO STONE INSCRIPTION

(B)



SIZE : One-fifth

Vinṇakōvaraiyar, etc., in the later inscriptions.¹ Our attention is drawn to the occurrence of the name Vinṇa in Atiyaṇ Vinṇattan who is considered to be the distant ancestor of Vinṇavarman.² Atiyaṇ Vinṇattanār occurs as the name of the author of a verse.³ It is not known whether he was also a chief, though the two parts of his name belong to chiefs of this region. Atiyaṇ is well-known as a dynastic name. Vinṇavarman of these inscriptions is considered by Nagaswamy as identical with a Vinṇa of Paḷaśai referred to in a verse in *Yāpparuṅgala-virutti*, a grammatical work on prosody assignable to about the 9th-10th centuries and as an Atiya chief.⁴

As against this identification, another probability cannot be ignored. The analogy of Simhavishṇu being written in Tamil records as Siṅgaviṇṇa would suggest that Vinṇavarman, probably, stands for Vishṇuvarman (a well-known name among the Kadambas). Vishṇuvarman was the son of Kṛishṇavarman, the younger brother of Śāntivarman who is said to have deputed Kṛishṇavarman to rule over the southern districts under the Kadambas.⁵ This led probably to a conflict with the Pallavas resulting also in a matrimonial alliance, not yet recorded. It is borne out by the fact that Vishṇuvarman named his son Simhavarman, doubtless, due to Pallava affiliation.⁶ It is, therefore, not improbable that Vishṇuvarman had extended his sway into the Tamil country.⁷ The Kadambas had made grants to Jina even as Vinṇa of the Tamil literary tradition did. The identification, however, requires to be confirmed by further research and future discoveries.

Kuṟuvagaiyūr-nāḍu cannot be identified. Viśaiyamaṅgalam may probably be identified with the village Vijayamangalam in Erode Taluk, Coimbatore District in Tamil Nadu.

TEXT⁸

A

I

- 1 Vāṇaparuma-
- 2 araiśaru sē
- 3 vagaṇ Uḷa-
- 4 mu[ṇu]kaṇ maga⁹

II

- 1 Vinṇap-pēr-ē
- 2 ṇādi sēvagaṇ
- 3 Korṇandai Kōḍa-
- 4 ṇ kal

¹ Cf. Śrī Simhaviṇṇa-pōṭṭrādhiraṇ (SII., Vol. XII, No. 17); Vishnugriha as Vinṇagaram, etc.

² *Damilica*, Vol. I, part III, pp. 92 ff. Besides the one quoted by Nagaswamy, there are two more references. One Vinṇa is stated to have gifted away a gem yielded by a serpent to a poet (*Tamil Nāvalar charitai*, No. 194) and another called Vinṇavaṇ is described as a righteous king. *Yāpparuṅgala virutti*, Bhavanandam pillai Edition, p. 279).

³ *Ahanāṇūru*, No. 301.

⁴ Paḷaśai is identified with Paḷaiyakōṭṭai in Dharapuram Taluk in Coimbatore District. The same verse refers to a *chēḍika* (*chēṭiya*) and the deity *Annal* (evidently Jina).

⁵ *A History of South India*, p. 107.

⁶ The epithet Kō-viśaiya (*Kō Vijaya*) occurring in the inscription (B) also suggests the Pallava influence as most of the Pallava records use this expression as Kō-Vijaya Siṅgaviṇṇa Kō-Vijaya Mayiṇdra, etc. See *Chēṅgam Naḍukarkaḷ*; SII., Vol. XII.

⁷ This name Vishṇuvarman is probably due to the influence of the name Vishṇugōpa among the Pallavas.

⁸ From impressions.

⁹ Text continued on the next page.

- 5 ṇ Viśaiyama-
- 6 ṇḡalam-āṇ-
- 7 ḍu(ḍa) Viṇṇa-pē-
- 8 r-ēṇādi kal

B

- 1 Kō-Viśaiya-Viṇṇaparumaṅku nāṅgu¹ [Ku]-
- 2 ruvagayūru nād-āḷḷu(lu)m Kaṅgaraiśaru
- 3 mēl vanda taṇḍattoḍu e-
- 4 riṇdu paṭṭa Vāṇaparumaraiśaru
- 5 kal

¹ Nagaswamy reads the digit 3 and *ku*. According to us the letter *ku* is written twice, the first one forming part of the expression *nāṅgu* and the second one at the end of the line aligning with the last letters of the next three lines.

E. 6894

No. 34.—ENNAYIRAM INSCRIPTION OF RAJENDRACHOLA

C. R. SRINIVASAN AND B. SITARAMAN, MYSORE

The inscription¹ edited below² with the kind permission of the Chief Epigraphist is engraved on the vertical face of the base on the north side of the central shrine in the Alagiya Naraśingaperumāl temple at Ennāyiram,³ a village in the Villupuram Taluk of the South Arcot District in Tamil Nadu. The temple which is now in a dilapidated condition contains about twenty-one inscriptions⁴ in Tamil of which fourteen belong to the Chōla and four to the Vijayanagara dynasties. The earliest of these inscriptions⁵ belong to the reign of Chōla Rājendra I (1012-44 A.D.).

The language of the inscription is Tamil. Excepting a few Grantha letters used for Sanskrit words the record is written in the Tamil script in characters of the 11th century A.D. As regards orthography, the following points deserve to be mentioned. The conjunct *m* and consonant-ending *n* are omitted in many instances. The consonants *l*, *ḷ* and *ḻ* in particular are often doubled (lines 151-52 for *l* lines 64, 66-67 for *ḷ*, and line 68 for *ḻ*). Indifferent usage of the consonants *n* and *ṇ* is noticeable in a number of places. Firstly *n* is employed in the place of *ṇ* in a majority of cases (e.g. *tanattōḍu*, *tanakkuvaiyum* line 11; *paṇmanāgiya* line 17; *munbu* line 90; *onṇinukku* lines 118-19). Secondly *ṇ* is wrongly employed in the place of *n* in a few places (*ṇavanēdi* line 8; *iṇṇālil* line 66; *ṇaṇṇālukku* line 99). Thirdly at the end of the words *n* is used in the place of *ṇ* (*śōlan* line 105; *vaittaruḷina* line 106; *Rājarājan* line 137; *sembiyan* line 166). Failure to observe the rules of *sandhi* when the following letter is a consonant is noticeable (*naḍuvuḷ pala* line 16; *ōḍuvārkkū pattum* line 111). The *sandhi* rules are not applied in a few instances when the following letter is a vowel (*kari amudu* line 37; *nāl onṇu* lines 40, 42; *varai aḷivu* line 65; *nālēḷukku i vārāṇkaṇṇārru* lines 83-84; *i vūril* lines 101-102; *i viraṇḍu* line 156). There are a few spelling mistakes perpetrated by the engraver (*ri* for *ru* in *jayittariḷiyum* line 104; *ḷ* for *l* in *mahipāḷai* line 14). Tamilisation of a few Sanskrit words is of interest to note (*Muyaṅgi* for *Muśaṅgi* line 7; *nedhi* for *nidhi* line 8; *viḷaiyam* for *vishya* line 11; *Taṇmapāḷaṇ* for *Dharmapāḷa* line 12; *vayinṇavar* for *vaishṇava* line 58; *Anuḷam* for *Aṇuṣham* line 64; *Mimāṇsai* for *Mīmāṃsai* line 146). A few letters are written in the colloquial form (*ṇaṇṇālu* line 99; *tekku* line 58; *vākkāl* line 154; *Ariṇṇiya* line 157). There are some scribal mistakes which are corrected subsequently either in the text lines themselves or below the lines.

The inscription, which begins with the characteristic Tamil *praśasti*, *Tirumaṇṇi vaḷara* etc., is dated in the reign of Rājendraśōḷadēvar i.e., Parakēśari Rājendra I Chōla (1012-44 A.D.). Since the portion recording the details of date is damaged too badly the

¹ A. R. Ep., 1916-17, No. 333.

² The authors are indebted to Shri K. G. Krishnan, Superintending Epigraphist for Dravidian Inscriptions and Dr. S. Sankaranarayanan, Deputy Superintending Epigraphist for Dravidian Inscriptions for all their help and suggestions.

³ Literally this word in Tamil means 'Eight-thousand'. The local tradition has that 8,000 Jainas were executed here. Another tradition, according to which the Jainas were not executed but only converted to Brahmanism, thus giving rise to the *Aṣṭasahasram* group, has been referred to by T. M. Bhaskara Tondaiman (vide *Kalaimagal*, January 1949, p. 80).

⁴ A. R. Ep., 1916-17, Nos. 330-33, 335-51.

⁵ Ibid., Nos. 333, 341.

regnal year cannot be deciphered satisfactorily. Generally the achievements of the king are listed in the *Chōla meykīrtti* in the chronological order of their happening. Since the *meykīrtti* portion of the present inscription concludes with the conquest of Kaḍāram by Rājendra, usually found in the corresponding portion of his other inscriptions dated from the fourteenth year of his reign (1025-26 A.D.) onwards only, we may safely assign this record to the period 1025-44 A.D.¹

The object of the inscription is to record the *pariṣu* (transactions) (line 165), which may conveniently be divided into four parts as below, of the *mahāsabhai* of Rājarāja-chaturvēdi-maṅgalam (line 31), a *brahmadēyam-taṇiyūr* (independent village granted to the Brāhmaṇas) in Jayaṅgaṇḍasōla-maṇḍalam (line 30) in respect of the following, carried out in the presence of Kālī Ēkāmrānār, the administrator of the village (line 164).

Part 1, (lines 32-55) : An endowment of one *vēli* and four *mā* of cultivable land situated in Āṇāṅgūr *alias* Rājarājanallūr for (i) expenditure in connection with the worship and food-offerings (*tiruchcheṇṇaḍai*) to, and (ii) the recitation of *Tiruvāymoḷi* by four persons in the presence of god Paramasvāmigaḷ Ūruḍaipperumāl who is said to have been pleased to stand with a fierce appearance (*mahāghōramāy eḷundaruḷi niṇṇu*)² (line 34) in the temple (*tirumurram*) called Śrī-Rājarājavinnagar, located in the centre of the village, by the *mahāsabhaiyār* of the village for the glory of the arms of the king.

Part 2, (lines 56-63) : An endowment of one *vēli* and four *mā* of land in the same village apparently by the same *sabhaiyār* as *maḍap-puṇam* (line 63) to twenty-five Śrīvaishṇavas who partook food in the *maṭha* set up by the temple.

Part 3, (lines 63-88) : Acquisition, obviously by the temple, of 1/2 *vēli* and 2 *mā* of land in the same village for the expenses in connection with *Āṇi-Aṇuṣham* festival of the god.

Part 4, (lines 88-164) : The purchase of fortyfive *vēli* of land situated in Māmbākkachchēri *alias* Pavitramānikkanallūr and Mēlkūḍalūr *alias* Purushōttamaṇ-nallūr, constituent of the hamlet Āṇāṅgūr *alias* Rājarājanallūr in Rājarāja-vaṇaṇḍu for (a) the provision of food-offerings to god Ūruḍaipperumāl with the specified quantity of rice to be distributed to *Vīrruṇḍār* (lines 97-98, local residents ?) and *dēśāntarigaḷ* (line 98, pilgrims) and (b) the remuneration of specified quantities of paddy, totalling 30 *kalams* per day, and gold at specified rates to different categories of students and teachers of whom the former partook *uttamāgram* (line 106, excellent food) in the feeding service called *Gaṅgaikoṇḍasōlan*, instituted in commemoration of the king's success in bringing (water of the river) Gaṅgā after defeating the kings of Uttarāpatha.

The present record is very important for the study of the cultural history of South India, specially from the point of view of the history of education and religion, since it is one of the few inscriptions³ found to contain valuable details about the working of an educational institution attached to a temple, where Vedic subjects in the main as well as Sanskrit Grammar and Philosophy were taught, and the mode of conduct of worship in temples.

¹ It may be noted in this connection that another record of this king viz., *A. R. Ep.*, 1916-17, No. 334, engraved on the west and south walls of the central shrine in the same temple, is dated in the 25th year of his reign.

² [This expression evidently refers to the deity Narasimha in his *ugra* aspect.—Ed.]

³ Some of the other important inscriptions bearing on the subject of ancient South Indian education are from Bāhur (above, Vol. XVIII, pp. 5-15; *SH.*, Vol. V, p. 516), Koṇḍugulī (above, Vol. XXVII, pp. 190 ff.) Mālkāpuram *A. R. Ep.*, 1917, No. 94), Salōṭgi (above, Vol. IV, p. 60), Tirumukkūḍal (above Vol. XXI, pp. 220 ff.), Tiruvāḍuturai (*A. R. Ep.*, 1925, No. 159), Tiruvorriyūr (*A. R. Ep.*, 1912, No. 212) and Tribhuvaṇai (*A. R. Ep.*, 1919, No. 176).

The details of *Tiruchchennāḍai* (worship and food-offerings) to the god in the temple (lines 36-41) may be tabulated as follows :

TABLE I

Details of *Tiruchchennāḍai*

| Items | Quantity Required | Paddy required | | | Rate/Remarks |
|---|----------------------|-------------------|-----|-----|---|
| | | Ka. | Ku. | Nā. | |
| 1. Ghee (i) for 2 lamps (one <i>uri</i>) and, (ii) food-offerings (<i>amudu</i>) (one <i>uḷakku</i>). | 3 <i>uḷakku</i> | — | 3 | — | One <i>uḷakku</i> of ghee per one <i>kuruni</i> of paddy. |
| 2. Vegetable dishes (<i>kari-amudu</i>) inclusive of pulse. | — | — | — | 4 | Four varieties, one <i>nāli</i> of paddy for each variety. |
| 3. Curd | 3 <i>nāli</i> | — | — | 3 | one <i>nāli</i> of curd per one <i>nāli</i> of paddy. |
| 4. Salt | — | — | — | 1 | — |
| 5. Betel nuts | — | — | — | 4 | — |
| 6. Rice | 3 <i>kuruni</i> | — | 7 | 4 | For three services a day at the rate of one <i>kuruni</i> of paddy for each. The quantity of paddy is calculated by the ratio 5:2 (<i>añjiraṇḍu vannaṁ</i>) between paddy and rice. |
| | | 1 | 0 | 0 | |

Perhaps this record affords the earliest reference to the practice of the recitation of *Tiruvāymoḷi* (lines 35-36).² This practice, like that of the recitation of *dēvāram* hymns in Śaiva temples, seems to have become a regular feature in Vaishṇava temples in the succeeding period as the inscriptional evidence indicates.²

The fourth part of the record (lines 88-164) is by far the most important as it contains the details of the different categories of teachers and students and their strength, the various subjects of study, the remuneration paid to the teachers and allowance given to the students both in cash and kind and the conditions of remuneration to certain teachers. These details may conveniently be tabulated as below :

¹ *Tiruvāymoḷi* is the name given to Nammāḷvar's hymns included in the third section of *Nāḷāyira-divyaprabandham*. The name of a deity called *Tiruvāymoḷidēvar* occurs in an inscription of Rājārāja I Chōla (985-1012 A. D.) from Ukkal (*SII.*, Vol. III, p. 4).

² Maṇṇārkōvil, Tirunelveli District (*A. R. Ep.*, 1916, No. 393), Tirumalāpuram, North Arcot District (*ibid.*, 1906, No. 326), Tirukkōvilūr, South Arcot District (*ibid.*, 1921, No. 343) and Triplicane, Madras District (*ibid.*, 1903, No. 239).

TABLE II (lines 108-164)

| Sl. No. | SUBJECTS OF STUDY | TEACHERS' REMUNERATION | | | STUDENTS' ALLOWANCE | | | |
|---------|---|------------------------|--------------------------------------|----------------------------|---------------------|--------------------|---------------------------|------------------------|
| | | Number of teachers | IN CASH | IN KIND | Number of students | Nature of students | IN CASH | IN KIND |
| | | | Rate | Rate | | | Rate | Rate |
| | | | 1/2 kalaiju each | Each [2 ku, 4 nā]* per day | | Brahmachāri | Total | 6 nā each per day |
| 1 | Ṛig-vēda | 3 | | | 75 | | — | |
| 2 | Yajur-vēda | 3 | " | " | 75 | " | — | " |
| 3 | Chhandōga-Sāma | 1 | " | " | 20 | " | — | " |
| 4 | Talavakāra-Sāma | 1 | " | " | 20 | " | — | ka tū ku nā |
| 5 | Vājasaneyā | 1 | " | " | 20 | " | — | 16 2 2 4 |
| 6 | Baudhāyanīya : Grihya, Kalpa and Kātaka | 1 | " | " | 20 | " | — | " |
| 7 | Atharva-vēda | [1] | " | " | 10 | " | — | " |
| 8 | Rūpāvatāra | 1 | " | " | 40 | " | — | " |
| 9 | Vyākaraṇa | 1 | 1 kalaiju per chapter for 8 chapters | 1 kā. per day | 25 | chhātīrar | 1/2 kalaiju each (ad hoc) | 1 ku 2 nā each per day |
| 10 | [Pūrva-Mīmāṃsā i.e. Prabhākaram | 1 | Do. for 12 chapters | Do. | 35 | " | 35 kalaiju | 7 0 3 4 |
| 11 | Vēdānta (i.e. Uttara-Mīmāṃsā) | 1 | .... | 1 ka 1 tu per day | 10 | " | " | " |
| Total | | 15 | | 26 kalaiju | 350 | | 35 kalaiju | 24 0 2 0 |

Total of remuneration and allowances : in gold=61 kalaiju (see columns 4 and 11). Abbreviations : ka=kalam; tū=tūṇi; ku=kuruni; nā=nāḷi in paddy=30 kalam per day (see columns 7 and 13).

*Figures within star-brackets are tentatively restored since the details are wanting in the text (see line 135). The text (lines 137-139) gives the figure 10560 kalam of paddy for the year of 360 days at the rate of 30 kalam per day. This is obviously a mistake for 10800 kalam.

From the above table it may be discerned that the college at Enṇāyiram had a total strength of about 15 teachers and 350 students. Of this, the majority of 11 teachers and 230 students belonged to the discipline of Vedic studies. Therefore it may be said that this college was essentially a centre of Vedic studies (*pāṭhaśālā*) attached to the temple, where all the four *Vēdas* were taught. The present record does not specify the two branches of *Yajurvēda*, viz., the *Śukla* (White) and *Kṛishṇa* (Black) *Yajur-vēda*. But from the separate mention of *Vājasanēya* (line 110), the well-known recension of the *Śukla-Yajur-vēda*, it becomes apparent that the word *Yajurvēda* refers only to the *Kṛishṇa-Yajur-vēda*, the popular and wider study of which, as it may also be derived from the present record continues up to the present day in South India. The importance given to the study of the *Kṛishṇa-Yajur-vēda* is gleaned further from the mention of the study of the three well-known works of Bōdhāyana, viz., the *Baudhāyana Grihya*, *Kalpa* and *Kāṭhaka* (lines 111, 134), which are *sūtras* belonging to the Taittiriya school of the *Kṛishṇa-Yajur-vēda*. No doubt, the word *Kāṭhaka* in this record should be synonymous with *Dharma*, since only the *Grihya*, *Kalpa* and *Dharma Sūtras* are chiefly known to have belonged to Bōdhāyana. Moreover the word *Kāṭhaka* is explained¹ as meaning 'Dharma-āmnāya'.

The inscription under study mentions *Talavakāra-Sāmam* and *Chhandōga-Sāmam* among the subjects of study. This shows that each of the two important schools of the *Sāma-vēda*, viz., of the *Talavakāras* and the *Tāṇḍins*, gained importance for study at the Enṇāyiram college. The details of subjects of study for *Atharva-vēda* are not given.

The number of students and teachers respectively for the four Vēdic subjects are as follows : Seventy-five students and three teachers for *Rig-vēda* ; one-hundred-and-five students and five teachers for *Yajur-vēda* ; forty students and two teachers for *Sāma-vēda* ; and ten students and (obviously) one teacher for *Atharva-vēda*.

The subjects other than the *Vēdas* studied at the college at Enṇāyiram were *Rūpāvatāra*, *Vyākaraṇa* and *Vēdānta*. Of these, *Rūpāvatāra* was an elementary work on Sanskrit grammar, the authorship of which is ascribed to Dharmakīrti, whose identity and date are not well settled. The fact that in the first quarter of the eleventh century A. D., *Rupāvatāram* had already become so popular as to be prescribed for study in the Enṇāyiram college strongly weighs against ascribing this work to the twelfth century A. D.² or referring it to the middle of the 11th century at the latest,³ and favours a much earlier date for this work.⁴

That *Rūpāvatāram* was taught widely all over South India in the 11th and 12th centuries is indicated by other epigraphic evidence as well.⁵ The present record groups *Rūpāvatāram* with other Vēdic subjects that were studied by *brahmachāri* students (line 106-107), apparently juniors but however adolescent enough of age. These *brahmachāri* students were given an allowance of 6 *nāli* of paddy in contrast to the *chhātrar* (line 126), evidently senior students, who were given fixed allowance of 10 *nāli* of paddy per day in addition to a cash allowance of 1/2 *Kaḷaṅju* of gold. Of the teachers, those who taught the Vēdic subjects and *Rūpāvatāram*,

¹ s. v., *Kāṭhaka* in Tārānātha's *Vāchaspatyam*.

² M. Rangacharya (ed.) *Rūpāvatāram*, Introduction.

³ Above, Vol. XXXVII. p. 190.

⁴ M. Krishnamachariar refers to a tradition by which Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa and Dharmakīrti jointly composed *Rūpāvatāra* and assigns a date slightly later than 5th or 6th century A. D. to Dharmakīrti (*History of Classical Sanskrit Literature*, p. 733 fn.).

⁵ *A. R. Ep.*, 1925, No. 159 from Tiruvāṇṭurūrai, Thanjavur District; *ibid.*, 1964, No. 358; above Vol. XXXVII, p. 190 from Koṇḍgūḷi, Bijapur District; and *A. R. Ep.*, 1919, No. 176 from Tribhuvāṇi, Pondicherry State.

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were paid the lowest viz., 2 *Kuruṇi* and 4 *nāli* of paddy per day, which is still 3-1/3 times more than that of the junior students or double that of the senior students. Besides, an *ad hoc* payment of 1/2 *Kalañju* of gold, as made for the senior students, was made to them. The teachers of *Vyākaraṇa* and *Prabhākaram* were paid in paddy nearly four to five times as that of the teachers of Vēdic subject or *Rūpāvataram*. It is significant to note that the teacher of Vēdānta did not receive any remuneration in gold but the quantity of paddy given to him was 25 per cent more than that of the teachers of *Vyākaraṇa* or *Prabhākaram*.

From the mention of the eight chapters of the *Vyākaraṇa* (line 141), it may safely be concluded that it was only the *Sūtrapāṭha* or *Aṣṭādhyāyī* of Pāṇini that was prescribed for study for the senior students at Enṇāyiram. *Prabhākaram* (lines 123-124, 129) is the work of Prabhākara Miśra (c. A. D. 650-720)¹ commenting² on the *Mīmāṃsā-sūtra-bhāṣya* of Śabarasvāmin. It is one of the important systems of *Pūrva-Mīmāṃsā*. By *Vēdānta*, (lines 125, 130) perhaps the *Āraṇyakas* and the *Upanishads*, as constituting *Uttara-Mīmāṃsā*, was meant. The fact that in the first quarter of the 11th century A. D., works on both the *Pūrva*- and *Uttara-Mīmāṃsā* were studied in a college attached to a Vaishṇava temple becomes significant for the history of the Vaishṇava philosophy prior to the *Viśiṣṭādvaita* school propounded by Rāmānuja.

The temple to which the college was attached, is stated to be located in the centre of the village. The gift-lands are said to be in Māmbākkachchēri *alias* Pavitramāṇikkanallūr and Mēlk-kūḍalūr *alias* Purushōttamaṇ-nallūr, hamlets of Rājarājanallūr. The record also gives the details of the boundaries of the gift lands. All kinds of taxes on the gift lands including *veṭṭi* and *amañji*, with the exception of *mā-tūṇi* and *māp-padaḱku*, were exempted by the king. The only signatory of the record is Tiruvēṅkaḱam *alias* Karuṇākarapriyan, the *madhyastha* of Śrī-Sembiyaṇmahādēvichchēri. The endowment was left to the protection of the residents of Teṇ-chēri called Śrī-Vīraṇārāyaṇa-chaturvēdimāṅgalam. **Rājarāja-chaturvēdimāṅgalan** (line 3) is no doubt identical with the modern village Enṇāyiram in Villupuram Taluk, South Arcot District, Tamil Nadu. The temple, whose name is given in the record as Naḱuvil-Tirumurram Rājarāja-ṁṇagar, is the same as the Aḱagiya-Nara-siṅgaperumāl temple, where the present record is engraved. Of the other places mentioned in the record, **Anāṅgūr** may be identified with the village of its namesake in the same Taluk.

TEXT³

- 1 Svasti Śrī[^{*}] Tiru maṇṇi vaḱarav=iru-nila-maḱandaiyum poṅ-chayap-pāvaiyum śirt-tani-chchelviyu[m^{*}]
- 2 taṇ-peru[n-d]ēviyar=āgi iṇb=uṛa neḱud=uyar⁴ū liyuḷ Iḱaituṛai-nāḱun=tuḱa[r^{*}]-vaṇa-vēli-ppaḱar Vaṇavāsi-
- 3 yum śuḷli-śūḷ-maḱiṭ=Kōḷlippākkaiyum naṇṇaṅk=aru-muraṇ Maṇṇaikkaḱakkamum poru-kaḱal=Iḷatt-arai-
- 4 śar-tam muḱiyu[m^{*}] āṅg=avar dēviyar=ōṅg-eḷil muḱiyu[m^{*}] muṇṇ=avar [pa^{*}]kkaṅ=Teṇṇa[va^{*}]r vaitta sundaramu[ḱi^{*}]yum=Indiraṇ=āramun=teṇ-ḱi-

¹ Vāchaspatimiśra's *Tattvabindhu*, ed. by V. A. Ramaswami Sastri, Annamalai University Sanskrit Series, No. 1936, p. 34.

² Two commentaries called *Laghvī* and *Brihatī* were written by Prabhākara Miśra, p 36). Perhaps both these were taught in the Enṇāyiram college.

³ From impressions.

⁴ Read *neḱid*.

No. 34] ENNAYIRAM INSCRIPTION OF RAJENDRACHOLA I

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- 5 raiv=Ila-maṇḍala-muḷuvadu[m*] eri-paḍaik-Kēraḷa[n*] muṛaimaiyir-śuḍuñ=kula-
daṇam=āgiya palar puga[l*] muḍiyuñ=cheṇkadi[r*] mālaich=chaṅg=adi[r]-
- 6 vēlait-tol-peruñ-kāvaṛ=pal-paḷan-tivuñ=cheruviṛ=chiṇavil=irupa[t*]toru=kāl=araśu-kaḷai-
kaṭṭa Paraśurāma[n*] mēv=aru-Śāntimaṛ-riv=ara-
- 7 ṇ-ka[ru]di iruttiya śem-poṛ-rirut-tagu-[muḍiyu]m [p*]ayañ=koḍu paḷi miga Muyaṅgiyil
mudug-iṭṭ=olitta Śayaśiṅgaṇ-aḷappe-
- 8 rum-pugaḷōḍu piḍiyal= Irattapāḍiy-ēl-arai ilakkamum ṇava-ṇedik-kulap-peru-
malaigaḷum vikkirama-virach-Chakkarakkōṭṭamu-
- 9 m mudir-paḍa-va[l]lai Madura-maṇḍalamuñ kāmiḍ[ai*]-vaḷai[y] Nāmaṇaikkōṇaiyum
veñ[chi*]lai-virar Paṇjāppalli-
- 10 yum pās=aḍaip-paḷaṇa-Māṣuṇi-dēśamum ayarv-il-vaṇ-kirttiy-Ādinagar-av[ai]yiṛ= chandi-
raṇ tol-kulatt=Indira[ra*]daṇai viḷaiy=amark-kaḷa-
- 11 ttu[k] kilaiyōḍum piḍittup=pa[la]-dana[t]toḍu niṛai-kula-danak-kuvaiyum kiṭṭ-arum
śēṛi-mu[ṇai] Oṭṭaviḷaiyamum¹ pū-surar śēr-[nal]-
- 12 Kōśalai-nāḍum Ta[ṇ]mapāḷanai ve[m*]-muṇai alittu vaṇḍ=urai-śōlait-Ta[ṇ]ḍaput-
tiyum
- 13 Iraṇaśūraṇai muraṇ-uraṭ=tākkitt=tikk=aṇa[i*]-kirttit Takkaṇa-LāḍamumGov inda-
[chanda*]ṇ mā=iḷind=ō-
- 14 ḍat-taṅgāda-śāral Vaṅgāḷa-dēśamun=toḍu-kaḷal-śaṅguv=ōḍ²=aḍal-Mahipāḷanai veñ-
chama-
- 15 r-viḷāgat=añchuvitt=aruḷi oṇ-ṭiṛal yāṇaiyum p[e]ṇḍir-panḍā[ramu*]m nittira(la)-
neḍuñ-ka
- 16 ka³ḍal-Utti[ra*]-Lāḍamum veṇi-malart-tirttatt=eri-puṇal Gaṅgaiyum alai-kaḍa-[l]
naḍvuḷ pala
- 17 kalañ-cheluttich=Chaṅgirāmaviśaiyōṭṭuṅgaṇman=āgiya Kid[ā]-
- 18 ratt-araiyaṇai Vāgaiyamporu-kaḍa[r] kummak(mbāk)kariy oḍum=agappaḍutt=uri-
- 19 maiyil piṛakkiya peru-nedip piṛakkamum [ā]rtt=avaṇ=[aga*]-nagar-[p*]pōrt-to-
- 20 ḷil vāśalil [vich]chādira[tt]-tōraṇamum mo[y*]tt-olī[r*]p-puṇai-ma[ṇi]p-pudavamum-
- 21 ṇ=kaṇa-maṇik-[kadavamum niṛai] [Śrī]viśaiyamun=tu[r*]ainir-ppa]ṇṇaiyum Vaṇmalaiy=ū-
- 22 rum ā[l*]-kaḍal-agaḷ-śāḷ Māyiriḍiṅgamum kalañ=kāvalviṇai Ilaṅkāśōkamu[m*]
kāpp=[u]ru=niṛai-puṇal
- 23 mā-Pa[p]pāḷamum [kā]val-am=purisai Mēvilipaṅgamu-
- 24 m viḷai[ppa*]ndū[r-u]ḍai vaḷaippa[n]dūruñ=kalaṭ-takkōrpugaḷ-Talai-

¹ Read *vishaiyamum*.² Read *sang-od*.³ This letter is unnecessary.

Acc. 26200 .

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- 25 ttakkōr-pugaḷ-Talai^t-takkōlamum tid=amar-val-viṇai Mā[dama]-
 26 liṅgamu[m ka]lāmuri [kaḍun-tira]l=llāmuri-dēsamum tēṇak-
 27 ka-[v][ā*]r-polil mā-Nakkavāramun=toḍu-kaḷar(ḍar) kāvaṛ=kaḍu-murat-Kaḍāra-
 28 [mum] māp-poru-taṇḍār=koṇḍa kōp-Parakēsari van[ma*][r-āṇa]Uḍai-
 29 yār śrī-Rājēndrasōḷa-dēva[rkku] yāṇ[ḍu] [...]...du
 30 Jayaṅkoṇḍasōḷa maṇḍalattu brahmadēyam taṇiy=ūr
 31 Śrī-Rājarāja-chaturv[ē]dimaṅgalattu mahāsabhaiyōm
 32 chandirādityavaṛ niṛka Uḍaiyār śrī-Rājēndrasōḷadēva-
 33 r śrī-tḥujaṅgaḷ varddhikka namm=ūr naḍuvil tiru-muṛṛam Śrī-
 34 Rājarāja-vi[nṇa]garil mahā-[gh]ōramāy eḷund=aruḷi-niṇṇu tiruv-ārāḍaṇai koṇ-
 35 ḍ=aruḷukiṇṇa paramasvāmigaḷ ūr=uḍaip-perumālukku nāṅgaḷ tiruch-che[n*]naḍaikkum[m]
 Ti[ru]vāy-
 36 moli-viṇṇappa[n*]-[che]yyavēṇḍum nibandha[n]gaḷu[kkum*] tiru-nundā-viḷakku iraṇ-
 ḍukku ne-
 37 yy=uriyum amudukku ney uḷakkum=āga ney mūv=uḷakkukku nellu muk-kuṇṇiyu-
 [m*] paruppu ulliṭṭa kaṇi-amu-
 38 du nālukku nellu nāṇ²-nāḷiyum tayir-amudu munnālīkku nellu³ mun-nāḷiyum-upp-
 amudukku nellu
 39 nāḷiyum aḍaik-kāy-amudukku nellu nā-nāḷiyum amudu-śeyd=a[ru]ḷa pōdu ariṣi
 kuṇṇiy-āga
 40 nāl onru[k*]ku ariṣi muk-kuṇṇikku aṇj=iraṇḍu va[n*]ṇa[t*] tāleḷu-kuṇṇi nā-
 nāḷiyum=āga
 41 .kku nelluk=kalattukkum Tiruvāymoli viṇṇappaṇ=cheyvār nālvarcku pērāl
 42 nāl onṇukku nellu muk-kuṇṇikku nilam mūṇṇu-māv=āga nilam araiyē-iraṇḍu=
 māv=āga
 43 nāṅgaḷ kuḍutta viḷai-nilam=āvaḍu Āṇāṅgūr=āṇa Rājar[ā*]ja-nallūril Śrī-Kēraḷap-
 [peru]vadi[kku*] kiḷa-
 44 kku Śrī-Kaṇṇa-vāykkāllukkut=terku aṇjāṇ-kaṇṇāṇṇu mudar-chadi[ra]-
 45 m araiyē i-
 46 raṇ[ḍu*]-māvum [idu] ti-
 47 ruch-cheṇ-na-

¹ This passage is redundant.

² This letter is unnecessary.

³ Expressed by symbol.

No. 34] ENNAYIRAM INSCRIPTION OF RAJENDRACHOLA I

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- 48 ḍaikkū iṭṭa ni-
 49 lam=āvadu ā-
 50 rāñ-kannārru
 51 mudar-śadiraga¹ a-
 52 raiyēy=irañ-
 53 ḍu-māvum āga
 54 nila[m*] o[ṇ*]rē-nā
 55 ṇgu-māvum [| *]
 56 ivv=ālṽar vaiṭṭ=aruṇu²
 57 liṇa maḍama³ ttil uṇṇu[m]
 58 Śrivaiyṇṇavar iru-pat-
 59 taiyvarkku iṭṭa nila-
 60 m=āvadu
 61 ivv=ārāñ=kannārru=iraṇḍāñ=chadiram araiyē i-
 62 raṇḍumāvum añjāñ=kannārru iraṇḍāñ=[chadiram*] araiyē ira-
 63 ṇḍumāvum āga maḍap-puṇam oṇṇē nāṇḡu māvum [l*] iv-
 64 v=ālṽar Āṇi Aṇuḷat-tirunā(l)²lukku tiruk-kōḍip-puḍavai-
 65 y=ull iṭṭa arṇai-nāl varai alivukku poṇ kaḷaṇḡum tiru-vi[la]-
 66 kk-enṇai nāl ēḷukku poṇ iru-kaḷaṇḡu[ju*]m iṇ-nā² (l)lil sēvikku[m*]
 67 Vaiyishṇavarkkum Tādarga(l)²lukkum āga uṇbār āyiravark-
 68 ku nāl ēḷ² ukku nel aṇupadiṇ-kalamum ivv=ālṽar girāma-prada(ta)²l-
 69 kshṇattukku=tirut-tēr-ēṇi aruḷu-nāl iyāchakar[k*]ku tiyāgattukku[m*] p-
 70 rasādikkum pariṣaṭṭaṇḡalukku[m*]³ poṇ aiñ-kaḷaṇḡu[m*] śā[t*]tiy=aruḷu
 71 tirup-pariṣaṭṭam iraṇḍukku poṇ kaḷaṇḡum uṇṣava[ttu] ainḍu perun-
 72 tiruv-amudukku-
 73 m uttamap-paḍi-
 74 kkut=tiru-mañja-
 75 ṇattukkum po-

A cc. 262 00.

¹ Read śadiram.² This letter is unnecessary.³ kku is written below the line.

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- 76 ṇ araik-kalañju-
 77 m tirup-pallit-
 78 tāmattukku po-
 79 ṇ araik-kalañ-
 80 jum āga it-ti-
 81 ru pra[stha]ttukku¹
 82 koṇḍ-aruliṇa
 83 nila[m*] ivv=ārāñ-ka-
 84 ṇṇārru mūn-
 85 rāñ=chaduram
 86 araiyev²-
 87 iran[ḍu*] mā-
 88 vum [||*] ivv=ū-
 89 r(r)uḍaip-pe-
 90 rumāl munb=amu-
 91 du śeyd=aruḷukīra
 92 paḍi pa[ñ]gu-nālil
 93 ariśi kuṇuṇi-nā-
 94 nālī ēṇṇi pōdu
 95 kuṇuṇi-nā-nālī
 96 āga ariśi tūṇi-
 97 nā-nāliyum vīr-
 98 r=i[ru]ndār[k*]kū pa[n*] gu aiñjum diśāndri-
 99 tigaḷu[k*] ku³ pa[n] gu naṇ-nālu[k*]ku
 100 pōdu ariśi nā-nālī amudu śe-
 101 yd=aruḷavum i[v=ū]-
 102 [ri]l [i]p-pe-

¹ The intended reading was perhaps *Utsavattukku*.

² This letter is unnecessary.

³ Read *dēśāntarigaḷukku*.

No. 34] ENNAYIRAM INSCRIPTION OF RAJENDRACHOLA I

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- 103 rumāl Uḍaiya[ā*]r śrī-Rājendraśōḷa-dēvar uttarāpada¹tha-bhūpati-
- 104 yarai jayi[t*]t=arilī² yuddh=ōtsava vibhavattāl Gaṅgrā(gā) parigraham pa[n*]ṇi-
- 105 Y=arilīṇa Gaṅkai-koṇḍa-śōḷan=enṇum=tiru-nāmattāl it-tiru-muṇṇattil
- 106 vaitt=aruḷina uttam=āgram Gaṅgai-koṇḍa-śōḷanil uṇ-
- 107 ṇum [a]ṇait[tu] vēdamum apū[rva]mum ōdum brahmachā-
- 108 rigaḷil rigvēdam-ōduvār eḷu-patt=aiṇṇum Yajur-vēdam- ōduvār
- 109 eḷu-patt=aiṇṇum [Cha]andōkara³-Sāmattukku irupadum Talavakāra-s¹ Sā-
- 110 ma[t*]tukku irupadum Vājasa[ṇai]ya[t*]tukku irupadum Atharvattukkup=pa-
- 111 ttum Baudhāyanīyam Gṛihya-kalpamumṇ(mum) Kāṭa[ka]mu[m*] [o]duvār[k*]ku
pattu[m]-
- 112 apūrvam ōdum brahmachārigaḷ iru-nūṇṇ-muppadin[ma*]rum Rū-
- 113 pāvatāram
- 114 kēḷppār nā-
- 115 ṇpadiṇmarum=ā-
- 116 ga iru-nūṇṇ=e
- 117 ḷupadiṇma[r]-
- 118 kkuk=kalam on-
- 119 ṇinukku nel-
- 120 lu aṇu-n[ā*]ḷiyu-
- 121 m Vyākaraṇam
- 122 kēḷppār iru-pa-
- 123 tt=aiṇṇum Pra-
- 124 bhākaram kēḷp[pā]-
- 125 [r] mup-pat=aiṇṇum Vēdāntam kēḷ[p]pa[va]r padinmar
- 126 āga ōttuk=kēḷkku[m*] chātragaḷ eḷupadukkum kalam-o-
- 127 ṇṇinukku nelluk-kuṇṇi-iru-nāḷiyum vyākaraṇam
- 128 vakkāṇikkum nambikku nāḷ=onṇukku nelluk-ka-
- 129 [lamum] Prabhā[karam] vakkāṇikkum nambi[kku] nelluk-kala-

¹ This letter is unnecessary.²Read °aruḷi.³Read Chhandōga°.

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- 130 mu[m] Vēdāntam vakkāṇippār oruttarkku nellu kalanē-
- 131 tūṇiyum Vēda[m*] apūrvam ō[du*]vi[p*] pār Ṛigvēda[t*]tukku mūva-
- 132 rum Yaju[r]-vēdattukku mūvarum Chhandōga-sāmattukku oruvanum
- 133 Talavak[āra*]-Sāmattu[kku] oruvanum Vājasanēya[t*]tukku oruvanum
- 134 Baudhāyanīyam Gṛīhyamum Kalpamu[m*] K[ā] ṭakamum ōdu-
- 135 vip[pān] oruvannukku[m] āga ōduvipār upā[ddhy]āya¹-
- 136 Rūpāvatāra[m] vakkā[ṇippān] oruvanukku nellu muk-kuṇṇiyu[m*]
- 137 āga nāl=onrukku nellu śrī-Rājarājan marakkālāl mu-
- 138 mu² ppadiṇ-kalattukku āṇḍu-vari nāl mu[ṇ]ṇūr=aru-pa-
- 139 dinukku nellu padin=āyira[t*] tu-aiñ=ñūr= aru-padu-kalamum³ Vyākaraṇam vakkā
- 140 ṇi[p*]pārkkku ad² dhyāyattāl ōr muḍiy vakkāṇittāl poṇ kaḷaṇjā-
- 141 gap-poṇ asṭ=ādhyāyattukku poṇ eṇ-kaḷaṇjum [Mi] māṇsai vakkā-
- 142 ṇippānukkum adhyāyattāl poṇ kaḷaṇjāga dvādaś=ādhyāyattukkup-
- 143 poṇ paṇṇ-iru kaḷaṇjum vēdam apūrvam ōduvikkum upādhy[āya*]r-u-
- 144 lliṭṭa padaṇiruvarvarkkum⁴ Rūpāvatāram kēlp⁵ vippān
- 145 pērāl poṇ araik=kaḷaṇj=āgap-poṇ aru=kaḷaṇjum Vyākaraṇa-
- 146 mum Mimaṇsaiyum Vēdāntamum kēlkkum[m*] Chāttira[r*] eḷu-padinmarkkup-
- 147 pērāl poṇ arai-[k]kaḷaṇj=āgap pa[ṭ]ṭa mudal-poṇ [muppatt]=aiñ-kaḷaṇjum

¹ The continuity of the record at this point is not traceable. Obviously a few lines are wanted here.

² This letter is unnecessary.

³ The quantity 10560 *kalam* is a mistake for 10800 *kalam*.

⁴ Read : *padin=oruvarkkum*

⁵ This letter is redundant.

No. 34] ENNAYIRAM INSCRIPTION OF RAJENDRACHOLA I

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- 148 āgappa[ḍi] mudal-poṇ aru-pattu-oru kaḷaṇjukkum ko-
- 149 (ko)²ṇḍa nilam piḍāgai Rājarāja-vaḷanāṭṭāḍu(tu) Āṇāṅgūr-ā-
- 150 ṇa Rājarājanallur-ōḍum=aḍainda Māmbākkach-chēriy-āṇa
- 151 Pavittiramāṇikka-nallūril¹ lum Mēlk-Kūḍalūr
- 152 āṇa Purushōttamaṇ-nallūri(1)¹lum ivv=ālvār Koṇḍ-a-
- 153 ruḷiṇa nilam nā[r*]-patt=ai-vēliyum=āvadu śrī-Paṇchavaṇ-
- 154 mādēvi-vadikkuk kiḷakkum Chaṇḍēsuvara-vā[y*]kkālukku[t*]-
- 155 te[r*]kkum Tiribhuvaṇamādē[vi*]ch-chaturvvēdimaṅgalat[tu*] ellai-
- 156 [k]kum Kaḷakkuttūr ellaikkum āga i-v=iraṇḍ=ūr el-
- 157 [lai]kku meṇkum Aṇiṇjyap-pēr=āṇṇiṇ teṇ-karait- tuṇḍam-agappaḍa-
- 158 [Mu]ṇ=āṇṇukku vaḍakkum naḍuvu paṭṭa nilattil(ttīl)³ ivv=ālvā[r]-
- 159 [vā]ṇḍāṇ=i[ḍai] i-dhanmam śuṭṭi vilai koṇḍ-arulina nilam nāṇ=pat-
- 160 narpat³ t=ai vēliyilu mumu³m Pavitramāṇikka-nallūrilum Pū
- 161 rushanārāyaṇa=na[l*]lūrilum kuḍi-irundu i-nilamu mu¹m kuḍigaḷai
- 162 veṭṭi amaiṇji ull=itta [uḷav=i]rai śuṭṭi mā-tūṇi māp-padakk=a[l*]ladu maṇ-
- 163 r=onṇum kāṭṭap=peṇār=enṇu tiru=āṇai-kuṇi Uḍaiyār śrī-Rājēndrasōḷa-
- 164 dēvar tiru-v[ā][y*]-molind-aṇuḷa namm=ūr paripālik-kiṇṇa Kāḷi-Ekāmranārum=
irukka

¹ This letter is unnecessary.

² The continuity of the record at this point is not traceable. Obviously a few lines are wanted here.

³ These letters are redundant.

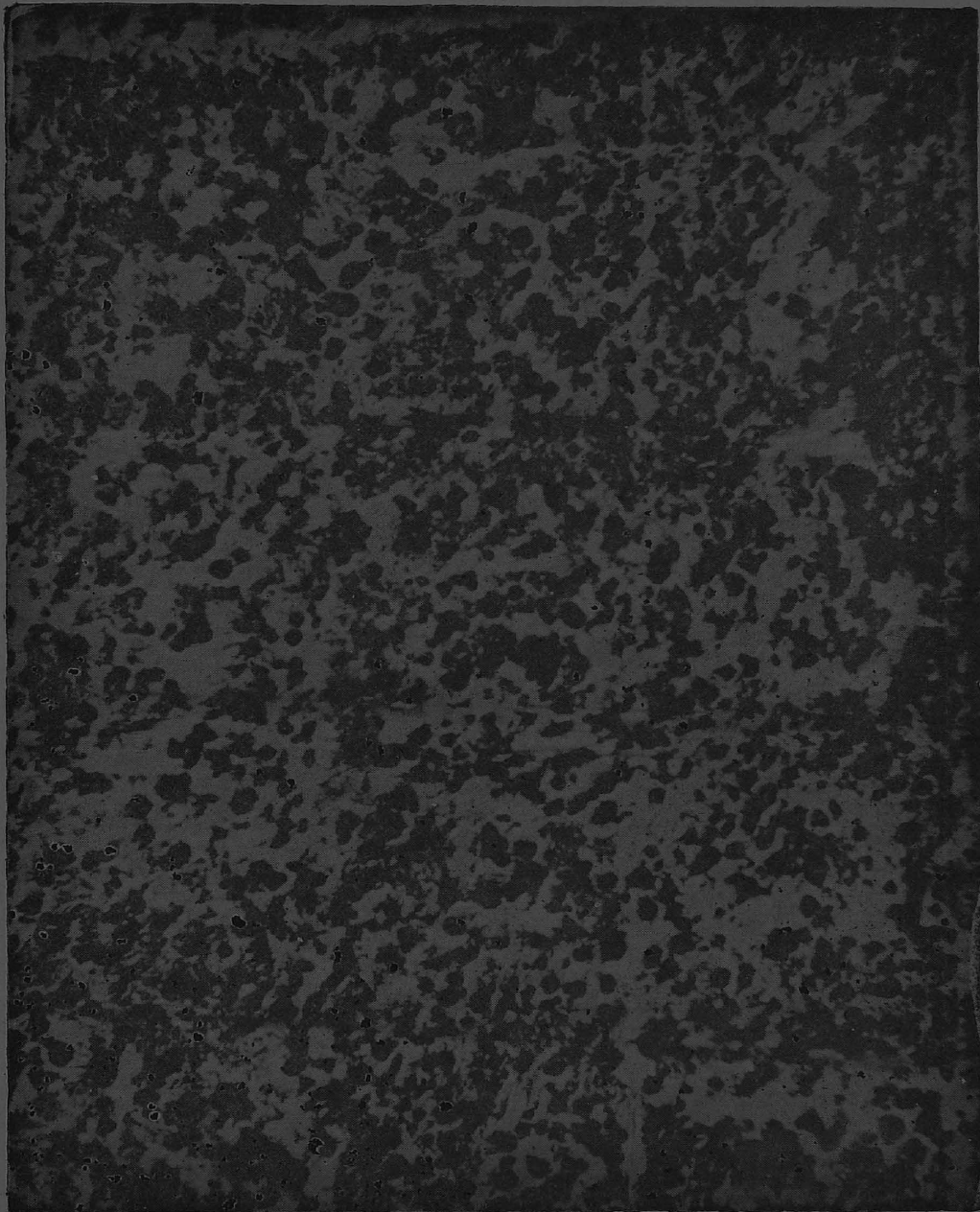
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- 165 ip-pariśu śeydō[m*] mahā-sabhaiyōm [l*] karai-pōndu-panittu Śrī-Sundaraśōla-
chchēri
- 166 Vēnnichchettu Gaṇasvāmi-kramavittap=paṇiyāl Śrī-Śēmbiyan-mādēvi-ch-
- 167 chēri madhyasthan Tiruvēṅgaḍam=āṇa Karuṇākarapriyaṇē¹
- 168 i-dharmman teṇ-chēri Śrī-Viranārāyaṇach-chaturvēdi-maṅgalattā-
- 169 r-rakshai [||*]

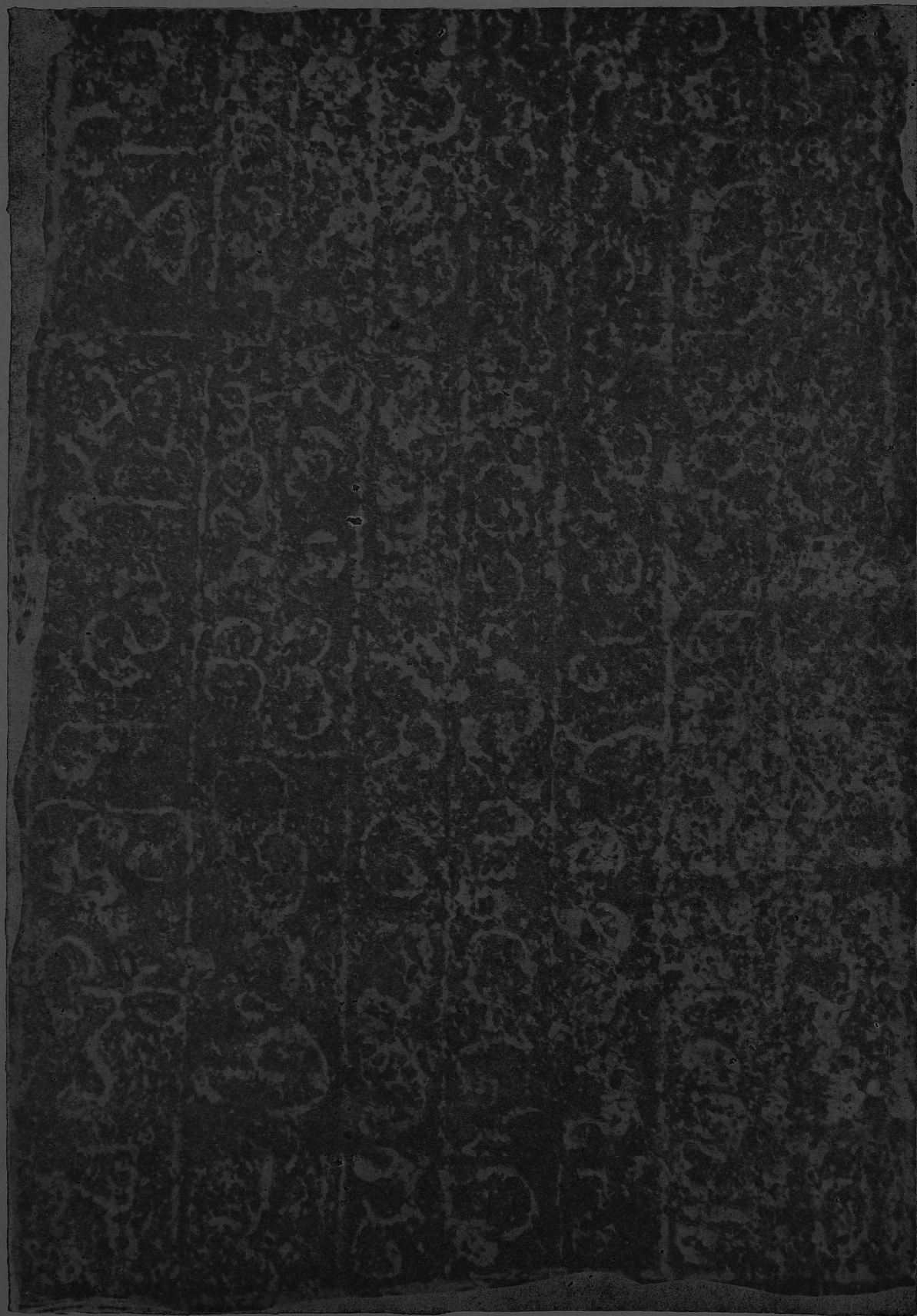
¹ Read *en-ivai*°.

SUNDAKKAYMUTTUR INSCRIPTION OF RAJAKESARI



2

2



SCALE : One-fifth

No. 3—SUNDAKKAYMUTTUR INSCRIPTION OF RAJAKESARI

(I Plate)

C. R. SRINIVASAN, MYSORE

The subjoined inscription¹ is engraved on a rock in a place called **Pachchapalli** which is five kilometres from the village, **Sundakkāyuttūr**, Coimbatore Taluk and District, Tamil Nadu. It is published here with the kind permission of the Chief Epigraphist.

The **language** of the inscription is Tamil and the **characters** employed are Vaṭṭeḷuttu and Tamil of about the 9th Century. The inscription occupies an area of about 57 by 40 cms. and a short note in the form of a name board which is exclusively written in Tamil characters above the main record in Vaṭṭeḷuttu characters measures 21.5 by 32 cms. The engraver had drawn lines before engraving the record, had also enclosed the sides with vertical lines making up a square and had engraved the record between the lines. The incised surface of the rock is not well dressed, though the letters are fairly big and deeply incised. There are seven lines of writing, the concluding part of which is illegible and indistinct. The last seven letters of the matter intended for line are engraved below the line towards the right margin.

The short note, above the main record, which is in Tamil characters of the 9th century and in prose contains the name **Rājakēsari-peruvaḷi**. It is in three lines and engraved just above the Vaṭṭeḷuttu section.

The main record in seven lines is in verse in *Veṇbā* metre. The laudatory verse seems to have been composed and engraved in Vaṭṭeḷuttu characters which happened to be the popular local script of the region. The verse describes the Chōḷa king as a benevolent one affording shade, shelter and prosperity to his beloved subjects, as one to whom the prosperous country on the banks of the *Kāviri* belongs, also as **Kaṇḍaṇ** and as **Kōḷiyar kō** (the lord of the *Kōḷiyar*).

The description of the ruler makes it clear that the road was named after the Chōḷa king. An inscription from Tillaisthānam in Tanjavur District, Tamil Nadu, the text of which is reproduced below registers the gift of one hundred sheep for a lamp by Kaḍambamādēvi, the consort of the chief Vikki-Anṇaṇ who was the recipient of several royal honours and the hereditary title *Śembiyaṇ Tamīlavēḷ* from the Chōḷa king Rājakēsari-varman Kaṇḍaṇ who overran Toṇḍai-nāḍu and 'who possessed many elephants' (*pal - yāṇai - kōk-kaṇḍaṇ*) and from the Chēra king Tāṇu Iravi (Sthāṇu Ravi)².

TEXT

- 1 Svasti śrī [||*] Toṇḍaināḍu pāviṇa Śōḷaṇ pal-
- 2 y[ā]ṇaik-kōk-Kaṇḍaṇ=āiṇa Rājakēsari padma(varma) ṇā-
- 3 luṇ=Chēramāṇ Kōt-Tāṇu Iravi[y]ālun-taviṣuṇ=ch[ā]-

¹ *A.R.Ep.*, 1976-77, B No. 214.

² *S.I.I.* Vol. III, p. 221 and plate facing p. 225.

- 4 maraiyuñ=chivigaiyun=timilaiyuñ=Kōyilum=pōṇa[ga]-
 5 muṅg=kālamuñ=kaliṟru-niraiyuñ=Ch[e]mbiyaṇ-Ramiḷavēl=e
 6 ṇṇuñ=kulap-piyarum perṛa Vikki-Aṇṇaṇ-rēviv=ā(y=ā)ṇa
 7 Kaḍamba-mādēvi Tiruneyttāṇattu mādēvarkk=oru nandā-viḷak[ki]-
 8 ṇuk(ku) kuḍutta āḍu [nūru] pa[dm]ā(ṇmā)hēsvara-rakshai || -

The conquest of Toṇḍaināḍu attributed to the Rājakēsari in the above record points clearly to Āditya I as discussed by the editor of the record. The present epigraph also can be assigned to the same king in the light of the distinguishing titles *Kaṇḍaṇ* and *Rājakēsari* occurring in the other. The present record is perhaps the only inscription of Āditya I available so far in the Koṅgu country.

The record is important also in as much as it is the only earliest reference to a highway (*peruvaḷi*) in the Koṅgu country named after a Chōḷa king Kaṇḍaṇ, bearing the title *Rājakēsari*. It confirms the fact that the Chōḷas already held sway over Koṅgu country as far as Coimbatore and there was communication by road between the Chōḷa and Koṅgu countries through this highway.

It is interesting to note here that the famous Paṭṭiśvara temple of Pērūr which was often referred to by the Śaiva-saints in śaiva literature is only about 15 kilometres from the provenance of the record. It is worth recalling here the reference to a highway of the Koṅgu country called *Koṅgapperuvaḷi* in an inscription of Parāntaka I dated in his 18th regnal year (924-25 A.D.) from Tillaisthānam in Taṇjavur District.¹ It is possible that the highway called *Rājakēsaripperuvaḷi* in the present record came to be called by the more convenient name of *Koṅgapperuvaḷi* in Parāntaka's times.

It is tempting to identify the present name of the findspot of the inscription Suṇḍakkāy-muttūr with Śuṇḍaikkā-brahmadēyam in Śōḷa-maṇḍalam mentioned in an inscription from Pērūr.² However it is not known whether this area was then included in Śōḷa-maṇḍalam.

TEXT³

- 1 Svasti Irā-
 2 śakē-⁴śarip-
 3 peruvaḷi
 1 Svasti śrī Kō Irāśakēśarip-⁵
 2 peruvaḷi[| *] Tiru-niḷalu=maṇṇuyiruñ=chi[ru]n=ta-
 3 laippa,⁶ oru-niḷal veṇḍi-
 4 ṇgaḷ-aṇ.[ru]m iru niḷa[li]-
 5 l, vāḷiyar kōch-Chōḷaṇ vaḷaṇ-
 6 Kāviri-nāḍaṇ, Kōḷiyar-kōk-Kaṇḍa-
 7 ṇ-[vaḷi]

¹ *A.R.Ep.*, 1912, pt II, para 13 ; Also see, above, Vol. XXX, p. 96.

² *S.I.I.*, Vol. V, No. 233.

³ From impressions.

⁴ In Tamil characters.

⁵ In Vaṭṭeḷuttu characters.

⁶ The *comma* is inserted here and in lines 5 and 6 to indicate the scanning of the four lines of the verse.

No. 1.—INSCRIPTION OF SOMASI TIRUMARAN

(1 Plate)

K. G. KRISHNAN, MYSORE

The subjoined inscription¹ copied from **Kōṭṭaiyūr** in Chengam Taluk in North Arcot District, Tamil Nadu is engraved on a hero-stone in a place locally called **Chiraimittar-kōyil** (temple to one who rescued from prison) apparently the special name given to the local **Vēḍiyappaṇ** temple as is the practice in this area. The stone bears a sculpture of a hero standing in a defending pose below which is the inscription. The shield is extended in his left hand and a bent sword is shown in the normal position in his right hand. There is a prominent headgear parallelly drawn around his head ending up in alignment with pendants hanging from his ears. A sheathe with the sword in is hanging down from the belt. Broad shoulders and coiffeured dress tightly worn around the thighs showing a readiness to act give an appearance of some status, though he is described as the servant of a feudatory chief.

The inscription is in Tamil language and Vaṭṭeluttu characters of about the latter half of the fifth century. This record agrees in palaeography in most respects with inscription (B) of **Viṇṇavarman** from **Iruḷappaṭṭi**² published above. Some forms, however, seem to indicate that this record may be placed later than that inscription. The form of the vowel *i* is met with here for the first time after the inscription from **Arikamēḍu**. This letter has evolved from the **Arikamēḍu** form comprising a vertical line with a dot on either side, to the form obtained in this as a curve from the left dot upward reaching the vertical line, then with downward trend and again reaching the right side dot by a curve. This is apparently the result of a running hand instead of making the independent marks of a dot, a line and a dot making up the original letter. If this evolution was arrived at by stages we do not have records showing the same during this long period from the times of **Arikamēḍu** to the date of this epigraph. The **Archchalūr** inscription, the **Āṇḍippaṭṭi** coins and the **Iruḷappaṭṭi** records do not have the need to use this letter. Yet considering the development of other forms during this period we may hold that this form may be placed tentatively in the latter half of the fifth century. Another letter which shows substantial change is *v*. This letter which had the oval form at the bottom of a vertical line in the second **Iruḷappaṭṭi** B inscription has not only a small projection on the top of the oval thus practically eliminating the vertical line. The letter *a* was written nearly vertical in the earlier inscriptions. But the present record shows a slanting position more pronounced. The letter *ch* has two forms, one, open on the left (lines 1 and 5) and the other closed (line 4), thus indicating the transitional phase. These considerations lead us to conclude that this inscription may be placed palaeographically later to the **Iruḷappaṭṭi** inscription of **Viṇṇavarman**, probably towards the end of the fifth century. The dating given here should be limitedly applied in order to accommodate the sequence among all the records mentioned. It is significant that the dots are uniformly applied in the present inscription over stops and also the medial vowels of *e*

¹ *A.R.Ep.*, 1971-72, No. B 226; *Chengam Naḍukarkal*, 62/1971, .p.1.

² above. Vol. XXXIX, p. 211.

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and *o*-see *to*, *ko* and *ṇ* (line 2). The Dravidian euphonic 'u' is continued to be used in the words *dēvaru* (line 4) and *araiśaru* (lines 4-5),

The inscription records the death of Kudava-Śāttaṇ, a servant of Malai-adi-araiśar¹ when a person called Toldēvar burnt the place called Perupuli-ūr in Mikoṇṇai-nāḍu.² The inscription, being a short one does not give more details about the event. Kudava-Śāttaṇ³ is described as the *śēvagaṇ* (Skt. *sēvaka*) of Malai-adi-araiśar (Skt. Malayādhirāja) who is apparently a local ruler of considerable status. It is not known whether he belonged to the family of Malayamāns or Milāḍu (Malai-nāḍu) chiefs who were ruling over parts of South Arcot District around Tirukkōvalūr which is not very far from Kōṭṭaiyūr, the findspot of the record. The expression Malai-adi-araiśar is only a title and not a name. His identity cannot therefore, be established.

The inscription is dated in the twentyfirst regnal year of a king whose name can be read as Śōmāśi Tirumā[raṇ]. The last syllables of his name *raṇ* are not quite clear enough and hence this name, now read as Tirumāraṇ, may be considered to be tentative.⁴ If this name should prove to be correct, this will provide an instance of the earliest use of Māraṇ in Epigraphy. This is well-known to be a cognomen borne by the Pāṇḍya kings alternately. However no connections can be discerned between the Pāṇḍyas and the king of this record on account of the distance separating the main land of the Pāṇḍyas and the Cheṅgam region wherefrom this inscription has been copied. Nor do we have any evidence regarding the existence of a king during this period around these parts from other sources. The epithet Śōmāśi given to the king obviously stands for Sanskrit Śōmayāji indicating thereby that this king had performed Śōma-yāga. This recalls to our mind the well-known Śaivite devotee called Śōmāśi-Māra-nāyaṇār. But this person is known to be a brāhmaṇa of Ambar in the Śōḷa country and is never known to have been a ruler of any part of the country. Moreover, he is said to have gone to Tiruvārūr and met the last of the four great Śaiva saints called Sundaramūrti-nāyaṇār who is considered to have lived in the first half of the ninth century. Thus there is nothing to connect the king of our record with the devotee, beyond the identity of their names. But the epithet, *Śōmāśi* of the king in this record gives an interesting piece of information regarding the Vedic leanings of the ruler. While on the one hand the herostone bearing the record represents the cultural and religious practice of the Tamil people in erecting memorials for the dead, spoken of very highly in the Tamil classics, the affinity of the ruler bearing a Tamil name Māraṇ with the Vedic practice of performing Śōmayāga, one of the important sacrifices, is noteworthy. These two pictures speak eloquently of the Vedic and the indigenous culture flourishing alongside.

The only geographical names mentioned in the record are Perupuliūr and Mikoṇṇai-nāḍu in which the former is said to be situated. Mikoṇṇai-nāḍu is mentioned in a few more records as having within its limits, the following villages : Pāsāru⁵ also called Pāsārrūr, Malaiyaṇūr,⁶ Puliyūr,⁷ Peru-Vēlūr and Mēl-Vēlūr.⁸ These villages, except Puliyūr which

¹ This is read as Maṇu-adiraiśaru in the same publication (ibid., 1971/62).

² The introductory note on this (ibid) states that Toldēvar, the King of Perupuliūr invaded and that the hero died on the occasion. There is nothing in the record to support this interpretation.

³ This name has been read as Kadava-Śatta in *Cheṅgam Naḍukaṇkal*, 1971/62.

⁴ This portion has been read as *Tirumāṇilkuḷ*, vide, *Cheṅgam Naḍukaṇkal*.

⁵ Ibid., 1971/56, 92; *A.R.Ep.*, 1971-72, No. B 216; 1972-73, No. B 314.

⁶ Ibid., 1971-72, No. B 216; *Cheṅgam Naḍukaṇkal*, 1971/56.

⁷ Ibid., 1971/57; *A.R.Ep.*, 1971-72, No. B 217.

⁸ Ibid., 1971-72, Nos. B 67 and 69.

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INSCRIPTION OF SOMASI TIRUMARAN

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is perhaps the same as Peru-Puliūr of our record, may be identified respectively with Mēl-Pāśāru and Kīl-Pāśāru, Malaiyaṇūr-Chekkaḍi and Vēlūr near Tāṇippāḍi all in Chengam Taluk in the North Arcot District, Tamil Nadu. The area covering those villages forms a natural division bounded on the north by a low range of hillocks intersected by gaps and on the south by a slightly higher range of hillocks. The east-west section between these two ranges is irrigated by a small rivulet called Pāmbaṇ-āru originating on the southern range and joining the Ponnaiyār after a north and easterly course. It is possible that this entire small valley-like area was named Mikonrai-nāḍu. An inscription from Chiṇṇiyampēṭṭai situated in this area describes graphically a fight that ensued a raid to lift buffaloes of Pāśārūr between Eyiṇāṭṭār and the residents of the locality in which a hero belonging to Malaiyaṇūr in Mikonrai-nāḍu died.¹ The variation in the word *kunrai* for *konrai* seems to point out that this *nāḍu* was named after the low hillocks *kunru*, *kunrai* on the western side (*mī*) of this area. This hillock is very possibly the one found on the north-west and on the north of Malaiyaṇūr-chekkaḍi.

The village Perupuliūr cannot be identified. This inscription is engraved in Kōṭṭaiyūr which is outside the area under Mikonrai-nāḍu as defined by us. Kōṭṭaiyūr is less than five kilometers, east from the river Ponnaiyār which might have formed the natural boundary of this *nāḍu* on the east. It is possible that the hero of the record might have belonged to Kōṭṭaiyūr which, along with this *nāḍu* was probably under the rule of Malaiyadiaraiśar, his master.

TEXT²

- 1 Śōmāśi Kō Tirumā[raṇ]ku³
- 2 irubatt-onṇrāvadu Mikon-
- 3 rai nāṭṭu Perupuli-[ū]r Toldi⁴
- 4 vāru [śu]ṭṭa nāṇru Malai-adi[a*]raiśa-
- 5 ru śēvagaṇ Kudava-Śatta[n] paṭṭān

¹ Ibid., 1971-72, No. B 216.

² From impressions.

³ There are more marks on the stone mixed up with the letters proper, making the reading difficult.

⁴ Read *To!dē*^o



EPIGRAPHIA INDICA

VOL XLI

1975-76

No. 1 – PĀRTHIVAPURAM INSCRIPTION OF (KOLLAM) YEAR 98+1
(1 Plate)

K.G. Krishnan, Mysore

This inscription is engraved on the base of the north pial in front of the Vishnu temple at Pārthivapuram, a village five miles south-east of Kulitturai, the headquarters of the Vilavangodu Taluk in Kanyakumari District, Tamil Nadu. This area was till recently a part of Kerala and was subsequently transferred to Tamil Nadu. The inscription is important enough to be considered as the earliest document dated in Kollam Era. The era is not referred to in the inscription. But we have reiterated here the reasons for considering the same as belonging to the Kollam Era, even as it was considered so by its previous editor Shri Gopinatha Rao in the *Travancore Archaeological Series* (Volume I, pp. 287-88 and plate).

The inscription begins with a Sanskrit verse in *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* metre engraved in Grantha characters. This is followed by a prose passage in Tamil engraved in Vatteluttu characters. Both the Grantha and Vatteluttu characters may be assigned to the tenth century. The published text has been compared with the facsimile and a fresh reading of the text is reproduced at the end of this article.

The opening verse in Sanskrit forming the first two lines of the inscription states that Nārāyaṇa, a Brahmādhirāja made a gift of 1) two lamps for the deity of Pārthivasēkharapuram and 2) twelve *ghaṭas* of paddy for being offered to Śārngin i.e., Vishnu on the day of Punarvasu star in the month of Āshāḍha and for feeding students.

The Tamil section from line 3 of the inscription begins with the date expressed simply as the year opposite to the ninety-eighth year. Therefore the date should be reckoned as ninety-ninth year as other double dates are understood. Then follows the statement that Pāṇchavaṇ Brahmādhirājaṇ *alias* Kumaraṇ Nārāyaṇaṇ of Idaikkulattūr in Tūmā-nādu arranged for the burning of two perpetual lamps for the (deity) Bhattārakar of Pāttivasēkara (Pārthiva-śekhara) purar. This endowment was to be maintained, the inscription says, by two persons Kannan Mānikkan and Pāgaṇ-Chivīndraṇ, both described as

paḍaittalaivaṇ, who took charge, each, of seven buffaloes undertaking in turn to supply $3/8$ (*ulakk-ālāḱku*) measure, apparently, of clarified butter measured by the standard full measure of the kitchen (*madaippalli*). The buffaloes are described as those that do not die or become aged. This statement is followed by another to the effect that Kāmaṇ Chengōḍaṇ, a potter of Pārthivaśekharaapuram, his younger brothers and nephews were required to maintain the shrine (*ambalam*), the entrance-porch (*vāyil-mādam*) and the covered halls along the circumambulatory passage (*churru-māḍapa*) out of the interest accruing from six *karuṅkāśu* of Ceylon (*Īlam*), apparently given by the donor. Last comes the statement about the feeding of students with the endowment of 12 *kalam* of paddy probably on the day of Puṇarpūsa (*Puṇardam*) in the month of Āḍi. The last line containing this statement is engraved faintly in such small characters that not much can be made of it now.

The Tamil section begins with the date expressed as the year opposite to the 98th year without specifying the era in which the year is to be reckoned. We have to explore other means of finding this out. It is obvious that this could not be the regnal year of any king because no king is known to have ruled upto such a long period as 99 years. The characters of the record belong to the tenth century as already pointed out. A comparison of this inscription with those that belong to this period will bring this out. There is another inscription at Pārthivapuram, the findspot of the present record, in Tamil language and Vatteluttu characters.¹ It is dated in the reign of Parakēsarivarman Viraśōlap-perumāṇaḍigal. Due to the broken condition of the stone the regnal year is lost. The king has been identified with Vīraṛājēndraśōla. This is not correct. The palaeography is not as late as the reign of that king falling within the third quarter of the eleventh century. Further Vīraṛājēndra was a Rājakēsari while the king is described as a Parakēsari in this record.² Therefore, the king Parakēsari Viraśōla of this record must be identified with Parāntaka who was a Parakēsari and was also known as Vīrachōla. Parāntaka is known to have extended his control over the south, at least in or before his 33rd year i.e., 939-40 A.D. as attested to by his Ānaimalai inscription.³ His records are known to exist at Śuchīndram not far away from Pārthivapuram.⁴ The present record can therefore be compared with that of Vīrachōla also from the same place. It will be seen that the letters are almost alike, there being practically no difference. The ends of letters *ta*, *na*, etc. are not yet connected. It is known that in the subsequent period the forms combine and make a full circle. Therefore, the present record cannot be far removed in point of time from that of Vīrachōla. Therefore, the

1. *T.A.S.*, Vol. I, Text, pp. 295-96 and plate facing p. 291.

2. The letter *ra* before the expression *kēsari* is clear on the facsimile.

3. *S.I.L.*, Vol. II, pp. 239 ff.

4. Above, Vol. V, pp. 41-48.

date 940 A.D. sets the later limit for the date of our record. The earlier limit for the present record can also be set by a study of the local evidence. Pārthivapuram is called Pārthivaśēkharapuram in the inscriptions. The Huzur office plates of the king Karunandadakkan of the Āy dynasty dated the 15th day in the 9th year of his reign equated to the 1449087th day from the commencement of the Kali Era record the construction of a temple, the installation of the deity Vishṇu-bhaṭṭārakar and the naming of the area around the temple as Pārthivaśēkharapuram. This Kali day falls on April 28, A.D. 869.¹ The present record registers a grant to Vishṇu-bhaṭṭār of the place, undoubtedly identical with the deity consecrated by the Āy king in 869 A.D., as found in the Huzur office plates. Therefore, the year 99 given in the present record should be placed in a date that falls after 869 A.D. Since there is no reference to any era based on the foundation of the temple in this inscription, as a few inscriptions of Kēraḷa do, this year 99 may be reckoned in the Kollam Era, which was the only system current locally. Hence, the date of the record is 923 A.D. Thus this date falls in the 54th year from the date of the foundation of the Pārthivapuram temple i.e. 869 A.D.

No details of date are given, therefore the exact date of the record cannot be ascertained. But the grant is made for an offering on every Punarvasu day of the month of Āshāḍha, according to the prefatory verse in Sanskrit, and on Ādip-Puṇardam according to the Tamil text. The day of Puṇardam in the month of Ādi in the year 923 A.D., corresponds to July 15 which was a Tuesday and to Kaṛṇāṭaka 21, in Kollam 99. This day falls also in the lunar month of Āshāḍha. We should note that the Sanskrit name 'Karkataka' for the solar month of Tamil Ādi was not used, though we cannot comment upon the reason for this in the present state of our knowledge.

The donor is referred to as Nārāyaṇa, a *brahmādhirāja* in the Sanskrit verse. The Tamil section gives additional details about him. His full name was Kumaraṇ Nārāyaṇa; Kumaraṇ was obviously his father's name. His title *Pañchavaṇ-brahmādhirāja* conveys two ideas. Firstly the word panchavaṇ is known to us to be a title of the Pāṇdyas, thus suggesting that the donor was a high officer under the Pāṇdyas and that he had adopted the title or was conferred with the same as a mark of his devoted subordination to the then Pāṇḍya king. Such instances are not unknown to us. In fact there was another person bearing the same title Panchavan-brahmādhirāja and having the name Chēndaṇ-Chāṭṭaṇ hailing from Nellittola in Malainādu i.e. Kēraḷa.² The donor of the present record belonged to Idaikkulattūr in Tūmā-nādu.

Since the donor happens to be a high-ranking officer under the Pāṇdyas, it is not unlikely that the region including Pārthivapuram, where this officer was possibly

1. I prefer this date to the ones already suggested for this by (1) Gopinath Rao as 855 A.D., (2) Sewell as 858 A.D., June 23, and (3) Ilaingulam Kunjan pillai as 866 A.D., June 22 (*Chhila Kēraḷa Charitra-prasāṅgaḷ*, p.95). These will be examined elsewhere.

2. *S.I.L.*, Vol. XIV, No. 19.

present in 923 A.D. to make the grant, was under the influence of Rājasimha, the contemporary Pāṇḍya king. It coincides with the 21st year in his reign, almost towards the end of his reign after which he had to flee to Ceylon and then to Kēraḷa for help.

The donor is described as being adored by many good qualities and as a man of intellect. One of the gifts made by him is the provision made for feeding students. It is easy to see the connection between this particular endowment, the donor and the place. For, we know from the Huzur office plates that Pārthivaśēkharapuram had a flourishing school (*śālai*) of Vedic studies with 95 students distributed among the three Vedic divisions of Paviliyam (Rik), Taittiriya (Yajus) and Talavakāra (Sāman) founded in 869 A.D. by Karunandaḍakkaṇ. We are also informed that this school was fashioned after the one at Kāndaḷūr.¹ It is obvious that this feeding endowment made by the brāhmaṇa donor must have been made in connection with this *śālai* which might have continued to flourish on the date of this record i.e. Kollan 99. The use of the word *Chhātra* (Prakrit or Tamil *Chattar*) in the Sanskrit preamble of the inscription is significant.

The prefatory Sanskrit verse describes this feeding as *uttamāgram*. This word is met with a large number of early Chōḷa inscriptions.² It seems to mean the best (food supplied) to the most deserving. The recipients of this food were mostly brāhmaṇas well-versed in the *Vēdas* or Śivayogis. It seems to imply also a full-scale meal as detailed in a similar inscription.³ It consisted of two measures of pounded rice, quarter measure each of ghee and dal, plain vegetable one dish and specified vegetable one dish, *akkāravattu* (sweetened rice) preparation two, two plantain fruits, fried vegetable one dish, curd one measure, 10 betel leaves and 4 betel nuts all for one person at a time.

Kumaraṇ Nārāyaṇaṇ *alias* Panchavaṇ-brahmādhiraṇ made a gift of 14 buffaloes of which seven were entrusted to Kaṇṇaṇ Mānikkaṇ and the other seven to Pāgaṇ-Chivindravaṇ. Both were required each to measure daily $3/8$ (*uḷakkālāḱku*) of a measure of clarified butter for burning two perpetual lamps to be measured by the standard measure kept in the kitchen. Both are designated as *Paḍaittalaivaṇ*. As against the usual practice of entrusting the animals meant for such endowments to shepherds called *maṇṇādi* or tenants called *kudi*, this term had been used in a considerable number of inscriptions in the Pāṇḍya country.⁴ *Paḍaittalaivaṇ* means the head of (a regiment of an) army. It is possible that these persons who were active in the war-

1. See our article on '*Cattāṇam madham* - its identification' in the *Journal of the Oriental Institute*, M.S. University of Baroda, Vol. XIX, pp. 346-50, for more details about this famous institution.

2. *S.I.I.*, Vol. XIII, Nos. 16, 27, 33 and 44.

3. *Ibid.*, No. 91.

4. See *A.R.Ep.*, 1958-59, B. Nos. 496, 498 and 499.

field were occasionally engaged in peace times in such civil functions of acting as trustees of endowments.¹ We meet also with cases of endowments involving other forms of wealth such as land or money associated with persons in the army. The *sēnaiyār* of Tiruviḍaimarudūr were entrusted with a 6 *karuṅkāṣu* for providing the deity with the tender cocoanuts after midday food.² The word Chivīndravaṇ in the name of the second of these two persons obviously stands for 'Suchīndravaṇ of which the other is the local form as attested to by records from that place itself.³

The Tamil portion of the inscription records an endowment not mentioned in the Sanskrit verse. It states that the donor gave six *ṭṭak-karuṅ-kāṣu* as capital to provide for works of repair (*alivu*) in the shrine (*ambalam*), the entrance porch (*vāyil-māḍam*) and covered halls in the circumambulatory passages (*churru-maṇḍapam*). This responsibility was entrusted to a porter (*vēṭhōvaṇ*) Kāmaṇ Chengōḍaṇ by name, his brothers and nephews. The word *ambalam* is found used also in nearby contemporary inscriptions in the east coast in Tamil Nadu in the sense of a hall which was used for the purpose of conducting the meetings of the local assemblies or to receive the paddy contributed to the temple.⁴ But it is doubtful whether the same sense is conveyed here. For, a provision generally made for the upkeep of a temple could not exclude the main shrine. It is known that even today this word is used in Kēraḷa in the wider sense of a temple while it is not at all in use in Tamil Nadu. *Vāyil-māḍam* evidently stands for the entrance, the approach to which is covered and provided with two raised platforms on its either side. This is typical of, nearly, all the medieval temples in Kēraḷa. The platforms are sometimes seen also extending from the entrance into the *prākāra* and they are being used by the people rendering services such as flowers, sandal paste, playing of musical instruments, etc. The *churru-maṇḍapam* refers to the pavilions erected in the circumambulatory passages outside the central shrine.

The inscription calls the place Pārthivaśēkharapuram now shortened to Pārthivapuram. This name was first given to the locality around the temple where it is engraved, by Karunandaḍakkaṇ in 869 A.D. The locality was called, according to his Huzur office plates, *uḷakkuḍi-vilai* which consisted of an area with some cultivated fields. The *sabhai* of Muṇṇirai is said to have owned it. It was taken from them in exchange for some other land, measure for measure. This land on which the temple was erected is stated to be situated within the limits of Paṣuṅgaḷam, rightly identified with Paṇṇuḷam, a mile south of Parthivapuram.⁵ The entire region is stated to fall

1. K.K. Pillay, *The Suchindram Temple*, 1953, p. 257; See also *A.R.Ep.*, 1958-59, Introduction, p. 16, for other reference.

2. *Ibid.*, XIII, No. 38.

3. Pillay, *op.cit.*, p. 100.

4. *S.I.I.*, Vol. XVII, Nos. 466, 475 and 492.

5. Note the analogy of *paimpon* for *paṣumpon*. See *T.A.S.*, Vol. I, p. 5.

within the division of Muḍāla-nāḍu, apparently so called after Muḍālam now met with in the names of two modern places called Mēl-Miḍālam and Kīl-Miḍālam. Idaikkulattūr in Tūmā-nāḍu cannot be identified in the present state of our knowledge.

TEXT

- 1 Svasti 'Sri' [||] Datvā pāṛthiva-pūrvva-śekhara-purē dēvāya. dīpa-dvayam praty-Āshādha
Punarvasum punar=adād=vṛhīn=gha
- 2 tā[n=d]vādaśa¹ [I*] Chhātrēbhyah punar=uttamāgram=adadān=Nārāyaṇas²=Śārṅgi-
ṇah prītyai sadguna-bhūṣaṇas=s[va] - vibhavam Brahmādhirājas=sudhīh [I*]
- 3 Toṇ-nūṛṇ-ettām=āṇḍin edi[r=ā*]m=āṇḍu Pāttivaśekharaapurattu bha³ paṭṭarakarkku
Tūmā-nāṭtu Idaikkulat—
- 4 tūr Pañchavaṇ-Brahmādhirājan=āyina Kumaraṇ Nārāyaṇaṇ amaichcha tiru—
lakku iraṇḍu [I*] iraṇḍilum-o-
- 5 nrukku paḍaittalaivaṇ Kaṇṇaṇ Māṇikkaṇ kaiyyil aḍutta erumai ēlu [I*] ivaiyirṛāl
madaippalliyāl-u-
- 6 lakk-ālakkum paḍaittalaivaṇ Pāgañ-Chivīndravaṇ kaiyyil aḍutta erumai ēlu [I]
ivaiyirṛāl tirunonda vi-
- 7 lakkukku madaippalli nāliyaḷ ulakk-ālakku [I*] ivaiy chāgā-mūvāp-pēr-erumai [I]
'Ilur Vētkōvaṇ Kā[maṇ]
- 8 Chengōḍaṇum tambimāru marumakkaḷum ambalamum vāyil-māḍamuñ=chur[ru]
maṇḍa[pamum] a.. āga
- 9 k-kōṇḍa ilak-karuṇ-kāśu āru āruṇ-kōṇḍu ivv-achchin poliyāl aḷivu śelak-kaḍavar
[I*] Āḍip-Punarddati=nāl⁴
- 10 pannirukala nell⁴

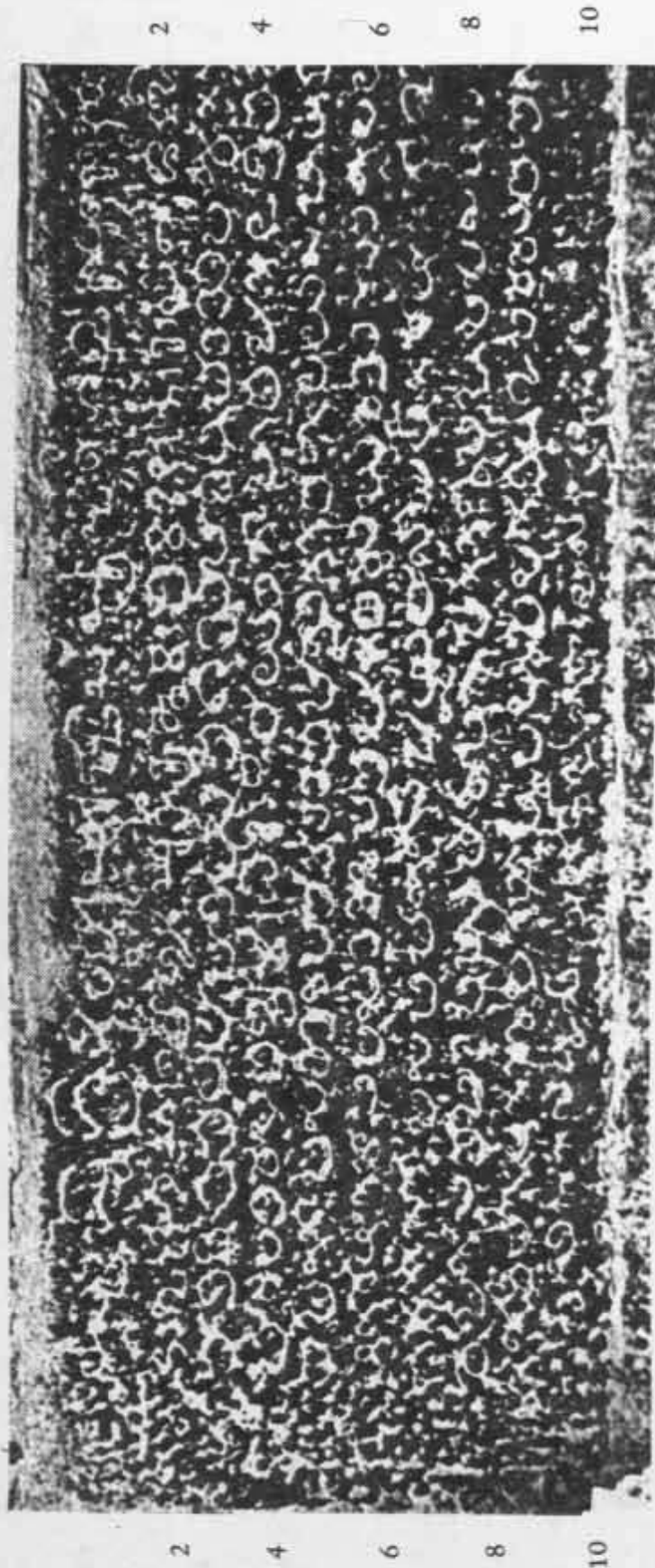
1. Read *daśan*.

2. The word was originally intended to be written in Grantha but immediately after writing 'bha', the scribe has written in Vatteluttu characters.

3. Major portion of this line has not been read in the text published in *T.A.S.*, Vol. I, pp. 287-88 and plate.

4. There are a few letters, seen after this passage, which do not admit of any sensible reading. The reading (*Ibid*) 'śālayuḷ-amaḷ.. I śā..' is not clear.

PĀRTHIVAPURAM INSCRIPTION OF KOLLAM YEAR 98 + 1
Left Half



Ep. Ind. Vol. XLI

K. V. Ramesh

Right Half



From Photograph

NO. 2 – ŚĀRṆGAPURAM GRANT OF THE TIME OF KĀKATĪYA
GANAPATI, ŚAKA 1176

(3 Plates)

S.S. Ramachandra Murthy, Mysore

The copper plate charter edited, here, with the kind permission of the Director (Epigraphy), Archaeological Survey of India, Mysore, was noticed in the *Annual Report for South Indian Epigraphy* for the year 1936-37 as No. A 5. The text and translation have been already published by Butterworth and Venugopalachetty in their *Nellore District Inscriptions*, Vol. I, pp. 137 ff. without any plates. Since some serious mistakes were committed by them while editing the grant it is proposed to re-edit the same in the following pages.

The exact findspot of the copper plate record is not known. However, this is stated to have been received from the Deputy Tahsildar of Darsi Taluk in Nellore District. This is a set of 5 thick copper plates measuring 26 cms by 13.8 cms and strung together by a ring passing through a ring hole about 1.9 cms in diameter at the left margin of the plates. The ring is about 1.3 cms thick and measures about 10 cms in diameter. Its ends are soldered to the bottom of an oval seal and on its counter sunk surface is the figure of a lion in high relief, standing with its right foreleg upraised and facing proper right. The set weighs 3,638 gms with the ring and seal and 3,148 gms without them. The plates are numbered, the respective numbers being engraved in the left margin of the second side of each plate. In the left margin of the first side of the first plate are engraved a *chakra*, the letter Śrī in Telugu-Kannada characters and a *varāha*, one below the other and in that order. Again towards the end of the 6th line and at the commencement of the 7th line of the innerside of the fifth and last plate are engraved respectively the figures of a *chakra* and a *varāha*. The writing is well preserved except on two sides of the first plate wherein the size of the letters is comparatively smaller and the written surface is somewhat worn out.

The characters belong to the Telugu of the 13th century and are regular for the period to which the charter belongs. Of the palaeographical features the following deserve mention. The sign for medial ā is engraved in two ways. In some instances it runs in line with the head-mark as in *vitratādāchakravāḷam* (line 1), *Kāma-dēva* (line 39), etc. and in some other cases it is attached as a separate sign to the completed head mark of the letter as can be seen, for example, in *yathā*, *Kāmanō* and *Kauśika* in lines 2, 32 and 34 respectively. The letter *ḍa* is written in two forms, one in regular way (eg. lines 12, 28, 31, 33, 40, 42, etc.) and the other like the letter *l* of the 10th-11th century (eg. lines 57-59, 63, 66, 73, etc.). This latter type of *ḍ* occurs in many inscriptions of the Eastern Gāṅga rulers belonging to the 12th-13th centuries.

NO. 10 – TWO INSCRIPTIONS FROM DĀRĀŚURAM AND THE DATES OF THREE CHŌLA KINGS

(1 Plate)

N. Setburaman, Kumbakonam

The village Dārāśuram is situated about four kilometres west of Kumbakōṇam. The Airāvātēśvara temple of this village is a protected monument maintained by the Madras Circle of the Archaeological Survey of India. This is a gigantic all-stone *Vimāna* temple built by *Parakēśarivarman* Rājarāja-Chōla II (1146-73 A.D.).¹ The earliest inscription² in this temple is dated in the 21st year of Rājarāja II corresponding to 1166-67 A.D. Evidently the temple came into existence prior to that date. In this inscription the diety is called Rājarājisvaramudaiyār after the builder of the temple, Rājarāja II. The record refers to the temple groves situated in the *vilāgam* (colony) in *Rājarājan-tiruppati* and to those lying east and west of *Rājarāja-vilāgam*. The treasury *Rājarājan-karuvūlagam* and the garden (*tirunandavanam*) *Chōlēndraśiṅga*, so named after the surname of Rājarāja II, are also mentioned. From the other Chōla records³ we come to know that the village itself was then called Rājarājapuram after the name of Rājarāja II.

The great Tamil Poet Ottakkūttar lived during the reigns of three Chōla kings, namely Vikrama-Chōla (1118-35 A.D.), Kulōttuṅga-Chōla II (1133-50 A.D.) and Rājarāja-Chōla II. In his poem *Takkayāgapparaṇi*, Ottakkūttar states that the temple *Rājarājisvaram* was built by Rājarāja II.⁴ The poet also describes the township of Rājarājapuram.⁵ The hero of the poem is Lord Rājarāja-Īsvaramudaiyār.⁶ In the poem the poet praises the fame and glory of Rājarāja (II).⁷

1 *A.R.Ep.*, 1926-27, p. 82, para. 25

2 17/1908. (This and all other similar references are from the *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy. The figures to the right of the oblique refer to the year of the Report and the figures to the left refer to the serial number given to the concerned inscription in that Report*). The record (17/1908) is important in another respect. It states that in the beginning of the 21st year of Rājarāja (i.e., in July, 1166 A.D.), the officer Araiyan Niṇṇa Vāṅgi Āduvār *alias* Pottappi-Chōla, the chief of Kaṇaiyāyil, situated in Mīlājai-kūṭṭam, a sub-division of Rājarāja-Ppāṇḍi-nādu, requested the king to award some grants. It is evident from this that as late as in July, 1166 A.D., when the Pāṇḍyan civil war was at its zenith, the Chōlas were still holding their control in the areas east of Madurai. Later, in 1170 A.D., the Chōla chieftains in the Pāṇḍya country were driven out by the Ceylon army. This will be clear from a reference to the initial state of the Pāṇḍyan civil war as narrated in Rājādhirāja II's Ārppakkam record (20/1899), year 5 (*S.I.I.*, Vol. VI, No. 456).

3 266/1927 and 433/1924.

4 *Takkayāgapparaṇi*, verse 772.

5 *Ibid.*, verses 17 and 18.

6 *Ibid.*, verse 778.

7 *Ibid.*, verses 549, 772 to 777, 803, 807 and 812.

Rājarāja II had the surname *Rājagambhīra* and this is evident from many of his inscriptions¹ and also from the poem *Takkayāgapparaṇi*.² Fittingly the label *Rājagambhīraṇ-tirumandapam* is found on a few pillars³ of the *maṇḍapa* in the Airāvatēśvara temple thus showing its existence from the time of Rājarāja II.

And inscription⁴ of this temple, dated in the 8th year of Kulōttuṅga III (1178-1218 A.D.) refers to the palace *Rājarājaṇ-tirumāligai*. In this inscription the deity is mentioned as Rājarāja-Īśvaramuḍaiyār.

In the 14th century, when the Chōlas were no more, the Chōla kingdom was under the sway of the later Pāṇḍyas some of whose records are available in this temple. A record⁵ in the 3rd year of Māravarman Vīra-Pāṇḍya (acc. 1334 A.D.) mentions the deity of the temple as Rājarāja-Īśvaramuḍaiya-Nāyaṇār in the village Rārāpuram. A record⁶ in the 4th year of Māravarman Śrīvallabha mentions the name of the deity as Irārāśuramuḍaiya-Nāyaṇār in the village Irārāśuram. A Vijayanagara record,⁷ dated in 1486 A.D., states that the temple is situated in Irārāśuram. Thus, in course of time, while Rājarājpapuram took the corrupt form Rārāpuram, Rājarāja-Īśvaram got changed into Irārāśuram which, in turn, became further corrupted into Dārāśuram by which name the village is known today. Airāvatēśvara, the present name of the deity, is not found in the inscriptions. Probably this name came into existence in the 18th century.

In the beginning of the 19th century Col. Mackenzie visited this temple and collected a few records found on the walls of the *prākāras*. His collections were eye-copies. Later, in 1908, some of the inscriptions of this temple were copied by the Office of the Chief Epigraphist. I compared the collections of Mackenzie and the reports of 1908 with the actual inscriptions engraved on the wall. There are some mistakes and mixing up of the records in the collections of Mackenzie.⁸ The records which Mackenzie mixed up are available on the wall but parts of them are buried under the ground. This prompted me to suspect that some more records could also be found at the bottom of the wall below the ground level. I had discussions on these points with Shri K.G. Krishnan, the then Chief Epigraphist who evinced keen interest in the matter.

In April 1979, Dr. C.R. Srinivasan of the Office of the Chief Epigraphist, accompanied by Mr. Chandu Nair, the Copyist, visited this temple. I was also present on that

1 440/1912; 45/1914; 128/1929; 146/1938 and 4/1946.

2 *Takkayāgapparaṇi*, verse 774.

3 *A.R.Ep.*, 1926-27 p. 82, para. 25 read with 256/1927.

4 20/1908.

5 21/1908; N. Sethuraman: *The Imperial Pandyas - Mathematics Reconstructs the Chronology*, p. 201.

6 23/1908; The Palaeography corresponds to the middle of the 14th century. Probably this Māravarman Śrīvallabha was the king who came to the throne in 1351 A.D. See, *A.R.Ep.*, 1939-40 to 1942-43, p. 245.

7 22/1908

8 *South Indian Temple Inscriptions*, Vol. II, p. 560, record No. 567. I am quoting Mackenzie because his great work helps us in finding the missing records as well as new ones.

occasion. After a careful survey we found the record which Col. Mackenzie had mixed up with the record of Rājarāja II. The former belongs to Kulōttuṅga III and it states that Kulōttuṅga cut off the head of the Pāṇḍya of the lunar race. The latter is record No. 17/1908. The discovery prompted us to search for some more records. An excavation was conducted in front of the east wall of the first *prākāra*, left of entrance. A trench, approximately 7 metres long, 2 meters wide and 2 meters deep, was dug. Our expectations were amply fulfilled. The sub-joined inscriptions A and B were found at the bottom of the wall, below the ground level. With great difficulty the inscriptions were copied.

The records are in Tamil language and the script is also Tamil with a sprinkling of Grantha letters. The palaeography of the records corresponds to that of late 12th century. The writing is damaged in several places. However, from the available portions much can be made out. As regards orthographic features the two records have much in common. The letters are bold. Quite often a loop is engraved on the top left side of letters like *ka*, *ku*, *ra*, etc., probably for the sake of ornamentation. At any rate the writings are uniform in style and character.

At the outset let us discuss some words of lexical interest occurring in the records. The expressions *kōyil-kaṇakku-kāṇi* (line 5 of A and lines 4 and 5 of B), *ūr-kaṇakkaṇ* (line 2 of B), *ūr-kaṇakku-kāṇi* (line 5 of B) and *sempādi-kāṇi* (line 8 of A and lines 2 and 5 of B) occurring in the records are of technical nature. *Kāṇi* means right of possession or enjoyment of lands granted for a purpose. When the beneficiary was allowed to enjoy half the income from those lands, the grant was called *sempādi-kāṇi*.

Kōyil-kaṇakku means 'temple account'. *Kōyil-kaṇakkaṇ* means 'temple accountant'. Certain specified lands belonging to the temple would be granted to him for his livelihood and such a grant (*kāṇi*) was called *kōyil-kaṇakku-kāṇi*. *Sempādi-kāṇi* in *kōyil-kaṇakku-kāṇi* means that the temple accountant could enjoy half the income from the grant and the rest should be remitted to the temple.

Ūr-kaṇakku means 'village account'. *Ūr-kaṇakkaṇ* means 'village accountant'. He would be granted some lands (*kāṇi*) for his livelihood. Such a grant was called *ūr-kaṇakku-kāṇi*. *Sempādi-kāṇi* in *ūr-kaṇakku-kāṇi* means that the village accountant would enjoy half the income from the lands granted to him and the rest should be remitted into the Government Treasury.

Record A¹ is in nine lines, each of which is approximately 5.3 meters in length. It is dated in the fourth year of the Chōla king *Tribhuvanachakravarti Rājakeśarivarman Rājādhirājādēva* (II). The first three lines contain the king's usual Tamil *prasasti* beginning with *Kaḍal-sūḷnda-pārmādarum*, etc. The *prasasti* is damaged in many places. However, there is no difficulty in reconstructing the same since the available portions

1. This is the continuation of 18/1908 whose first few lines were copied in 1908. The rest came to light during the excavation in April, 1979.

are clear. The object of the record is to confirm the grants mentioned in lines 3 to 9 which unfortunately are very much damaged. In spite of the serious damages we can extract something out of the available portions.

It is said that the record is the royal letter received in accordance with the oral order made by the king Rājādhirājadēva, in his fourth year. It is further said that the order was made at the request of Pallavarāyar (line 7). The request was to confirm the grants made to the beneficiaries Āḷudaiyāṇ and the temple accountant. It is stipulated that Āḷudaiyāṇ.... should conduct *kuḍamañṇai* (?) before Lord.... Naṭarāja (line 5, *kūttāḍum perumāṇ muṇ kuḍamañṇai elundarūvivikka...*). Probably he was awarded some grants for this purpose, but the relevant portion is damaged and we cannot know the exact nature of the grants. The *śempādi-kāṇi* in *kōyil-kaṇakku-kāṇi*, for the purpose of keeping the temple account, was also to be granted to the temple accountant in whose name the *kāṇi* (grant) stood. Accordingly the *śempādi-kāṇi* in *kōyil-kaṇakku-kāṇi* was granted to the temple accountant and it was communicated to the temple authorities. It was also ordered that the grants were to be enjoyed by the beneficiaries and their descendants (line 8, *taṅgalukkun-taṅgal vargattārkum*). The royal deed was written by the royal secretary (*tirumandira ōlai*) Rājēndraśiṅga-Mūvēnda-vēḷāṇ. The signatories were Nuḷambādirājar, Vayirāgarājar, Chittrarājar, Chēdirājar and Pallavarājar. The record ends by stating that it was engraved on the four hundred and fifty [third] day of the fourth regnal year.

The entire transaction amounts to this. Āḷudaiyāṇ should conduct some service before the image of Lord Naṭarāja. Probably he received as remuneration some grants the nature of which is not known. The temple accountant was enjoying some lands of the temple since he was looking after the temple accounts. It was ordered that he may enjoy half the income from those lands and the rest should be paid to the temple. The above grants were to be enjoyed by the beneficiaries and their descendants. The grants were confirmed by the king at the request of Pallavarāyar.

Since the record is much damaged it is not possible to know the name of the temple in which Āḷudaiyāṇ and the accountant were serving. Probably it was the same Dārāśūram temple where the record is found.

Record B is engraved just below record A. It is in seven lines, each of which is approximately 6.2 metres in length. It is a royal letter (line 1, *śrī-tirumugam*) dated in the [four] hundred and forty third day of the fifth year in the reign of *Tribhuvana-chakravarti Kōṇēriṇmaikoṇḍāṇ*. The object of the record is to confirm the following *śempādi-kāṇi* grants awarded to Ārrūruḍaiya Kūttāṇ (line 1):

- 1 *Śempādi-kāṇi* in *ūr-kaṇakku-kāṇi* was granted to Ārrūruḍaiya Kūttāṇ (the village accountant) for maintaining the accounts of the village Rājarāja-chaturvēdimaṅ-galam situated in a district whose name is lost (line 2).

- 2 *Sempādi-kāṇi* in *kōyil-kaṇakku-kāṇi* (line 4) for maintaining the accounts of the (six) *Pallippadai* (temples, viz.) Rājagambhīra-Īśvaramudaiyār temple, Bhuvanamuludum-Īśvaramudaiyār temple, Tribhuvanmulududai-Īśvaramudaiyār temple, Ēlulagamulududai-Īśvaramudaiyār temple, Ulagudai-Mukkōkkilānadi-Īśvaramudaiyār temple, and..... Īśvaramudaiyār temple the full name of which is lost (lines 2 and 3). It is said that these temples are situated in the same district in which Rājarāja-chaturvēdimaṅgalam is situated (line 2, *innāttu*).

In accordance with the oral order made by the king in the beginning of the fifth year, the grants were confirmed and the order was sent for making necessary entries in the registers. Accordingly, in the *ūr-kaṇakku-kāṇi* of the village Rājarāja-chaturvēdimaṅgalam and in the *kōyil-kaṇakku-kāṇi* of the *pallippadai* temples (lines 5, *pallippadai-kkōyilgaḷil kōyil-kaṇakku-kāṇiyilum*), the grants were entered as *sempādi-kāṇi* in favour of the beneficiary. It is said that in each of the first five temples, an inscription confirming the grant of *sempādi-kāṇi* in *kōyil-kaṇakku-kāṇi* in favour of the beneficiary was also engraved (line 3, *...kōyililum kalvetṭi*). The royal letter was written by the royal secretary Rājēndraśiṅga-Mūvēndavēḷāṇ. The signatories were Maḷavarājar, Śiṅgalarājar, Vayirāgarājar, Chēdirājar, Chittrarājar and Rājēndrachōḷa-Kaḷappālarājar. The record ends by stating that the royal order was engraved on the wall on the four hundred and sixty third day of the fifth year.

The sequence of the above transaction is as follows: It is a royal letter issued on the 443rd day of the 5th year of *Tribbuvānabakravartin Kōṇērīṇmaikoṇḍāṇ* confirming the oral order made in the beginning of the fifth year (line 4, *aṁjāvadu mudal*). Ārrūrudaiya Kūttan was the accountant of the village Rājarāja-chaturvēdimaṅgalam. He was also the accountant of the six *pallippadai* temples mentioned above. He was awarded *sempādi-kāṇi* grants as follows:

- 1 Ārrūrudaiya Kūttan was maintaining the accounts of the village Rājarāja-chaturvēdimaṅgalam. He was granted lands for this purpose. He was to enjoy half the income from the lands (and the rest should be paid into the Government Treasury).
- 2 The same individual was also the accountant of six *pallippadai* temples and he was granted lands belonging to those temples for maintaining their accounts. He was to enjoy half the income from the lands (and the rest should be paid to the temples).
- 3 The record states (line 3) that in each of the first five *pallippadai* temples, an inscription confirming the grant of *sempādi-kāṇi* in *kōyil-kaṇakku-kāṇi* in favour of Ārrūrudaiya Kūttan, was engraved.
- 4 The order was engraved on the temple wall (of the Dārāśuram temple) on the 463rd day of the 5th year.

Record B is important in several respects. It refers to the existence of six *pallippadai* temples in the same locality. One and the same accountant was looking after the accounts of all these temples. A *pallippadai* temple is a sepulchral temple raised over the mortal remains of a deceased person, usually of royal extraction. Sepulchral temples are known to have been built over the mortal remains of such Chōla kings like Āditya I (871-908 A.D.), Ariṇjaya-Chōla (954-60 A.D.), Pañchavaṇ-Mādevi (who died in 1019 A.D.), one of the queens of Rājendra I (1012-43 A.D.) and Vikrama-Chōla (1118-35 A.D.). Except the last one the others have been identified as extant at Tondaimān, Ārrūr, Mēlpādi and Paṭṭisvaram respectively.¹

Rājagambhira was the surname of Rājārāja II. The Pallippadai-Rājagambhira-Īśvaram-udaiyār temple was evidently a sepulchral temple built over his mortal remains. The other four *pallippadai* temples stood in the name of his four queens Bhuvanamuḷudum-Udaiyāl, Tribhuvanamuḷudum-Udaiyāl, Ēlulagamuḷudum-Udaiyāl, and Ulaguḍail Mukkōkkilānādi. The names of these four queens are found in Rājārāja II's Tamil *praśastis* which begin with "Pūmaruviya-tirumādam" or "Pūmaruviya-polilēlum", etc.² Unfortunately the name of the sixth *pallippadai* temple is lost.

The record states that these six *pallippadai* temples were situated in the same district in which Rājārāja-chaturvēdimangalam was situated. The name of the district is lost. Since the record is engraved on the wall of the Dārāsuram temple we may not be far wrong if we search for the district in and around that area. Two records, which come from Dārāsuram and Kāñchīpuram and belong to Kulōttuṅga III, state that Ūrūkkāḍu *alias* Rājārāja-chaturvēdimangalam was situated in Āvūr-kūṭṭam, sub-division of Nittavinōda-vaṇāḍu. The village Āvūr is about six Kilometers south of Dārāsuram. The village Ūrūkkāḍu exists even to-day and it is about six kilometers west of Āvūr. Near Ūrūkkāḍu there is a hamlet called Chaturvēdimangalam. In the circumstances we can safely surmise that the six *pallippadai* temples were probably situated in the district Nittavinōda-vaṇāḍu comprising the southern areas of the Kumbakonam and Papanasam Taluks. As on to-day the six *pallippadai* temples are not indentified. A careful exploration of the southern areas of the Kumbakonam and Papanasam Taluks may reveal their existence at least in the form of ruins if not as full structures.

The king Kōneriṇmaikōṇḍāṇ of Record B, in whose fifth year the *pallippadai* temple of Rājagambhira-Īśvaramudaiyār and the *pallippadai* temples raised over the

1 *A.R.Ep.*, 1926-27, pp. 76-78. A record which comes from Chidambaram belongs to Kōpperuṇṅinga (1243-79 A.D.) and it refers to Pallippadai-Vikramaśōlanallūr (*S.I.I.*, Vol. VIII, No. 710, lines 4-5).

2 *S.I.I.*, Vol. VIII, Nos. 220, 226 and 285; 369/1911; *S.I.I.*, Vol. VIII, No. 226, line 18 refers to the grant made by Ulagamuḷudum-Udaiyāl. In his poem *Rājārājaśōṭṭam Uḷ* the poet Ottakkūttar mentions Bhuvanamuḷudum-Udaiyāl. Probably she was the Chief queen. Also refer to *The Colas* by Sastri, 1975, p. 351.

3. Dārāsuram, 20/1908, Kulōttuṅga III, year 8, day 64 : (lines 3-4 - Nittavinōda-vaṇāḍu/ṭṭu/.....kūṭṭam.....kāḍāṇa Rājārāja-chaturvēdimangalam). Kāñchīpuram, 558/1919, Kulōttuṅga III, year 18 : Ūrūkkāḍu *alias* Rājārāja-chaturvēdimangalam in Āvūr-kūṭṭam, a sub-division of Nittavinōda-vaṇāḍu. Also see, Āvūr, 81/1911, Rājendra III, year 3; Pāpanasam, 468/1922, Kulōttuṅga III, year 21.

mortal remains of the queens of Rājarāja are referred to, needs to be identified. This much is definite that *Kōṇērīṇmaikondān* was a later king and he ruled after Rājarāja II. In order to properly identify *Kōṇērīṇmaikondān* we must know, as exactly as possible, the dates of Rājarāja II, and his successors Rājādhirāja II and Kulōttunga-Chōla III.

Kielhorn surmised¹ that Rājarāja II came to the throne between the 6th of April and the 11th of July, 1146 A.D. The interval is 96 days. Kielhorn did his calculations on the basis of the then available materials. We can reduce the interval considerably with the help of later discoveries of inscriptions. To do this, however, we should have the correct concept of 'regnal year'. Earlier scholars thought that a regnal year contained 365 days as in the case of a solar or calendar year. On this basis they calculated the accession dates of the kings. Later discoveries of inscriptions reveal that a South Indian Hindu king counted his regnal year on the basis of his accession star.² This was the ancient Hindu calendar system. We shall apply this system in finding the accession dates of the above Chōla kings.

A record³ which comes from Tirumāndurai is dated in the 15th year of Rājarāja II. The other details of date given therein are the month Mithuna, 'su. 11, the star Svāti and Monday. The data agree with 5th June, 1161 A.D. Accordingly the star Svāti in Mithuna of 1146 A.D. falls in the 0th regnal year. The star was current on 20th June of that year.

A record⁴ which comes from Tiruvalāṇjūli is dated in the 17th year of Rājarāja II. The other details of date are the month Karkataka, ba. 12, the star Punarvasu and Wednesday. The data agree with 11th July, 1162 A.D. Accordingly the star Punarvasu in Karkataka of 1146 A.D. falls in the first regnal year. The star was current on 9th July of that year.

20th June, 1146 A.D. = 0th regnal year

9th July, 1146 A.D. = 1st regnal year

This means that Rājarāja II came to the throne between the 21st of June and the 9th of July, 1146 A.D.

The upper limit of Rājarāja II's reign is under dispute. Different scholars have surmised differently. Some surmised⁵ that Rājarāja II ruled upto 1163 A.D. Some

1. Above, Vol. IX, p. 219.

2. "The Regnal Year" by N. Sethuraman, Vol. V, *Journal of the Epigraphical Society of India*, p. 105; A.R. Ep., 1947-48, page 3.

3. 234/1927.

4. *S.I.I.*, Vol. VIII, No. 226; Kielhorn: Above, Vol. VIII, p. 263.

5. Sadasiva Pandarathar : *Pirkāla Chōlārgal* (published by Annamalai University), p. 122.

others surmised¹ that he died in 1164-65 A.D. Sastri surmised² that Rājārāja II ruled upto 1173 A.D. Let us re-examine here the issue of the last date of Rājārāja II. The records which belong to the closing years of Rājārāja's reign are tabulated below:

*Records of Rājārāja II
(Closing years)*

Table I

| Record No. | Village | Regnal year | A.D. |
|-----------------------|------------------------------------|-------------|-----------------------|
| Pd. 137 | Poṇ-Amarāvati | 19 | 1165 |
| 411/1909 | Siddhalingamadam | 19 | 1165 |
| 86/1928 | Tiruppugalūr | 19 | 1st Feb., 1165 |
| 151/1926 | Tiruviḷakkudi | 19 | 1165 |
| S.I.I., Vol. IV, 1050 | Drākshārāma | 20 | 1166 |
| 132/1917 | Penumūli | 20 | 1166 |
| S.I.I., Vol. IV, 1051 | Drākshārāma | 20 | 1166 |
| 17/1908 | Dārāśuram | 21 | 1167 |
| 708/1920 | Kollūru | 21 | 1167 |
| N.D.I., 0/59 | Koṇḍamañchalūru | 21 | 1167 |
| CP. 23/1916-17 | Kandūru Copper Plates ³ | 21 | 1169 |
| | | Śaka 1091 | |
| 695/1920 | Pedakoṇḍūru | 24 | 1170 |
| 704/1920 | Kollūru | 26 | 1172 |
| 123/1912 | Tiruvorriyūr | 27 | 1172-73 |
| 191/1899 | Koṇidena | 28 | July 1173 or later |
| S.I.I., Vol. VI, 626 | | Śaka 1095 | |

The above are definitely the records of Rājārāja II as evidenced by either the title or the *praśasti* found in them, or because of other internal evidences. It is generally believed that records of the closing years of Rājārāja's reign are not found in Tamil Nadu.⁴ It is not so. The following records belong to Rājārāja II and they introduce the king as *Tiribhuvanachakravarti* Rājārājadēva. Their astronomical data agree with the accession year of Rājārāja II only:

1 Above, Vol. XXII, p. 86, foot note 5.

2 *Ibid.*, p. 228 and *The Cōlas*, p. 354.

3 Above, Vol. XXIX, pp. 225-47.

4 *Ibid.*, Vol. XXXI, p. 228.

*Records of Rājārāja II from Tamil Nadu
(Last years)*

Table II

| Record No. | Village | Regnal year and Data | Date |
|-------------|---------------------------|---|--|
| 434/1921 | Tiruvēnnainallūr | 19, Tulā, 'su. 8, Avittam, Sunday | 25th October, 1164 A.D. |
| 195/1908 | Kōyilūr ¹ | 20, Makara, 'su. 7, Aśvati, Monday | 10th January, 1164 A.D. (The king was sick) |
| 304/1921 | Araśarkōyil | 21, Simha, 'su. Hastā, Monday | 1st August, 1166 A.D. |
| 196/1908 | Kōyilūr | 21, Kumbha | February, A.D. |
| 213/1928-29 | Tiruvāduturai | 22, Dhanus, ba. 7, Pūram, Monday | 4th December, 1167 A.D. |
| 121/1940-41 | Tiruvīlambudūr | 24, Karkātaka 4, Sunday | 29th June, 1169 A.D. |
| 495/1904 | Vēdāranyam ² | 27, Makara, ba. 15, Pushya, Monday | 1st January 1173 A.D. |
| 389/1939-40 | Uyyakkondān- Tirumalai | 27, Rishabha, ba. 11, Rēvatī, Wednesday | 9th May, 1173 A.D. |

1. *Ibid.*, Vol. XI, p. 128. Jacobi assigns 195/1908 to Rājārāja III (acc. 1216 A.D.) and equates the data to 5th January, 1237 A.D. after correcting the regnal year 20 to 21. This is wrong. The regnal year reads *Irubadāvadu* (Twentieth) in words. The record belongs to Rājārāja II and it is datable to 10th January, 1166 A.D. It states that an image of a goddess was consecrated for the health of the king. Probably the king was sick in January, 1166 A.D. and, in the circumstances, he hastened to crown Rājādhirāja II in June/July, 1166 A.D. as we shall see later. 196/1908 confirms the grants made for the worship and services of the images of the goddess consecrated for the health of the king as stated in 195/1908. Compare 195/1908 with 136/1932 of Rājārāja III, year 20, Makara, Aśvati, Wednesday. See the difference in the week days.
2. 495/1904 is published in *S.I.L.*, Vol. XVII, No. 537. Either the doubtfully restored portion ba. 15 should be 'su. 15, since Pushya in Makara is quoted, or ba. 15 is a mistake for 'su. 15. Such a mistake is also found in *S.I.L.*, Vol. VIII, No. 243. See, Kielhorn, above, Vol. VIII, p. 271. But the date suggested by Kielhorn for 495/1904 is not convincing since he corrected the regnal year 27 as 21, equated the details of date to 12th January, 1237 A.D. and assigned the record to Rājārāja III. See also Sewell, above, Vol. X, p. 135. No. 291/1907 belongs to Rājārāja III. The details of date, year 27, Makara, 'su. 15, Pushya and Wednesday correspond to 7th January, 1243 A.D. The same name of the king, the same details of date but different week-days clearly show that 495/1904 belongs to Rājārāja II.

Tables I and II confirm that Rājārāja II's record written in his closing years are available not only in Andhra but also in Tamil Nadu. We can find some more¹ provided the texts of all the known records of the Chōlas are published in full. Rājārāja II was alive in July, 1173 A.D. We shall now try to fix his last date. Rājārāja II had a trusted Chief Minister whose full name was Kulattulāṇ Tiruchchirrambamuḍaiyāṇ *alias* Perumāṇ-Nambi-Pallavarāyar, and he was a native of Kārikai-Kulattūr in Śīrukunṇānāḍu, a sub-division of Āmūr-kōttam in Jayāṅkondaśōla-maṇḍalam. In the 10th year of Rājārāja's reign this Chief Minister built a temple at Kulattūr.² The deity of that temple was called Rājārājēśvaram-Uḍaiyār in honour of his master Rājārāja II. Even to-day the temple exists at Pallavarāyaṇpēttai near Māyavaram in Tanjore District. Perumāṇ-Nambi-Pallavarāyar protected the children of Rājārāja at a time of stress.³ He played a leading role in the campaigns of the Chōlas against the Pāṇḍyas and the Ceylonese army during the initial stages of the Pāṇḍyan civil war⁴ (1170-72 A.D.). In his poem *Takkayāgapparaṇi* the poet Oṭṭakkūttar praises Perumāṇ-Nambi-Pallavarāyar.⁵ When Rājārāja II was sick⁶ it was Perumāṇ-Nambi-Pallavarāyar who advised the former to crown Rājādhirāja (II) as heir-apparent.

Rājādhirāja II came to the throne in June, 1166 A.D. as we shall see later. A record⁷ which comes from Pallavarāyaṇpēttai belongs to Rājādhirāja II's 8th regnal year which ended in June, 1174 A.D. The record states that Rājārāja II died first and later his Chief Minister Perumāṇ-Nambi-Pallavarāyar died. It is, therefore, evident that in June, 1174 A.D., Rājārāja II and his Chief Minister were both no more.

A record⁸ which comes from Tiruvalaṇḍuḷi is in the eighth regnal year of Rājādhirāja II and its date falls on 6th August, 1173 A.D. The record refers to the gift of a lamp made by Jayadhara-Pallavarāyar, a relative or staff of Perumāṇ-Nambi-Pallavarāyar. The record gives the full name and the attributes of Perumāṇ-Nambi. It is evident that Perumāṇ-Nambi was alive in August, 1173 A.D.

1. The Tiruppāmburam inscription (No. 90/1911) belongs to the 22nd year of Rājārāja II and it mentions the village as Tiruppāmburam. The same name appears in Kulōttuṅga III's 23rd and 27th years (86 and 85/1911). But in the 28th year of Kulōttuṅga the village is called Tiruppāmburam *alias* Kulōttuṅga-Chōla-chaturvēdimaṅgalam in the name of Kulōttuṅga III (91/1911). In certain records Kulōttuṅga III refers to the transactions done in the 19th, 20th and 23rd year of Rājārāja II's reign (229/1917, 278/1927 and 372/1919).
2. 427 and 434/1924. Incidentally, Eḷavāṇāśūr, 163/1906, Rājārāja II, year 13, refers to a hall called *Pallavarāyaṇ* in the Āyirattalī palace.
3. 433/1924.
4. 20/1899 and 433/1924.
5. *Takkayāgapparaṇi*, verse 236.
6. 433/1924 to be read with foot note No. 1 in p. 85 above.
7. 433/1924. Text is published in above Vol. XXI, No. 31.
8. 627/1902. *S.I.I.*, Vol. VIII, No. 227, lines 9 to 11 imply that Perumāṇ-Nambi was alive in August, 1173 A.D. (for the date see Table V below).

To sum up, Rājarāja II was alive in July, 1173 A.D. His Chief Minister Perumāṇ-Nambi-Pallavarāyar was alive in August, 1173 A.D. Both were no more in June, 1174 A.D. Rājarāja II died first. Later his Chief Minister died. Thus we can surmise that Rājarāja II died in the third quarter of 1173 A.D. and Perumāṇ-Nambi-Pallavarāyar died, say, early in 1174 A.D.

Record B refers to the grants made to the accountant of Pallippadai-Rājagambhira-Īṣvaramuḍaiyār temple. It is evident that the temple came into existence at the end of 1173 A.D. or early in 1174 A.D. Probably, prior to his own death, in honour of his deceased master, Perumāṇ-Nambi-Pallavarāyar built this temple. This is a reasonable guess even though we have no direct evidence. The truth can be found provided the said temple is identified.

The dates of Rājādhirāja II are still under dispute.¹ Kielhorn surmised² that Rājādhirāja II ascended the throne on some day approximately between the 28th February and the 30th March, 1163 A.D. He consulted the following inscriptions and suggested the equivalent dates:

Dates of Rājādhirāja II suggested by Kielhorn

Table III

| Kielhorn's Number | Inscription | Regnal year | Dates suggested by Kielhorn |
|-------------------|-------------|-------------|-----------------------------|
| 145 | 538/1904 | 2 | 30th March, 1164 A.D. |
| 146 | 627/1902 | 8 | 10th August, 1170 A.D. |
| 147 | 540/1904 | 10 | 27th February, 1173 A.D. |
| 148 | 394/1902 | 11 | 15th August, 1173 A.D. |
| 149 | 222/1904 | 13 | 8th July, 1181 A.D. |

The last one is irregular. It yielded the date 8th July, 1181 A.D. which falls in the 19th year, if March, 1163 A.D. is considered as the commencement year of his reign. But the inscription itself states that it belongs to the 13th year. Something is wrong somewhere. In the foot note Kielhorn observed³ that either the regnal year or the solar day as mentioned in the inscription was wrong. This inscription is irregular and it cannot be relied upon. Kielhorn, therefore, relied on the other four inscriptions only.

In 1906 enough source materials were not available; but research work had revealed that Rājādhirāja II reigned as king in between Rājarāja II and Kulōttuṅga III. In the circumstances Kielhorn made compromising calculations and arrived at the above

1 Above, Vol. XXXI, p. 271.

2 Kielhorn, *Ibid.*, Vol. IX, pp. 211-13.

3 *Ibid.*, p. 213, foot note 1.

conclusion. However, during his life-time Kielhorn did not publish these calculations. His calculations were published after his demise. This is a vital piece of information which we must remember. He had himself observed as follows:—

- A) "I am also keeping back a number of dates of Kulōttunga-Chōla II and Rājādhirāja II, because I am not fully convinced of the correctness of my general results. The discovery of additional dates of these kings is highly to be desired and would be of considerable importance".¹ He said this in 1906.

Kielhorn was no more in 1907. In his notes, prepared in 1906, he left certain observations. They were published in 1908. His observations are reproduced below :

- B) "Five of these dates (Nos. 145-49) belong to king Rājādhirāja II *Rājakēśari-varman*, of whom no dates have yet been published, and whose reign these dates with great probability show to have commenced² between (approximately) the 28th February and the 30th March, A.D. 1163".
- C) "The first four dates work out regularly on the assumption³ that this king commenced to reign between (approximately) the 28th February and the 30th March, A.D. 1163".
- D) "From the materials available, I therefore infer⁴ that Rājādhirāja *Rājakēśari-varman* i.e., Rājādhirāja II commenced to reign between (approximately) the 28th February and the 30th March, A.D. 1163".

Kielhorn made his surmise in 1906 and it was based on *approximation, probability* and *assumption*. He did not publish his surmise. On the other hand, Kielhorn readily conceded that he was not convinced of the correctness of his general results obtained for the dates of Rājādhirāja II. He kept these dates under reserve. He anticipated that new discoveries will help revise his calculations. Unfortunately he was no more in 1907. Had he lived longer he would himself have certainly revised his surmise. Till date, Kielhorn's calculations are religiously followed in spite of his caution and warning.

Later discoveries of inscriptions did not agree with the initial year March, 1163 A.D. Scholars tried to overcome the problem by correcting at random the regnal years or the astronomical data of the records on the assumption that the records were wrong

1 Kielhorn, *Ibid.*, Vol. VIII, p. 261, para 1.

2 *Ibid.*, Vol. IX, p. 207 in continuation from page 274 of *Ibid.*, Vol. VIII.

3 *Ibid.*, Vol. IX, p. 211.

4 *Ibid.*, p. 213.

in quoting the relevant data.¹ But nothing could be done in the case of those records which quoted Cyclic or Śaka years and which indicated that the accession took place in 1166 A.D. Scholars explained away this anomaly by stating that two sets of dates are found in the inscriptions, one counting some date in March, 1163 A.D. as the initial year and the other counting some date in the middle of 1166 A.D. as the starting point.² It was surmised that Rājādhirāja II was installed as heir-apparent in March, 1163 A.D. and on the fourth annual asterism of his installation i.e., in the middle of 1166 A.D. he was anointed king. Scholars came to this conclusion by filling up certain gaps (in which, however, there is not enough room for the letters suggested by them) in the much damaged Pallavarāyanpēṭṭai record³ of Rājādhirāja II. I studied the inscription *in situ*.⁴ I found that the Pallavarāyanpēṭṭai record does not state that Rājādhirāja II was anointed on the fourth annual asterism of his installation.

Lines 11 and 12 of the record are damaged. The available portion states that Rājārāja II followed the precedence and crowned Rājādhirāja (*muṇṇālilē kāriyam irunda-paḍi* i.e., in accordance with the practice of the earlier days). The precedence in question was the accession of Kulōttuṅga I (1070-1122 A.D.), son of Ammaṅgā, the sister of Vīra-Rājendra (1063-70). It means that Rājārāja II crowned his sister's son Rājādhirāja. Again the record states that Rājādhirāja was crowned in "...*tī nālām tīrunakshattiram*" (line 12). It means that he was crowned at the age of [?] 4. *Tirunakshattiram* means 'age' and this is evident from line 7 of the Pallavarāyanpēṭṭai record and also from the record of the Ceylon king Vijayabāhu.⁵ Line 11 of the Pallavarāyanpēṭṭai record states that Rājādhirāja was one of the *pillais* (boys i.e., princes) brought from Gaṅgaikondachōlapuram. The proper age for a *pillai* (boy or prince) to ascend the throne is fourteen. On this basis I surmised that Rājādhirāja ascended the throne at the age of [1] 4. However it may be, the record merely informs us of the age of

1 There are many cases. See, for example, *above*, Vol. X, p. 127; Vol. XI, p. 123; *A.R.Ep.*, 1914, p. 59; 1918, p. 110; 1921-22, p. 84; 1926-27, p. 62; and 1927-28, p. 45.

2 *Above*, Vol. XXII, p. 86 and Vol. XXXI, p. 271.

3 433/1924. This is discussed in *above*, Vol. XXI, pp. 184-93 and Vol. XXXI, pp. 223-28.

4 I have discussed it in detail in my books "Aruḷudaich Chōla Maṇḍalam" (Tamil) and "The Chōlas-Mathematics Reconstructs the Chronology".

5 *S.I.I.*, Vol. IV, 1396. The record equates the 55th regnal year to the age 73 of Vijayabāhu.

Rājādhirāja II at the time of his anointment and does not convey two initial dates¹ for him. So Rājādhirāja II's regnal years are to be counted from only one date which needs to be fixed.

I had elsewhere² surmised that Rājādhirāja II came to the throne between the 5th and the 8th January, 1166. When I did further research, I was convinced that my previous calculations needed revision for the following reasons:

- 1 In making my previous calculations, I had consulted L. D. Swamikkannu Pillai's *Indian Ephemeris*, Volume I, part 1. While doing so I had committed some mistakes. Later I consulted L.D. Swamikkannu Pillai's *Indian Ephemeris* ready reckoner and rectified those mistakes.
- 2 I had relied on the Tiruppāchchūr inscription (134/1930). Later I found that this is an unreliable record.³

I, therefore, visited various temples, read the inscriptions at the respective sites, and consulted many impressions in the Office of the Chief Epigraphist, Mysore. Shri K. G. Krishnan, the then Chief Epigraphist helped me in deciphering the symbols for regnal years in some of the 12th century records. The regnal years in certain records of Rājādhirāja II are engraved in elliptic circles. I deciphered them also with the help of Shri K.G. Krishnan. In the result I found that Rājādhirāja II came to the throne six months later in June/July, 1166 and not January, 1166 as had been surmised by me earlier. In the light of these observations let us reexamine the dates of the records of Rājādhirāja II.

1 Incidentally, above, Vol. XXXI, p. 271 cites the Puṅgaṇūr record (209/1932) of Rājādhirāja. The record quotes the regnal year in a peculiar manner as *padinālavādāna paṇṇirandāvadū*. Scholars interpreted this as the 12th year which is the same as the 14th year and surmised that the 14th year, counted from March, 1163, is the same as the 12th year counted from the middle of 1166. It is not so. The 14th year counted from March, 1163 ends in March, 1177 which does not fall in the middle of 1177; the beginning of the 12th year is counted from the middle of 1166. Further there are no two initial dates for Rājādhirāja I. I surmised that Rājādhirāja came to the throne in 1166. The regnal year in the Puṅgaṇūr record is to be understood as 12th past 14th i.e., 26th year corresponding to 1192. Probably Rājādhirāja, who retired to Āndhra in 1181, came to the Puṅgaṇūr area to help Kulōttuṅga III in the latter's campaign against the Telugu-Chōḍas. This surmise is based on Kulōttuṅga's Rāmagiri record (*S.I.L.*, Vol. XVII, No. 688, year 15, corresponding to 1192-93 A.D.). In this record Kulōttuṅga adopts the titles *Vīra-Rākshasa*, *Kāñchīpura-paramēśvara* and *Vīra-Nulamba*. Perhaps he adopted these titles after defeating the Telugu-Chōḍa chieftain *Bhujabalavīra-Nallasiddhamādēva Chōḷa-Mahārāja* who, in the Kannaḍa record (483/1906) dated 1192 A.D. boasts of having collected tributes from Kāñchīpuram.

2 *The Chōḷas-Mathematics Reconstructs the Chronology*, 1977, p. 111.

3 This inscription quotes Śaka 1095 and regnal year 9 which do not agree with the dates of his other records (See, above, Table V).

Rājādhirāja ruled in Tamil Nadu upto his 15th regnal year as we shall show below. In his 15th year he retired to Āndhra, lived there for a long time and died in 1215. Some of his Āndhra records contain Śaka years and they are tabulated below:

Rājādhirāja II – Andhra records

Table IV

| S.I.I. IV | Regnal Year | Śaka Year | A.D. |
|-----------|-------------|-----------|---------|
| 1074 | 16 | .... | ..... |
| 1223 | 28 | 1115 | 1193-94 |
| 1331 | 28 | 1116 | 1194-95 |
| 1332 | 29 | 1117 | 1195-96 |
| 1218 | 30 | 1118 | 1196-97 |
| 1002 | 31 | 1119 | 1197-98 |
| 1279 | 35 | 1123 | 1201-02 |
| 1257 | 40 | 1127 | 1205-06 |
| 1117 | 46 | 1134 | 1212-13 |
| 1118 | 47 | 1134 | 1212-13 |
| 1330 | 49 | 1137 | 1215-16 |

1 According to Nos. 1223 and 1331, the 28th year falls both in Śaka 1115 and Śaka 1116. Therefore Śaka 1088 = 1st year and Śaka 1088 also = 0th year. It means that his accession took place some time in the middle of Śaka 1088.

2 As per Nos. 1117 and 1118 the regnal year 46 changed over to 47 in Śaka year 1134. Similarly, the 0th regnal year in Śaka 1088. It further means that the king ascended the throne sometime in the middle of Śaka 1088.

Śaka 1088 covers the period from 25th March, 1166 A.D. to 24th March, 1167 A.D. Rājādhirāja II ascended the throne on some day between these two dates. This is also confirmed by his Nandalūr record¹ of regnal year 12, Cyclic year Hēmalamba, Makara, śu. 1, star Avittam, Saturday which regularly correspond to 21st January, 1178 A.D.

12th year = 21.1.1178

0th year = 21.1.1166

1st year = 21.1.1167

1 571/1907; above, Vol. X, p. 127. Sewell suggested correcting the regnal year 12 as 15. This is not convincing. Also see S.I.I., Vol. XXII, No. 571. The report equates the 12th year to 1175 and equates the date which contain the cyclic year to 21st January, 1178. The 12th year also must be equated only to 1178.

So Rājādhirāja II came to the throne prior to 21st January, 1167 A.D. In other words his accession date falls between the 25th March, 1166 A.D. and the 21st January, 1167 A.D.

The Nandalūr record provides the vital clue in relation to his Andhra records. The regnal year in the Nandalūr record is 12 only. Robert Sewell suggested correcting the regnal year 12 to 15. Had Sewell proceeded on the basis of the quoted regnal year 12, instead of correcting it as 15, he would have correctly arrived at the accession year as 1166 A.D. Why did he suggest the correction? Sewell relied on Kielhorn's surmise of 1163 A.D. as the accession year of Rājādhirāja II. Jacobi too relied on Kielhorn's surmise.¹

As a result everybody accepted 1163 A.D. as the accession date of Rājādhirāja. But, when certain records did not agree with 1163 A.D., scholars suggested correcting the regnal years and the data in those records. These corrections are not at all required. The details of date of Rājādhirāja's records are in agreement with the middle of 1166 A.D. as the starting point for his reign. I furnish below 31 records of Rājādhirāja in which the details of date show such agreement:

Records of Rājādhirāja II

Table V²

| Record No. | Village | Regnal year and details of Date | A.D. |
|------------|-------------|--------------------------------------|--------------------|
| 1 538/1904 | Tiruvārūr | 2, Mēhsa, 'su. 6, Punarvasu, Monday | 15th April, 1168 |
| 2 241/1927 | Kōṭṭaiyūr | 3, Rishaba, 'su. 5, Pushya, Saturday | 3rd May, 1169 |
| 3 421/1912 | Valuvūr | 5, Karkāṭaka, 'su. 13, Saturday | 27th June, 1170 |
| 4 19/1913 | Ādutturai | 5, Tulā 15, Vīśākhā, Monday | 12th October, 1170 |
| 3 69/1931 | Pandanallūr | 5, Tulā, 'su. 9, Avittam, Monday | 19th October, 1170 |
| 5 607/1902 | Munniyūr | 6, Dhanus, 'su. 5, Śravaṇa, Thursday | 2nd December, 1171 |

1 Above, Vol. XI, p. 123; 172/1908.

2 The table contains the records consulted by Kielhorn. The data of those records agree with the initial year 1166 A.D. The table proves that there are no two initial dates for Rājādhirāja II. Corrections in the dates of the records are not required. In the above table I have not included records in which the details of date given are either irregular or imperfect.

Table V — contd.

| Record No. | Village | Regnal year and details of Date | A.D. Date |
|-------------|------------------------------|--|----------------------|
| 7 172/1908 | Tirunaraiyūr ¹ | 6, Mīna, 'su. 6, Rōhīnī, Thursday | 2nd March, 1172 |
| 8 224/1917 | Korukkai | 6, Mithuna, 'su. 3, Punarvasu, Saturday | 17th May, 1172 |
| 9 311/1921 | Tirukkōyilūr | 7, Kaṇṇi 25, Svāti, Thursday | 21st September, 1172 |
| 10 627/1902 | Tiruvālāṇjūli | 8, Simha, ba. 12, Punarvasu, Monday | 6th August, 1173 |
| 11 158/1932 | Tiruppurambiyam ² | 8, Viṛchika 24, 'su. Bharāṇi, Monday | 19th November, 1173 |
| 12 122/1928 | Ayyampēttai | 8, Dhanus, ba. 12, Viśākhā, Monday | 3rd December, 1173 |
| 13 343/1921 | Tirukkōyilūr | 8, Maśi 26, Pūram, Monday | 18th February, 1174 |
| 14 619/1902 | Tiruvālāṇjūli | 9, Kumbha, 'su. 9, Rōhīnī, Saturday | 1st February, 1175 |
| 15 403/1896 | Tiruvorriyūr | 9, Paṅguṇi, 'su. 11, Āyilyam, Wednesday | 5th March, 1175 |
| 16 340/1921 | Tirukkōyilūr | 10, Simha, 'su. 1, Pūram, Monday | 18th August, 1175 |
| 17 134/1936 | Terukukkādu | 10, Viṛchika, 'su. 2, Mūla, Monday | 17th November, 1175 |
| 18 251/1951 | Tirukkuvalai | 10, Makara, 'su. 12, Rōhīnī, Friday | 26th December, 1175 |
| 19 540/1904 | Tiruvārūr | 10, Mīna, 'su. 13, Maghā, Tuesday | 24th February, 1176 |
| 20 394/1902 | Tirunallār | 11, Simha, 'su. 5, Svāti, Wednesday | 11th August, 1176 |
| 21 428/1912 | Valuvūr | 12, Simha, ba. 8, Rōhīnī, Thursday | 18th August, 1177 |
| 22 603/1963 | Tiruvāymūr | 12, Makara, ba. 11, Mūlam, Monday | 16th January, 1178 |

1 See foot note 1 in p. 92 above.

2 The *Report* states that the regnal year in 158/1932 is Ten in words. I visited the temple and verified the inscription. The regnal year is eight and it is in words.

Table V – *concl.*

| Record No. | Village | Regnal year and details of Date | A.D. |
|--------------|----------------------------|---|---------------------|
| 23 571/1907 | Nandalūr | 12, Hēmalamba Makara, 'su. 1, Avittam, Saturday | 21st January, 1178 |
| 24 132/19127 | Āttūr | 12, Kumbha, 'su. 13, Pūṣam, Thursday | 2nd February, 1178 |
| 25 451/1912 | Kōṭṭūr | 13, Karkāṭaka, 'su. 7, Svāti, Saturday | 22nd July, 1178 |
| 26 80/1913 | Tiruchcheṇ-gāṭṭāṅkudī | 13, Simha, ba. 9, Wednesday | 9th August, 1178 |
| 27 389/1921 | Tiruvadi ¹ | 13, Virchika 20, Śravaṇa, Thursday | 16th November, 1178 |
| 28 133/1927 | Āttūr | 13, Makara, ba. 10, Viśākhā, Thursday | 4th January, 1179 |
| 29 537/1921 | Nidūr | 14, Virchika, 'su. 13, Aśvati, Tuesday | 13th November, 1179 |
| 30 188/1925 | Kidāraṅkondān ² | 14, Dhanu, 'su. 15, Ārdra, Thursday | 15th December, 1179 |
| 31 11/1925 | Pallavarāyaṇ-pēttai | 15, Mithuna, ba. 10, Aśvati, Monday | 8th June, 1181 |

The above table reveals that Rājādhirāja II ascended the throne sometime in the middle of 1166 A.D. On the basis of record No. 11/1925, Aśvati in Mithuna of 1181 A.D. falls in the 15th year. Accordingly Aśvati in Mithuna of 1166 A.D. falls in the 0th year. The star was current on 23rd June, 1166 A.D.

On the basis of 451/1912, Svāti in Karkāṭaka of 1178 A.D. falls in the 13th year. Accordingly Svāti in Karkāṭaka of 1166 A.D. falls in the first year. The star was current on 6th July, 1166 A.D.

23rd June, 1166 = 0th year

6th July, 1166 = 1st year

1 The *Report* states that the regnal year in 389/1921 is [16]. I verified the inscription on the temple wall. The regnal year reads [1]3.

2 The reading is *śukla pañchadaśī* and not *śukla pañchamī* as reported in 188/1925. I studied the inscription at the site.

Therefore, *Rājakeśarivarman* Rājādhirāja-Chōla II came to the throne between 24th June and 6th July, 1166 A.D. His Pallavarāyanpēttai record is in his 15th year and it belongs to 1181 A.D. His 16th year record appears in Āndhra. It is evident that Rājādhirāja II ruled for 14 full years. In his 15th year i.e., after June, 1181 A.D. he retired to Āndhra where he lived upto 1215 A.D.

Parakeśarivarman Kulōttuṅga III came to the throne¹ in July, 1178 A.D. His records² are available upto year 40. His rule extended upto 1218 A.D. The accession and the termination dates of Rājarāja II, Rājādhirāja II and Kulōttuṅga III are tabulated below:

Table VI

| King | Accession (A.D.) | Last year (A.D.) |
|----------------|------------------|---|
| Rājarāja II | June-July, 1146 | July, 1173 |
| Rājādhirāja II | June-July, 1166 | Upto June 1181 in Tamil Nadu; From 1182 to 1215 in Andhra |
| Kulōttuṅga III | July, 1178 | 1218 |

The above table reveals that Rājādhirāja II crowned Kulōttuṅga in 1178 and that both ruled jointly for three years.

The Pallavarāyanpēttai record (433/1924) of Rājādhirāja II is in his eighth year corresponding to 1174 A.D. The record states the circumstances under which Rājādhirāja became the Chōla king. In some places the record is damaged. Earlier scholars filled up the gaps and interpreted the record.³ But their interpretations do not agree with the dates of the three Chōla kings. When I studied the inscription at the site I found that the earlier scholars filled up the gaps with certain letters for which there was not enough room in the gaps. So I came to the conclusion that the earlier inter-

1 Kielhorn, Above, Vol. IX, p. 220.

2 Kulōttuṅga's records 489/1912, 273/1914 and 162/1926 are in year forty.

3 Above, Vol. XXI, pp. 184-93; and, *Ibid.*, Vol. XXXI, pp. 223-28.

pretations needed revision. I applied the dates of the three kings and interpreted the record without prejudice to these dates. I surmised as follows:¹

- 1 The Chōla family faced certain dangers in the sixth and seventh decades of the 12th century. The Chief Minister Perumāṇ-Nambi-Pallavarāyar held the two sons of Rājarāja II under his protection in the well-guarded Rājarājapuram palace. At that time the sons were one and two years old.² This happened a few years before 1166 A.D.
- 2 Pallavarāyar removed the dangers. This may have taken a few years. When everything settled down and peace returned, Rājarāja II was pleased to be present in the Rājarājapuram palace. Probably he was sick at that time and hence wanted to appoint his heir-apparent. Since his sons were mere young boys not fit for anointment, Rājarāja II consulted his Chief Minister Perumāṇ-Nambi-Pallavarāyar who advised the king to follow the precedence set up in the earlier days.

The accession of Kulōttuṅga I (1070-1122 A.D.) was the precedence available to Rājarāja II. Vīra-Rājendra ruled from 1063 to 1070 A.D. In 1070 he fell sick.

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- 1 The approach in the interpretation of 433/1924 is important. Venkatasubba Ayyar considered (Above, Vol. XXI, pp. 184-93) that 1163 A.D. was the accession date of Rājādhirāja II. He filled up three gaps and surmised that Rājarāja II was no more in 1163 A.D. But records of Rājarāja II prove that he lived upto 1173 A.D. So Ayyar said that those records were probably issued in the name of the dead king Rājarāja II. But the editor had then observed that the resulting confusion could possibly be cleared by future discoveries (see, *Ibid.*, p. 186, foot note 1, and p. 185, foot note 4). Ayyar settled the last year of Rājarāja II as 1163 A.D. by filling up the gaps of the damaged record. On the other hand, Nilakanta Sastri conceded the historical relevance of the post - 1163 A.D. inscriptions of Rājarāja II, running upto 1173 A.D. But he assumed two initial dates for Rājādhirāja II, namely his installation in 1163 A.D. and his anointment in 1166 A.D. He too filled up the gaps in 433/1924 and arrived at a different conjecture that, just as Kulōttuṅga II was not the actual son of Vikrama-Chōla but was only an adopted one, so also Rājādhirāja, an otherwise unknown prince, was an adopted son of Rājarāja II. Lithic records, copper plate inscriptions and Tamil poems lead to the conclusion that Kulōttuṅga II was the actual son of Vikrama-Chōla and hence, Sastri's surmise, based on his own filling up of the gaps in 433/1924, is not free from doubt. There is no harm in attempting to restore lost letters and phrases of damaged inscriptions provided such attempts do not set at naught the purport and intent of cognate inscriptions. If care is not adopted while making such attempts, there is the danger of wrong restorations receiving acceptance and cognate records containing information to the contrary, though genuine, being dubbed as false. In this connection attention may be drawn to an inscription (Pd. 221) from Kudumiyāmalai. It is a later copy of an early record. But the 13th century scribe, while re-engraving the text of the earlier record, explicitly states that twenty letters are missing in the first gap and seven in the second. It redounds to his credit that he has not tried to restore those lost letters, a constraint worthy of emulation by epigraphists and historians.
 - 2 However, there is a lacuna in line 7 of 433/1924. It implies that when *Periyadēvar* Rājarāja (II) died, his sons were one and two years old and they were brought up in the Rājarājapuram palace. The record

His son Adhirājēndra (1068-1071 A.D.) was also sick. Besides, Adhirājēndra had no sons. So Vira-Rājēndra crowned his sister's son Kulōttuṅga. This happened in June, 1070 A.D. Vira-Rājēndra died in August of the same year. Adhirājēndra died in the middle of 1071 A.D. Kulōttuṅga who was already made crown-prince became the Chōla monarch.¹

Rājarāja followed the above precedence.² He crowned Edirilipperumā, son of Neriyūḍaipperumā and [great]-grandson of Vikrama-Chōla. Neriyūḍaipperumā was the sister of Rājarāja II. Edirili was called Rājādhirāja II and he was crowned in June/July, 1166 A.D., probably at the age of fourteen.

proceeds further and states that since the sons were not of proper age Rājādhirāja was crowned. Records prove that Rājarāja II ruled upto 1173 A.D. Rājādhirāja II was crowned in 1166 A.D. It is evident that Rājarāja did not die before 1166 A.D., the accession date of Rājādhirāja. Line 7 of the Pallavarāyanpēttai record is incorrect. The date of the record falls in 1174 A.D. As far as the record is concerned Rājarāja was no more. The intention of the composer was to refer to Rājarāja as "late Periyadēva Rājarāja". Instead, he engraved the passage in a wrong manner. The phrase in line 7 of the record reads *Periyadēvar tuṅṅi arulippil-laigalukku onrum irandum tirunakshattirum-āgayāl*. It means that "Periyadēvar (Rājarāja II) died and his sons were one and two years old". It is the mistake of the engraver. It should read *"tuṅṅi aruliyā Periyadēvar pillaiḡalukku onrum irandum tirunakshattirum-āgayāl"* to mean "the sons of late Rājarāja were one and two years old". In 1174 A.D. Rājarāja was no more and the record should address him as "late king". The error in the Pallavarāyanpēttai record, dated in 1174 A.D., is to be set right with the help of the earlier records of Rājarāja II.

We come across such kind of mistakes in certain earlier Chōla records also. Parāntaka I ruled from 907 to 954 A.D. His son Rājāditya was killed in the Takkōlam battle in 949. But Rājarāja I's Leyden grant, issued in the reign of his son Rājēndra (Acc. 1012 A.D.) states that Rājāditya ruled after the demise of Parāntaka. This statement is contrary to earlier stone records. This is pointed out by K.V.Subrahmanya Ayyar, above, Vol. XIX, pp. 82-83 and *Ibid.*, Vol. XXII, p. 219.

Sundara-Chōla ruled from 957 to 974 A.D. His first son was Āditya, and the second son, Rājarāja I. Āditya was murdered in 965 in the lifetime of his father Sundara-Chōla. But Rājēndra's Tiruvālaṅḡadu plates, dated in 1017 A.D., state that Āditya ruled after the death of Sundara. This is contrary to earlier stone records. See, *S.I.I.*, Vol. III, pp. 419 and 420 and also *The Early Chōlas-Mathematics Reconstructs the Chronology*, p. 124.

When a later record is incorrect the error is to be identified and rectified with the aid of earlier records. The above three are such examples. An error found in a single record of later date cannot make scores of earlier records null and void.

- 1 Vide the chapter "Accession of Kulōttuṅga I" in *The Chōlas-Mathematics Reconstructs the Chronology*.
- 2 See, above, Vol. XXXI, p. 224, foot note 2. Sastri was at first inclined to consider the accession of Kulōttuṅga I as the precedence but he later rejected it since in his view Kulōttuṅga was an usurper. We must remember here that Kulōttuṅga I died in 1122 A.D. Rājarāja II came to the throne in 1146 A.D. It was Rājarāja, who and not his great-grandfather Kulōttuṅga could be an usurper. The Tamil poem *Kalīṅgattupparanī* and the revised dates of Chōla kings confirm that Kulōttuṅga I came to the throne by right. See, above, p. 96 and foot note 1.

- 3 The Pallavarāyanpēṭṭai record proceeds further to describe in detail the success of Perumāṇ-Nambi-Pallavarāyar in the Pāṇḍyan civil war about which we are not concerned here. Finally the record states that Perumāṇ-Nambi-Pallavarāyar died of some disease. His death occurred after the demise of Rājarāja II.

It has been suggested above that Rājarāja died in the third quarter of 1173 A.D. and Perumāṇ-Nambi-Pallavarāyar died early in the next year. In the Pallavarāyanpēṭṭai record of June, 1174 A.D. Rājādhirāja II speaks about the sons of late Rājarāja II and also the circumstances under which he became the king. Unless the sons were alive in 1174 A.D. there was no need for Rājādhirāja to mention them. Thus we can infer that in 1174 A.D. when Rājarāja was no more his sons would have been young princes.

Rājādhirāja states that a few years prior to 1166 A.D., Rājarāja's sons were one and two years old. Contrary to the general practice he mentions the second son in the first place and the first son in the second place and he does so in 1174 A.D. when the sons of late Rājarāja were young princes. After four years i.e. in 1178 A.D. he crowns Kulōttuṅga III. The sequence indicates that one of the two sons of Rājarāja II was Kulōttuṅga¹ and more probably the second son. This is also confirmed by the Tamil poem *Śaṅkara-Śōḷaṇ Ula*.²

Between 1173 and 1178 A.D. Rājādhirāja II ruled as monarch and late Rājarāja's sons were still young in age. Rājādhirāja ruled in the capacity of a guardian for the two sons. He crowned Kulōttuṅga in 1178 A.D. Both of them ruled jointly for three years. In 1181 Rājādhirāja retired to Āṇḍhra and Kulōttuṅga continued his reign. It is against this background that we have to study the poem *Śaṅkara-Śōḷaṇ Ulā* (whose author is not known).

Verses 15 to 26 of the *Ulā* describe the Chōḷa kings who had gone to the heavens. They were namely. Vijayālaya, Parāntaka I, Rājarāja I, Rājendra I, Rājādhirāja I, Rājendra II, Rājamahendra, Vīra-Rājendra, Kulōttuṅga I, Vikrama-Chōḷa, Kulōttuṅga II and Rājarāja II.

Verse 30 equates Śaṅkamaṇ to Rājarāja II who was no more. The invocatory stanza (*kāppu*) states³ that Śaṅkamaṇ made Śaṅkararāja the Chōḷa king. Verse 38 states that Śaṅkararāja is the hero of the poem. Śaṅkararāja was ruling from Gaṅgaikondachōḷa-puram. These references indicate that the hero of the poem is Rājādhirāja II. This is

1 Venkataubba Ayyar surmises that Kulōttuṅga III was probably the son of Rājarāja II. See, above, Vol. XXI, p. 186. The *prastāvi* in the Tiruvāṅgaḍu record (81/1926 of Kulōttuṅga III, year 15) describes him as "... tanich-chiṅgam perra tani-magan kōṇ" i.e., Kulōttuṅga the unique son of the reputed Śiṅgam (lion). Kulōttuṅga's father Rājarāja II had the surname *Chōḷendra-śiṅga* (336/1917 and 17/1908).

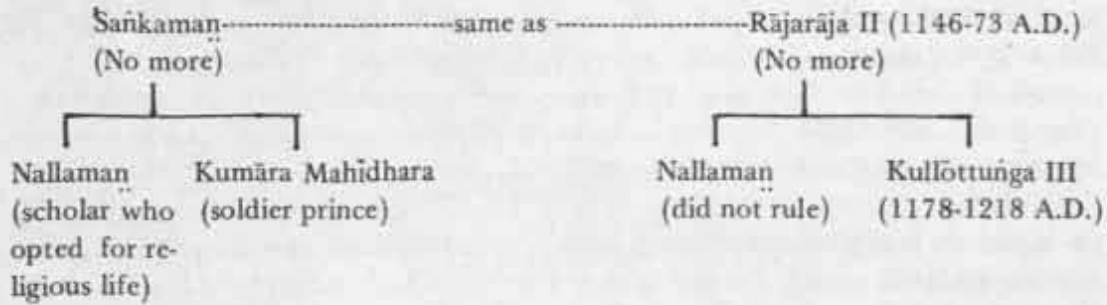
2 *Śaṅkara-Rājendra-Śōḷaṇ Ulā* (misnomer for *Śaṅkara-Śōḷaṇ Ulā*) published by U.V. Swaminatha Iyer Library, Tiruvannamiyur, Madras.

3 *Śaṅkamaṇ tando Tamil Śaṅkara-śōḷaṇ*.

also confirmed by verse 389 which states that the ancestors of the hero Śaṅkararāja were praised in the (Tamil) poems *Kalīngattupparaṇi* and *Mūvar Ulā*¹ (three *Ulās*) a clear indication that Rājādhirāja is the hero of the poem *Śaṅkara-Śōḷaṇ Ulā* according to which,

- 1 In accordance with the earlier prayers of [late] 'Śaṅkamaṇ (verse 30),
- 2 In order to dispel the darkness of the world (verse 31),
- 3 For Nallamaṇ, the *Nāyaka*, who knows all languages and who is a better expert [in the *śāstras*] than even Ādi-Manu (verse 32),
- 4 And for Kumāra Mahīdhara [the soldier prince] who washed the stain of his sword in the western sea and who made the other kings bow before the fierce tiger [Chōla] (verses 36 and 37),
- 5 Śaṅkararāja, the king of Gaṅgaikōṇḍachōḷapuram, is the truthful guardian (verse 38).

The above sequence can be interpreted as follows:

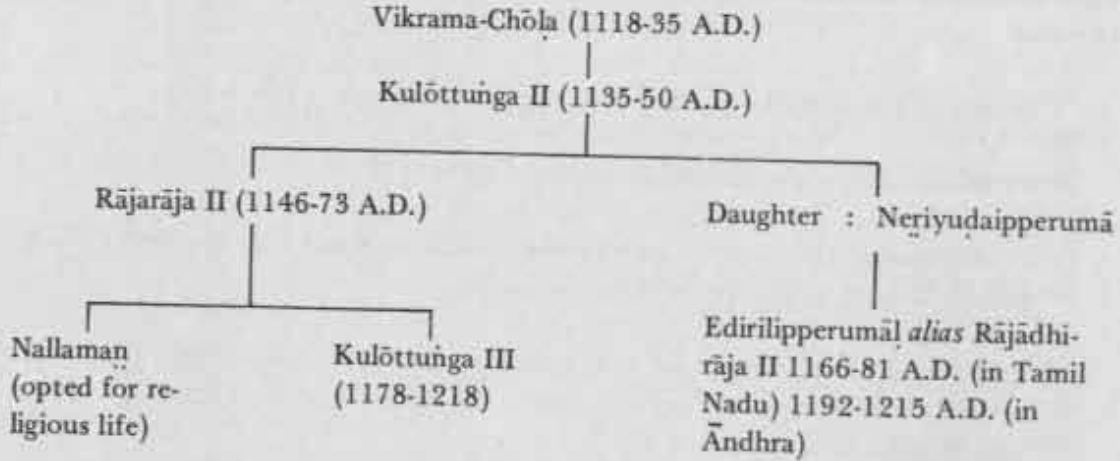


'Śaṅkararāja, the truthful guardian of Nallamaṇ and Kumāra Mahīdhara,² is to be identified as Rājādhirāja II who, between 1173 and 1178 A.D., was the truthful guardian to the two sons of late Rājārāja II.

1 Kulōttuṅga I (1070-1122 A.D.) is the hero of the poem *Kalīngattupparaṇi*. The three *Ulās* are *Vikrama-Śōḷaṇ Ulā*, *Kulōttuṅga-Śōḷaṇ Ulā* and *Rājārāja-Śōḷaṇ Ulā*. They were composed by the poet Ottakkūttar. The heroes of the three *Ulās* are Vikrama-Chōla (1118-1135 A.D.), Kulōttuṅga II (1133-50 A.D.) and Rājārāja II (1146-73 A.D.) respectively.

2 Kulōttuṅga III is the hero of the Tamil poem *Kulōttuṅga-Śōḷaṇ Kōval*. The poem states that Kulōttuṅga was the son of king Śaṅkama (*Śaṅkamarāja-Kulōttuṅga*). The poem also states that Śaṅkara was the predecessor of Kulōttuṅga (*Śaṅkaraṇa munṇōṇ Kulōttuṅgaṇ.....*)

In the light of the Pallavarāyaṇpēttai inscription and the poem *Ṣaṅkara-śōlaṇ Ulā* the genealogy of the three kings may be constructed as follows:



Rājādhirāja II was a noble king. In the south, when the Pāṇdyas were fighting for power, (Pāṇḍyan civil war, 1166 to 1177 A.D.) Rājādhirāja II gave back the Chōla kingdom to the legitimate heir, Kulōttuṅga (III). In turn, the Chōla country showed its gratitude to Rājādhirāja. *Ṣaṅkara-śōlaṇ Ulā* is a fitting compliment to him. Rājādhirāja retired to Āndhra in 1182 A.D. and lived there upto 1215 A.D. During this period Kulōttuṅga III and Rājādhirāja were on cordial terms. In his third year, Kulōttuṅga dug a tank at Valivalam near Tiruvārūr and called it *Rājādhirājaṇ-peruṅguḷam*.¹ At Ayyampēttai near Tiruvārūr, Kulōttuṅga built a new temple and called it *Rājādhirāja-Īśvaram*² in honour of Rājādhirāja. In certain records³ Kulōttuṅga borrows the *praśasti* 'pūmaruviya tiśai mugattōṇ' which belongs to Rājādhirāja. An inscription from Tiruveṇṇainālūr a sacred Śaiva centre, dated in the 17th year of Kulōttuṅga, states, "After writing fully the sacred *praśasti* 'pūmaruviya-tiśai mugattōṇ paḍaitta perum puvi viḷaṅga' [of Rājādhirāja] - in the 17th year of *Tribhuvanachakravartin* Śrī Kulōttuṅga-chōḷadēva, who took Madurai and the crowned head of the Pāṇḍya, . . ."⁴ etc.

In 1195 A.D., Kulōttuṅga states, "Prefix the sacred *praśasti* of Rājādhirāja before reading my inscription" – a clear pointer to the cordial nature of the relationship between Kulōttuṅga III and Rājādhirāja II.⁵

1 110/1911.

2 117/128.

3 176/1908; 423/1912. In these records Kulōttuṅga III borrows Rājādhirāja's *praśasti* which appears in the *Kūṭir* record (*S.I.I.*, Vol. VII, No. 890, Rājādhirāja, year 5; 262/1902). Probably in 1192 A.D. Rājādhirāja helped Kulōttuṅga in the latter's Telugu-Chōla campaign.

4 313/1902 (*S.I.I.*, Vol. VII, No. 942), Kulōttuṅga, year 17.

5 *Contra*, *South Indian Temple Inscriptions*, Vol. III, part II, pp. 101, 105 and 127; Above, Vol. XXXI, p. 272; *Pirkāla Śōlar Varalāru* by Sadasiva Pandarathar (published by Annamalai University, 1974), p. 388.

On the basis of the above chronology and genealogy of the Chōla kings let us see the sub-joined Dārāśuram records A and B. Record A was engraved on the 453rd day of the 4th year of the reign of Rājādhirāja II, falling in September, 1170 A.D. The record confirms the grant made to Āḷudaiyāṇ and the temple accountant. The royal deed was written by the royal secretary Rājēndraśiṅga-Mūvēndavēḷāṇ. The signatories are Nuḷambādirājar, Vayirāgarājar, Chittrarājar, Chēdirājar and Pallavarājar. The record states that the grant was made at the request of Pallavarāyar who evidently was a more powerful and influential officer than the royal secretary and the signatories. If his is so, then we may not be far wrong if we surmise that Pallavarāyar was probably none other than Perumāṇ-Nambi-Pallavarāyar, the then Chief Minister.

Record B belongs to *Tribhuvanachakravarti Kōṇēriṇmaikondāṇ* and it is dated in his 5th year, 463rd day. The royal deed was written by the royal secretary Rājēndraśiṅga-Mūvēndavēḷāṇ. The signatories are Maḷavarājar, Siṅgaḷarājar, Vayirāgarājar, Pallavarājar, Chēdirājar, Chittrarājar and Rājēndraśōḷa-Kalappalarājar. The record confirms the grants, made in the beginning of the fifth year, to the accountant of the Pallippadaḷai-Rājagambhīra-Īśvaramudaiyār temple (and of five other *pallippadaḷai* temples). Evidently it means that in the beginning of the fifth year of *Kōṇēriṇmaikondāṇ* of this record, Rājārāja was no more. *Kōṇēriṇmaikondāṇ* could not be Rājādhirāja II in whose fifth year (1170-71 A.D.) Rājārāja II was alive. *Kōṇēriṇmaikondāṇ* is, therefore, a later king.

The royal secretary Rājēndraśiṅga-Mūvēndavēḷāṇ who figures in record A of Rājādhirāja also figures in record B of *Kōṇēriṇmaikondāṇ*. This royal secretary served under Rājārāja II, Rājādhirāja II and Kulōttuṅga III and figures in the records of all of them.¹

The signatory Nuḷambādirājar who figures in record A of Rājādhirāja also figures in certain records² of Kulōttuṅga III. The signatory Vayirāgarājar of record A figures in record B. He also figures in certain records³ of Kulōttuṅga III.

Chittrarājar, Chēdirājar and Pallavarājar figure in record A as well as in record B. The last one, Pallavarājar, was probably the same Pallavarājar who, after the demise of Perumāṇ-Nambi-Pallavarāyar, took active role in defeating the Ceylonese and the Pāṇdyas in the protracted struggle of the Pāṇḍyan civil war.⁴ His full name was Vēdavanam Udaiyāṇ Ammaiappār *alias* Annan Pallavarājar and he was a native of Paḷaiyanūr situated in Mēṇmalai-Ppaḷaiyanūr-nādu, a sub-division of Jayaṅkondaśōḷa-maṇḍalam. He was an army officer and he served under the three kings⁵ Rājārāja II, Rājādhirāja II and Kulōttuṅga III.

1 163/1906 of Rājārāja II, year 13; S.I.I., Vol. V, No. 663 of Rājādhirāja II, year 11; Pd. 145 (290/1969) of Kulōttuṅga III, year 8; and 70/1913 of Kulōttuṅga III, year 10.

2 20/1908, year 8; Pd. 145, year 8; S.I.I., Vol. III, 86, year 9, 113 and 120/1928, year 12.

3 433/1924; Above, Vol. XXII, No. 14.

4 433/1924; Above, Vol. XXII, pp. 86-92.

5 32/1906 of Rājārāja, year 18; 433/1924 of Rājādhirāja II, year 8; 465/1905 of Rājādhirāja, year 12; S.I.I., Vol. V, No. 989 of Kulōttuṅga III, year 14.

Malvarājar of record B figures in the records¹ of Rājādhirāja II and Kulōttuṅga III. Similarly Singalarājar of record B also figures in an inscription² of Rājādhirāja II.

From the above facts we can safely conclude that *Tribhuvanachakravarti Kōṇēriṇmaikondāṇ* was the successor of Rājādhirāja II and that he was none other than *Tribhuvanachakravarti* Kulōttuṅga-Chōla III in whose fifth year (1182-83 A.D.) Rājarāja II was no more. One more witness by name Rājēndrachōla-Kaḷappālarājar figures in record B. This officer borrows the surname Rājēndrachōla, the name of his overlord, for Kulōttuṅga III had another name, i.e., Rājēndra-Chōla, as is evident from his inscriptions.³

In the result I identify *Tribhuvanachakravartin Kōṇēriṇmaikondāṇ* of record B as Kulōttuṅga III. The record is dated in the 463rd day of the fifth year falling in, say, October, 1183 A.D.

In his Śeraṇūr record Kulōttuṅga III states that he gilded the temple dedicated to his father and also the temple of Rājarājisvaramudaiyār. The former was probably the *pallippadai* temple of Rājagambhīra-Īsvaramudaiyār.⁴ The latter is the Dārāsūram temple. A record⁵ from this temple, written in the eighth year of Kulōttuṅga III, refers to the grants awarded to the artisans and craftsmen engaged in the gilding operations of the temple.

RECORD A

Inscription of Rājādhirāja II, Year 4

TEXT⁶

- 1 Svasti Śrī [I*] Kaḍal-śūḷṇḍa-pārmādarum pūmādaruṇ-Kalaimādarum-aḍal-śūḷṇḍa
.....dal por-pugal-parappa ādi
- 2 mudipunaind=aruḷi aru-samaiyamuy=aim-būdamum neṇiyil [ninru pāri] ppat-Tenna-
varuṇ-Chēralaruṇchinavargal ti.....ṇḍich-chevipa-vūliy=ūliyoru che-
[ṅgōl]
- 3 lippach-chempon-virasimhasanattu. Ulaguḍai-Mu[kkōkki] lānaḍigal=ōḍum virṇirund-
a[ruliya Śrī-kōv-Irā] jakēśaripanma[r-āṇa Tiribhuvanachchakkaravat] tugal śrī-
Rājādhirājadēvarkku [yāṇḍu]

1 465/1905, Rājādhirāja, year 12; *S.I.I.*, Vol. III, No. 87, Kulōttuṅga III, year 11; *S.I.I.*, Vol. XXIII, No. 306, year 13.

2 433/1924, Rājādhirāja, year 8.

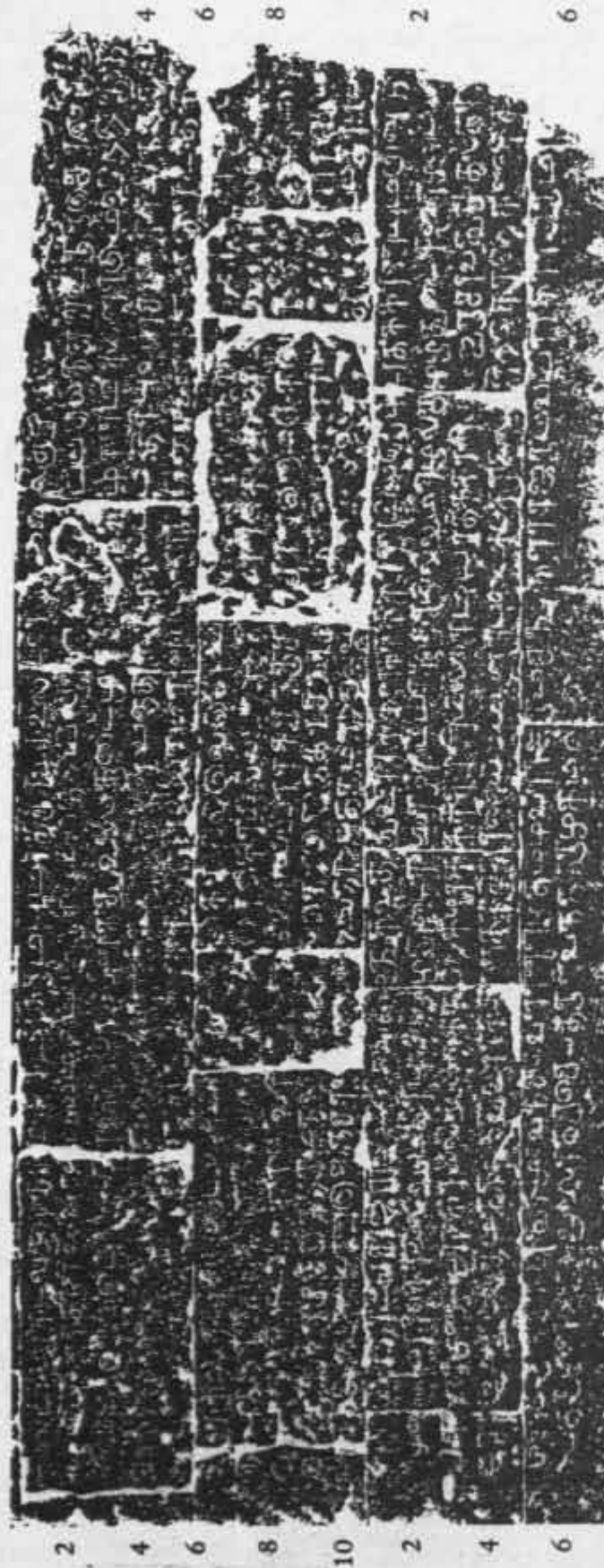
3 168/1908, year 2 and 393/1925, year 5; The officer figures in 123/1928, Kulōttuṅga, year 15.

4 Pd. 163 and Pd. 166 "tēranikōl tiru-tātaikkum Irājarājisvarattārkum kārēna śūṇḍa kōyil anitigal ponmēyandarul".

5 20/1908, Kulōttuṅga III, year 8, day 64.

6 From the original and from ink impressions.

TWO INSCRIPTIONS FROM DĀRĀŚURAM AND THE DATES OF THREE CHŌLA KINGS – PLATE I



K. V. Ramesh

Ep. Ind. Vol. XII.

TWO INSCRIPTIONS FROM DĀRĀSŪRAM AND THE DATES OF THREE CHŌLA KINGS – PLATE I



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- 4 [nā][tiruvāymolin] d=aruli vanda tirumugappaḍi Tiribhuvanachchakravartti
..... Āludaiyānukkup-
- 5 kūtṭādum perumān mun kuḍa-māñjanai elundarulivikka ma udaiyār
mayi . kōyirkaṇak [kuk-kāniyil]
- 6 [nāṇa kūru] ... yudaiyārkōyililē še..... na Śivanukkuk-kāniyāy varugira
n taṅgalukkum taṅgal vargattārkun-kāniyāga
- 7 tāyuntā ikkōyilil ka .. 1 vetṭi [kudukka] vēṇum=enru Pallavarāyar
yil ippaḍi śeyyak-kaḍavad=āgach-chōllak-ka-
- 8 kūru śeyvārgalukkuch-chonnōm ke kkaiyudaiyān kāniyāna 'sempādi-
yum nālāvadu taṅgalukkun-taṅgal vargattārkun-kāniyāga kaṇa
- 9 eludinān tirumandira ōlai Irājēndiraśiṅga-Mūvēndavēlaṇ [!*] [Nuḷambādi]-
rājarum Vayirāgarājarum Chittrarājarum Chēdirājarum Pallavarājarum yāṇḍu
nālāvadu nānūrraimbattu mū

RECORD B

Inscription of Kōṇēriṇmaikoṇḍān, year 5.

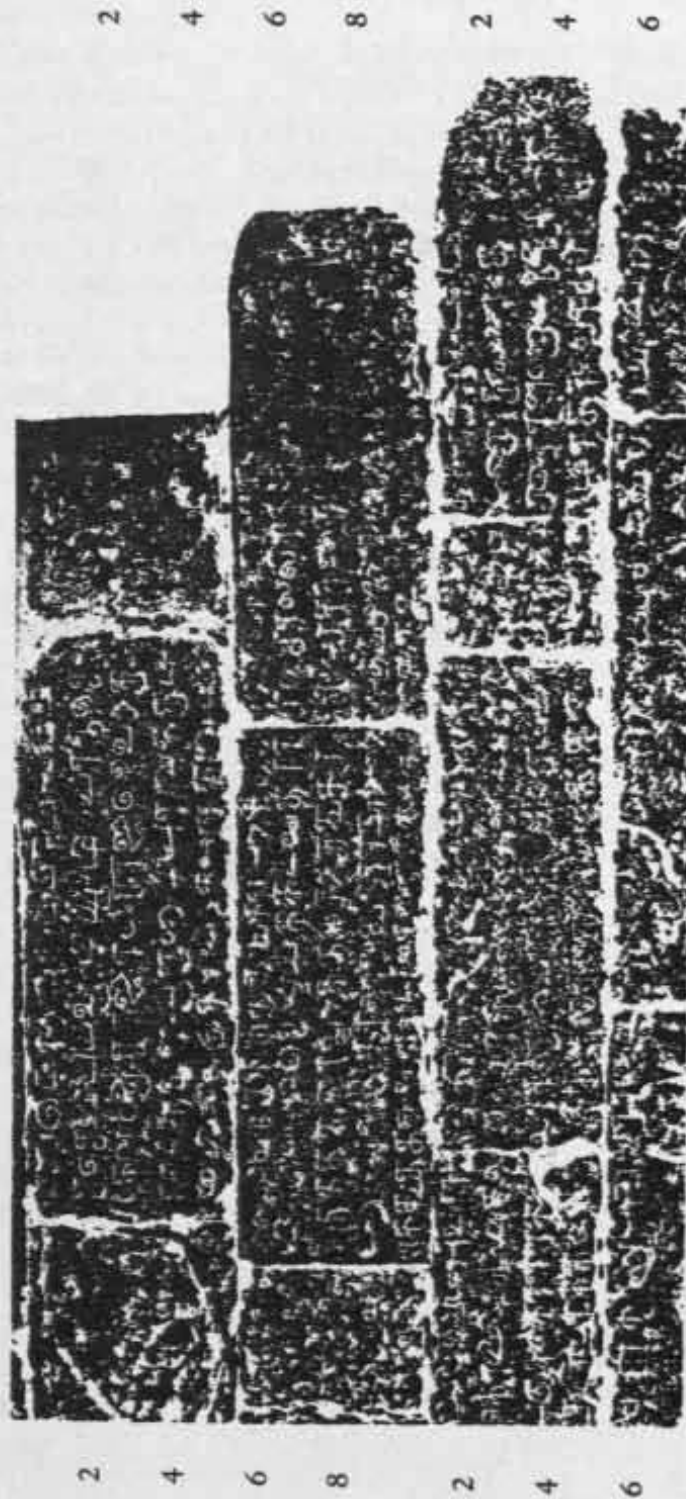
TEXT¹

- 1 Śrī tirumugam yāṇḍu aiñjāvadu nānūrru nārpattu mūṇṇiṇāl vu ppa tirumuga-
ppaḍi tiribhuvanachchakkaravartti Kōṇēriṇmaikoṇḍān Ārrūr=udaiya ... nak-
kūttan
- 2 nāṭṭu Rājarāja-chaturvēdimaṅgalattu ūrkkaṇakkak-kāniyil 'sempādi kāniyum
innāṭṭup-pallippadaī Rājagembira-iśvaram-udaiyār kōyililum Bhuvanamuḷudu-
daiyāl.....
- 3 ramm-udaiyār kōyililum Tiribhuvanamuḷuduḍai-iśvaram-udaiyār kōyililum Eḷulaga-
muḷuduḍai-iśvaram-udaiyār kōyililum Ulaguḍai-Mukkōkkilāṇaḍi-iśvaram-udaiyār
kōyililum kalvetti..... cheragu tu
- 4 iśvaram-udaiyār-kōyililum kōyir-kaṇakkak-kāniyil 'sempādik-kāniyum aiñjāvadu
mudal tā yāgap-perakkaḍavan=āgach-chonnapaḍi kaṇakkilum-ittuk-kollakka-
ḍavar-āga... 'seyvippad-āgach-chonnōm

1 From the original and from ink impressions.

- 5 jarāja-chaturvēdimāṅgalattu ūrk-kaṇakkak-kāṇiyilum paḷḷipadaik-kōyilgalir-kōyir-
kaṇakkak-kāṇiyiluṇ-chempādik-kāṇi aiṇjavadu mudal kaṇakku-kāṇiyāgak-.....
tiru-mandirav=ōlai
- 6 Irājēndiraśiṅga-Mūvēndavēḷāṇ eḷuda Maḷavarājarum Śiṅgaḷarājarum Vayirāgarājarum
Pallavarājarum Chēdirājarum Chittrarājarum Irājēndraśōlak-Kaḷappālarāja
ttu nāṇūrra-
- 7 rupattu-mūṇṇināl prasādaṇ-cheydaruli vanda tirumugam

TWO INSCRIPTIONS FROM DĀRĀŚURAM AND THE DATES OF THREE CHŌLA KINGS – PLATE II



K. V. Ramesh

SCALE : ONE-TWELFTH

Ep. Ind. Vol. XLI

No. 17—TWO GAṄGA RECORDS FROM DHARMAPURI DISTRICT

(2 Plates)

M.D. Sampath, Mysore

The two subjoined hero-stone inscriptions edited here with the kind permission of the Director (Epigraphy), Archaeological Survey of India, Mysore were copied from Kaṭṭaraśampatti¹ and Muttanūr,² Harur Taluk, Dharmapuri District, Tamilnadu. These stones are called Vēḍiyappaṇ. The inscriptions are in Tamil language engraved in Vaṭṭeḷuttu characters of the eighth century. Of these two records, the one from Kaṭṭaraśampatti hereinafter called *A*, is dated in the forty seventh year of the reign of the Gaṅga king Śivamāra, while the other from Muttanūr, hereinafter called *B*, is dated in the eighteenth year of the reign of Śiripuriśaparumar (i.e., Śripurusha) of the same family.

A. Kaṭṭaraśampatti Inscription of Śivamāra, year 47.

In this hero-stone the hero is depicted with a dagger in his uplifted right hand and bow in his left arm. He is depicted in fighting stance with his feet firmly set on the ground and the entire body is seen in its right profile. To the left of the hero is carved a *chauri* at the waist level. Below the bow, to his left, is the depiction of a shrine-like object, the significance of which is not known. There are 4 lines of writing above the sculptured relief and 3 more shorter lines on the proper right of the sculpture.

As has been stated above the inscription is in Tamil language and Vaṭṭeḷuttu characters. Some of the salient features of the script may be examined here. The letters like *y*, *n*, and *t* have not been well-developed. The letter *y* has a loop in the formative stage as seen in line 5, while in lines 3 and 4, the median lines show a curve to the left. The letter *t* has a prominent curved upper part (lines 1 and 2) and is little angular with its lower curve extended horizontally to its left.³ The letter *m* has a cross-bar on the right side which has taken the shape of a loop in the course of running hand unlike the earlier form showing a stroke in the right vertical arm as seen in some of the Vaṭṭeḷuttu inscriptions of this region. The letter *ru* (line 1) has a curve at the lower end of the vertical stroke.

The words like *araiśaru* (line 2), *-ḷaiśaru* (line 3) with the euphonic ending is a characteristic feature of early Tamil inscriptions. But since the record is of the 8th century by which time the Gaṅgas had gained hold over the region, this might as well be an influence of the Kannaḍa language. It can be compared with similar expressions occurring in the records of Mahēndravarmān and his successors.⁴

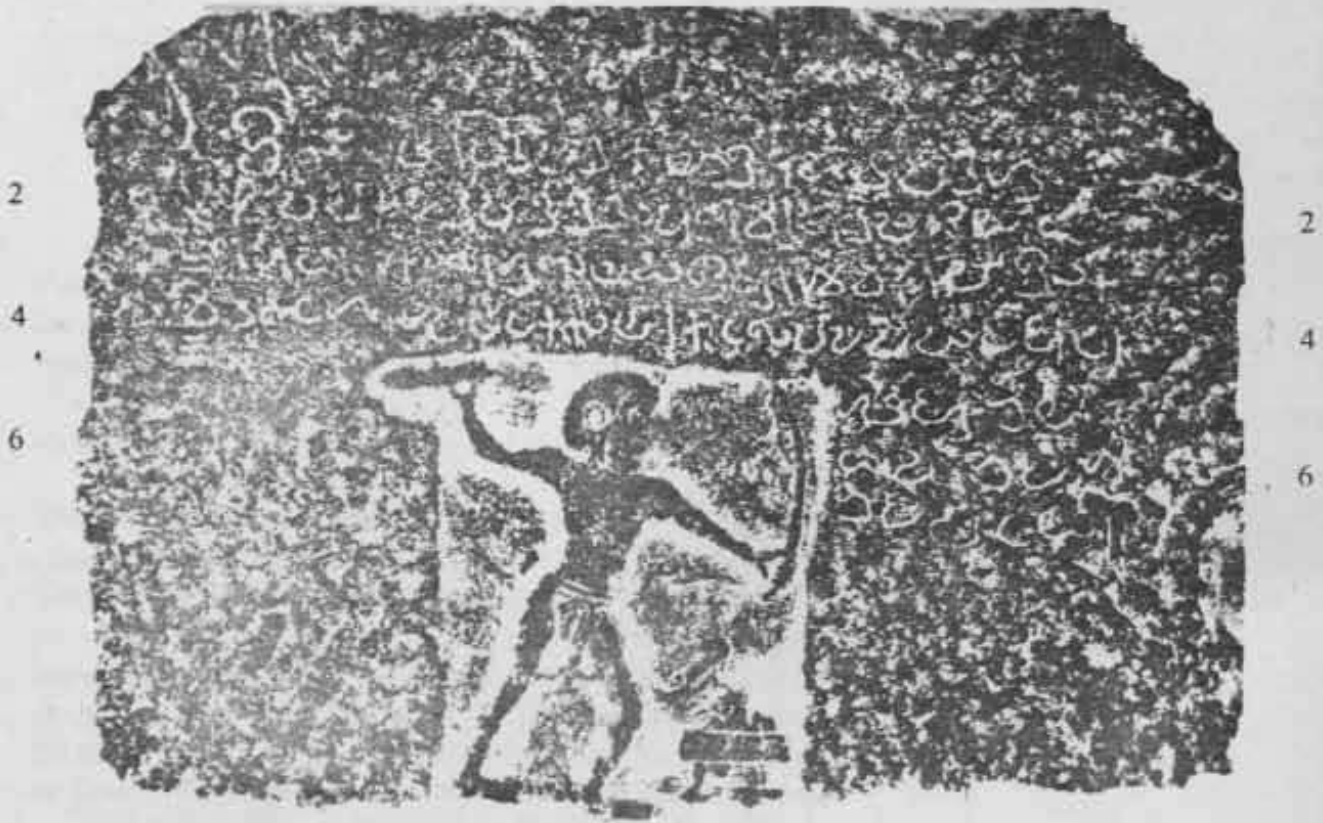
1 *A.R.Ep.*, 1975-76, No. B 220.

2 *Ibid.*, No. B 224.

3 A similar form can be seen in the inscriptions of 7th-8th century from Vēḍartaṭṭakkal, Krishnagiri Taluk, Dharmapuri District. (See *A.R.Ep.*, 1979-80).

4 R. Nagaswamy : *Cheṅgam Nadukarkkal*, pp. 6 ff.

TWO GAṆGA RECORDS FROM DHARMAPURI DISTRICT
—PLATE I



K. V. Ramesh

Scale : One-Half

Ep. Ind., Vol. XLII

The inscription records the death of one Aṇayandi in a fight which ensued when he fell on Vāṇigach-chaḍaiyaṇār Vettakkiyar,¹ a servant or soldier of Tejiyan-Iḷaiāru, the son of Kanda-Vāṇadi-araiṣaru who was administering Puṇamalai-nāḍu in the 47th regnal year of the illustrious Śivamaraparumar. The fight took place at Kuḍal where Vettakkiyar had set up camp.

There were two rulers bearing the name of Śivamāra in the Western Ganga family of Talakāḍu. Of these, the second ruler of that name ascended the throne sometime after 788 A.D. in which year his father Śrīpurusha's reign ended. Since Rāchamalla I was on the Western Gaṅga throne by 816 A.D., Śivamāra II could not have ruled for more than twenty-eight years at the most (between 788 and 816 A.D.). As it is, the latest date known for his reign is his 23rd regnal year.² Śivamaravarman of our inscription cannot, therefore, be identified with Śivamāra II.

On the other hand, we already know from circumstantial evidence, that Śivamāra I ruled for as long as 46 to 47 years. His Hallagere plates³ are dated in Śaka 635 (713-14 A.D.) and were issued in his 34th regnal year showing thereby that he ascended the throne sometime in 679-80 A.D. We know that his grandson Śrīpurusha, who directly succeeded him, ascended the throne in 725-26 A.D., thus yielding for Śivamāra I a reign period of around 46 to 47 years. It is very likely that the hero-stone inscription under study belongs to the very last year of his reign.

Of the geographical names occurring in this record, the territory of Puṇamalai-nāḍu, which obviously lay outside (*puṇam*) the Malai-nāḍu, included the Harur and Uttangarai Taluks of Dharmapuri District. Kuḍal, which was the scene of the fight, has been identified elsewhere with Guḍalūr near Tirthamalai in Harur Taluk.⁴

TEXT⁵

- 1 Śri Śivamaraparumārku yandu narpattē-
- 2 lavadu Kanda-Vāṇadi-araiṣaru Puṇamalai-nāḍ-a-
- 3 la avar magāṇar Tejiyan-Iḷaiāru śevagar Vani[ga]-
- 4 ch-chaḍai|ya*|ṇar Vettakkiyar Kuḍal vanduviḍa a|var|-
- 5 [me||l*] A[ṇa]yaṇ(n)-
- 6 ḍi niṇṇu śe-
- 7 ṇru paṭṭar [l*]

1 It is mentioned in a record of the third year of the reign of Śivamāra I that one Vāṇaperumāṇ attacked Kuḍal which was situated in Puṇamalai-nāḍu. He was in inimical terms with Kanda-Vāṇadiyamiyar, the ruler of the same division (Above, Vol. XXXVIII, pp. 276-77).

2 AREp., 1972-73, No. B 279 and Introduction.

3 Ep. Cam., Vol. VII, (Rev) Md. 35 (III Md. 113) and plate XVII, pp. 219 ff and Introduction p. LXXXV and p. LXXXVIII.

4 Above, Vol. XXXVIII, p. 277.

5 From inked impression.

B. Muttanūr Inscription of Śrīpurusha, year 1 [8]

This inscription is engraved on top and either side of a sculptured representation in the centre. The hero is depicted with his face turned to his left. He holds a bow in his left hand while his raised right hand holds a pointed dagger. Behind him is carved a jar with a lid. There is a shrine like object in his front, placed below the bow.

As has been stated above the inscription, in 8 lines, is in Tamil language and Vaṭṭeluttu characters. The following **palaeographical** features are noteworthy.

The letter *y* does not show a clearly formed loop. The median semicircle, standing for the middle vertical, is not connected with the boat like base. The letter *t* is little angular in form. The letter *n* has a curved lower portion as in the inscription of Śivamāra I discussed above. The letter *ru* has a loop at the bottom.

The inscription records that while Amaradakkiyar was ruling over the western division of Puṇamalai-nādu, during the 18th¹ regnal year of Śrīpuriśaparumar (Śrīpurushavarman), Kamaianār of Velal-nādu undertook a cattle-raid at Korṇamaṅgalam and on that occasion Vaḍamachchattanār, a servant of Amaradakkiyar lost his life.²

The name Śrīpuriśaparumar, no doubt, refers to the Gaṅga king Śrīpurusha. He may be identified with the successor of Śivamāra I, whose last year is known from his Kaṭṭaraśampatti record dated in the forty seventh year of his reign (725-26 A.D.). We know from epigraphical sources that Śrīpurusha ascended the throne sometime in 725-26 A.D. Our inscription may therefore be assigned to 743-44 A.D.

The Western division of Puṇamalai-nādu which was being administered by Amaradakkiyar comprised the area around Kṛṣṇagiri, Morappūr, etc.³ The place of the cattle-raid, Korṇamaṅgalam cannot be identified.

TEXT⁴

- 1 Śrī Śrīpuriśaparumarku yāndu padi[ne]ttu[a]-
- 2 vadu Amaradakkiyar Puṇamalai-nāttu-mēr-
- 3 kū-alak-Kamaianār Velal-nāttu
- 4 niṇṇu vāndu Korṇamaṅ-
- 5 galattut-toṇuk-konḍa nā-
- 6 ṇṇu Amaradakkiyar śēva-
- 7 gar Vaḍamachchattanār
- 8 paṭṭār[!*

1 Contra : *A.R.Ep.*, 1975-76, No. B 224.

2 Contra : *Dharmapuri Kalvettugal*, No. 1974/79, p. 62.

3 *A.R.Ep.*, 1975-76, Introduction p. 6.

4 From inked impression.

TWO GĀṆGA RECORDS FROM DHARMAPURI DISTRICT
—PLATE II



K. V. Ramesh

Scale : One-Half

Ep. Ind., Vol. XLII

No. 19—TWO TAMIL CAVE BRAHMI INSCRIPTIONS

(1 Plate)

M.D. Sampath, Mysore.

The two Tamil Cave Brahmi inscriptions edited below with the kind permission of the Director (Epigraphy), Archaeological Survey of India, Mysore, were copied by me and included in the *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy* for the year 1990-91. Out of these two, one was copied from the caves of Tirumalai hills near Kīlappūṅḡḍi in Sivaganga Taluk of former Ramnad District. The village Kīlappūṅḡḍi is situated at a distance of 25 kms. from Mēlūr in Madurai District. The second one is from the cave locally called Uṇḍāṅkal near the village Vikkiramāṅgalam in Madurai District.

The records under study are classified herender as *A* and *B* for the sake of convenience. Record *A* was noticed earlier by the Department of Archaeology, Government of Tamil Nadu, Madras, and a paper on the same was presented by Sri N. Kasinathan, Director of Archaeology, Madras at a seminar conducted by the Tamil University, Thanjavur in 1990. The different readings suggested by the members of the above department have not been published so far.

The text reads as follows :

Ekkatu-ūr Kavitikaṇ koriya pāli-y

Engraved on the eyebrow of the cave, this archaic record is not easily visible to the naked eye.

The **language** of the record is Tamil and the **script** employed is called Damili or Tamil-Brahmi. Though the name Damili is eminently applicable to the alphabet of the archaic cave records of Tamil Nadu, on the score that their script got so evolved to suit Dravidian phonology, yet the name Tamil-Brahmi has persisted with the academicians. In fact, the nomenclature Tamil-Brahmi has gained near-universal currency on account of our reluctance to accept a more suitable terminology.

It is written in a single line and the engraving is shallow. The record may be assigned on palaeographical grounds to c. 2nd Century B.C.

The inscription registers the fact that the cave (*pāli*) was caused to be scooped out by one Kavitikaṇ of (the place) Ekkatu-ūr.

The interesting feature of the record is the absence of the inherent *a* vowel value in the consonants, the use of two consonants side by side as full letters instead of a conjunct form (*samyuktākshara*) as seen in the expression *Ekkatu*°. Like the records from Māṅḡlam and other places, this record exhibits the indigenous forms, especially the use of letters for the Dravidian sounds *r* and *ṛ*. The medial vowel signs for *a* and *ā* are identical and the same can

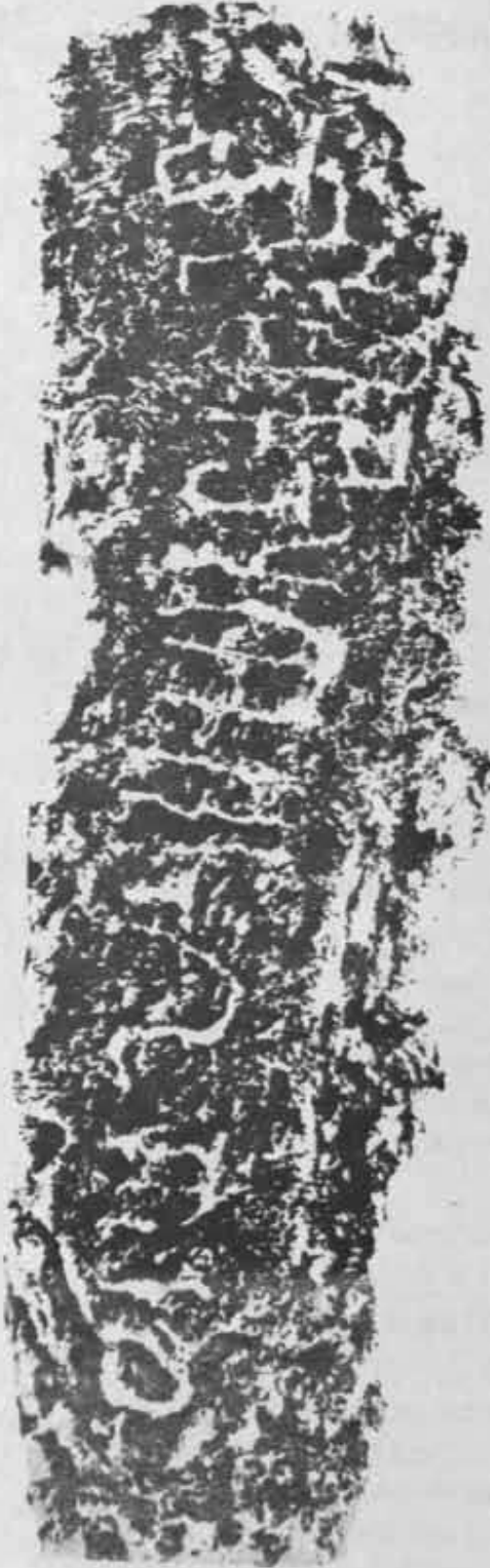
TWO TAMIL CAVE BRAHMI INSCRIPTIONS TIRUMALAI



Ep. Ind., Vol. XLII

K. V. Ramesh

TWO TAMIL CAVE BRAHMI INSCRIPTIONS VIKKIRAMANGALAM



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K. V. Ramesh

be distinguished only by invoking a knowledge of the language. The symbol *u* (medial) in the word *Ekkātu-ūr* stands for the long sound *ū* only. The above features can be called pre-evolutionary ones. The letter forms *ṇ*, *ṛ* figuring in this record show some similarities to the ones found in the Maṅgūlam records.¹

This is one of the early Tamil cave Brahmi records showing the basic forms of the alphabet. To these basic forms have been added special Dravidian sounds like *ṛ* and *ṇ* to suit the Dravidian phonology. The earliest Tamil cave Brahmi records have been elsewhere assigned to the pre-Aśokan period on account of the occurrence of the rudimentary type of scriptal forms.²

The place *Ekkātu-ūr* may be identified with *Erukātūr* figuring in the cave Brahmi record from Tirupparankuṇṇam³ and *Ekkāttūru* referred to in the *Vaṭṭeḷuttu* inscription⁴ from Pillaiyarpatti in Ramnad District.

The term *Kāviti* seems to indicate 'a title'. In the record of the Pandyas of the 8th-10th century A.D., the expression *kāvidi* occurs and has been taken to signify a revenue officer and petty official.⁵ *Kāvitikaṇ* occurring in the present record is suggestive of a personal name rather than a title. The word *koṛiy*⁶ may be taken to mean 'to scoop out.'

Record *B*, engraved on the inner face of a rocky out-crop at Vikkiramāṅgalam, was first noticed by Sri N. Kasinathan, Director of Archaeology, Madras. It was subsequently copied by this office in 1990. This place has so far yielded five inscriptions, of which four are found engraved on the beds of the cave and one is found engraved on the eye-brow of the cave.⁶

The language of the record is Tamil and the script employed is Dāmili or Tamil-Brahmī. On palaeographical grounds, this record may be placed later to the record *A* discussed above. The present inscription may be assigned to 1st Century B.C., on the basis of palaeography. The text reads :

Erayal Ara-iytaṇ chevitaṇ

The purport of the record is that (this bed/cave) was caused to be made by Ara-iytaṇ of Erayal.

1 See the 'Corpus of Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions' by Iravatham Mahadevan in the *Seminar on Inscriptions* (ed.) by R. Nagaswamy, pp. 69 ff., Nos. 3 and 5.

2 Paper on the 'Origin and dissemination of the Brahmi script' by K. V. Ramesh presented at the Tamil University Symposium 1988.

3 I. Mahadevan, *Ibid.*, p. 65, No. 51.

4 Contra : *Corpus of Tamil-Brahmi Inscriptions*, No. 75.

5 *SII*, Vol. XIV, p. 12; In the Tamil poem *Maduraik-Kāñchi*, the term *kāvidi* is used in the sense of a title given to experienced and capable ministers. The Tamil *Nighaṇṭu* explains this term as 'an accountant'. It is used in the sense of a title given to a warrior in the Melpatti inscription of Pallava Kampavarman (See above, Vol. XXIII, p. 144).

6 *AREp*, 1926, Nos. 621-23 and *ibid.*, 1964, Nos. 285-86.

The following **palaeographical** features deserve notice. Vowel *e* bears resemblance to the ones found in the records at Karuṅgalakkuḍi and Aḷagarmalai.¹ Two forms of *t* are found used, one with the arm branching off to the right of a diagonal (slanting) stem and the other with two arms forking from the bottom of a vertical stem. The final *n* used in *Ara-iytaṇ* and *chevitaṇ*, has been evolved to meet the needs of Dravidian phonology.

The name *Ara-iytaṇ* reminds us of a similar name found mentioned in the Tiruvadavūr inscription. Sri Mahadevan read the name in the latter record as *Ar-itan*.² The word *Arita*³ or *Ar-ita* or *Ara-iyta* is, in all probability, the *tadbhava* form of the Sanskrit word *Harita*, which term occurs as the name of *gōtra*. The place Erayal is not identifiable with any of the modern place-names in the present state of our knowledge.

1 See *Corpus of Tamil-Brahmi Inscriptions*, Nos. 28 and 43 (Aḷagarmalai record, No. 14), pp. 63-64.
2 and 3 *Ibid.*, pp. 61, 63 and 65.

No. 5—BABBĒPALLI PLATES OF PALLAVA KUMĀRAVISHṆU

(2 Plates)

P. V. Parabrahma Sastry, Hyderabad

The subjoined inscription is engraved on a set of five copper-plates discovered in **Rājugaripālem**, a hamlet of Babbēpalli village in the Addanki Taluk, Prakasam District, Andhra Pradesh, while a certain Sunkara Govardhana Rao was digging the land at a depth of one foot in S. No. 444. The set was received as treasure trove in the State Department of Archaeology and Museums, Hyderabad, through Sri T. V. Reddaiah, the Tahsildar of Addanki Taluk in March, 1980. I edit the record with the kind permission of Dr. V. V. Krishna Sastry, the present Director of Archaeology and Museums, Andhra Pradesh to whom I remain grateful.

The set consists of five copper-plates held together by a copper ring of diameter 7 cm and thickness 0.5 cm. The ends of the ring are soldered to a round seal of 3.5 cm. diameter. By the time the set reached the office, the ring was broken at the soldered part below the seal probably due to some accidental pressure on the ring. All the five plates are uniform in size with unraised rims. The average measurements of the plates are 17 cm length, 5 cm width, and 0.1 cm thickness and their weight with the ring is 477 grams. Barring the first side of the first plate and the second side of the fifth plate which carry no writing, the remaining eight sides contain four lines of writing each and the full text is thus written in 32 lines. The right top corner of the first plate is slightly cut probably while digging though, fortunately, the damage is negligible as only the last letter in the first line is lost. The writing on the whole is fairly legible and in a state of good preservation.

The seal contains the usual Pallava emblem of a recumbent bull facing proper right embossed in relief. Above and below the figure, the portions probably containing the legend seem to have been deliberately chipped off. An interesting feature noticed on the seal is that the elevated parts of the bull seem to be silver coated. It is difficult to explain this uncommon feature. The destruction of the legend portion and some other features of the record give rise to the suspicion that the charter is perhaps a re-written document. This matter will be discussed in the sequel.

This charter was issued by the Pallava king Kumāravishṇuvarman from the capital town Kāñchi, to register the gift of some land in the village Kaligoṇḍa in Karma-rāshṭra to the *brāhmaṇa* named Isara-sarman (Īśvara-śarman) in the king's thirteenth regnal year.

The **characters** of the record belong to the conventional Vēṅgi type of letters. They resemble the letters of the Pikira grant¹ of another early Pallava king Simhavarman and the Śāsanakōṭa plates² of the Western Gaṅga king Mādhavarman I. They do not seem to be so archaic as in the Oṁgoḍu set-I³ of Śivaskandavarman. The vowels *a* (line 21), *ā* (lines 18 and 31), *i* (lines 10 and 18), *u* (lines 14 and 16) and *e* (lines 13, 14 and 17) and the final consonants *n* (lines 10 and 32) and *m* (line 25) are found employed. The bottom of the letter *da* is generally elongated downwards. The central horizontal of the letter *śa*, unlike in the Pikira and Sakrepaṭṇa plates,⁴ touches the side-verticals. The left vertical of *b* is open. The final *m* in line 25 is represented by a slant semi-circle, unlike the small *m* in the Pikira and other records of that period. These last three features pertain to the later part of the fifth century A.D. Medial long *u* of *bhu* in line 21 is a continuation of the short *u*, unlike a stroke in its middle as in Pikira and Sakrepaṭṇa plates. This is also a later development. Of the **orthographical** features, the use of *upadhmaniya* in line 25, the use of class nasals for *anusvaras* and doubling of the consonants following *repha* are noticed. Rules of *sandhi* are not observed in several instances.

Palaeographically the present plates can be roughly assigned to the later part of the fifth century A.D. It also seems to be later than the Oṁgoḍu set-I and does not differ much with the available single plate of the Darśi⁵ set which, like the present grant, was issued by a great-grandson of Virakurchavarman.

The **language** of the record is Sanskrit and, leaving the five imprecatory verses, it is in prose composed in the usual phraseology found in the Sanskrit charters of the early Pallavas. There are several mistakes in grammar and syntax, for which the composer as well as the scribe seem to be responsible. The fifth verse in lines 27 and 28, though in *anushtubh*, is too faulty to be corrected and its meaning is also not clear.

The phraseology of the record, although faulty and incomplete, presupposes some standardised forms and phrases found in other Sanskrit charters of the early Pallavas applying the same phrases indiscriminately to different members without any significance. A deliberate attempt at Sanskritisation of some Telugu names of the boundary places is another feature to be noticed in the record.

The charter was issued from the capital Kāñchipura by the Pallava king *mahārāja śrī* Kumāravishṇuvarman of Bhāradvaja-gōtra who is described as the son of *mahārāja śrī* Skandamūlavarman, grandson of *mahārāja śrī* Karājavarman and great-grandson of *mahārāja śrī* Virakorchavarman. It records the gift of sixty-four *nivartanas* of land near the village Kaligonda in Karma-rāṣṭra to certain Īśvara-śarman of Kāśyapa-gōtra.

1 Above, Vol. VIII, pp. 159 ff. and plates.

2 *Ibid.*, XXIV, pp. 238 ff. and plates.

3 *Ibid.*, XV, pp. 250 ff. and plates.

4 *Ibid.*, XXXVIII, pp. 99 ff. and plates.

5 *Ibid.*, I, pp. 397-98 and plate.

The date of the record is the fifth day in the bright fortnight of the *maha-Karttika* month in the prosperous thirteenth regnal year of the king, the *nakshatra* being *Viśakha* and the week-day Thursday.

The boundaries of the gift land are given in three different specifications. It seems, therefore, that the lands were situated at three places (*trai-bhūmyām* -l. 17) near the village Kaligoṇḍa. The work *trai-bhūmyām* may also mean the meeting place of the boundaries of three villages. But here three *sukshētras* or three fertile fields are separately specified.¹

This inscription sheds welcome light on more than one aspect of the history of the Early Pallvas who flourished in southern Āndhra in the post-Ikshvāku period. The charter was issued from the capital Kāñchī indicating that the Pallavas of the early Sanskrit charters of the Guntur-Nellore region had their capital at Kāñchī like Śivaskandavarman of the Prakrit charters. Being earlier than the Vesanta grant of Simhavarman II² and the Chendalūru grant of Kumāravishṇu III³ the other two Sanskrit charters which were issued from Kāñchīpra, this record confirms that these rulers were in possession of Kāñchī from the time of Kumāravishṇu, the donor of the present charter. The statement of the Vēlūrpālayam inscription⁴ that one descendant of Virakūrcha named Kumāravishṇu captured Kāñchī (*grihita-Kāñchi-nagaraḥ*) is also confirmed by the present record and we can say that he was really in possessin of that town.

Karājavarman and Skandamūlavarman till now find mention only in the long list of the Vayalūr epigraph⁵ of Rājasirṇha where their names occur between Virakūrcha I and Virakūrcha II. Thus we can reasonably identify Virakūrcha of the present record with Virakūrcha I of the Vayalūr epigraph. Again, the historicity of the Karājavarman and Skandamūlavarman as son and grandson respectively of Virakūrchavarman is also established by this record of Kumāravishṇuvarman. He was a member of the fourth generation from Virakūrcha, the founder member of the Pallava dynasty. We know from the Chendalūru plates one Kumāravishṇu, son of Skandavarman and another Kumāravishṇu, son of Buddhavarman. Kumāravishṇu of the present charter, being the son of Skandamūlavarman, cannot be identified with either of those two. A third Kumāravishṇu is

1. The learned editor has somewhat misunderstood the details of grant as furnished in lines 10-17. The text in lines 10-11 must be read with only one correction as *Karma-rāshṭra-Kaligoṇḍa-nāma-Viri-grāma-pathē (thah) pūrvvataḥ*, which would mean that one of the three pieces of lands donated lay to the east of the road connecting the two villages Kaligoṇḍa and Virigrāma in Karma-rāshṭra. The other three boundaries of this piece of arable land as also the four boundaries of the other two pieces of arable lands have been enumerated in the sequel. In the light of this *trai-bhūmyām chaushashtī nivarttanāni* should be taken to mean a total of 64 *nivarttanas* drawn from the three different arable lands and, hence, Dr. Sastri's suggestion that *trai-bhūmyām* may mean the meeting place of the boundaries of the three villages does not hold water-(Ed.).

2. N. Ramesan, *Copper Plate Inscriptions of Andhra Pradesh Government Museum, Hyderabad*, Vol. I, pp. 211 ff.

3. Above, Vol. VIII, pp. 233 ff.

4. *SII.*, Vol. II, p. 508

5. Above, Vol. XVIII, p. 147.

stated to be the great-grandfather of Vijayaskandavarman, the donor of the Ōrngōḍu set-I. As his father's name is not stated in that record and because the Vāyalūr list mentions only two kings bearing the name Kumāravishṇu, it is generally believed that Kumāravishṇu of the Ōrngōḍu set-I is identical with the first Kumāravishṇu, son of Skandavarman of the Chendalūru plates. But as the present record confirms the historicity of Skandamūlavarman of the Vāyalūr list which distinguishes him from Skandavarman, the above identity of Kumāravishṇu of Ōrngōḍu set-I, with his first namesake of the Chendalūru plates, cannot be considered. In support of this view, Kumāravishṇu of Ōrngōḍu set-I is stated to have performed the *aśvamēdha* sacrifice, whereas Kumāravishṇu of the Chendalūru plates is not credited with that. Further, the Ōrngōḍu set-I, issued in the 33rd regnal year of the great-grandson of Kumāravishṇu, in its palaeography and phraseology, is considered to be earlier than the Chendalūru plates issued in the 2nd regnal year of the grandson of his namesake. So they cannot be identified with each other. Even to identify him with Kumāravishṇu of the present record, a third Kumāravishṇu is to be added to the Vāyalūr list. But in view of the imperfect nature of that list this adjustment need not be considered to be a serious mistake. Till further evidence comes forth Kumāravishṇu of this charter can be taken to be his namesake of the Ōrngōḍu set-I. About his performing of the *aśvamēdha* sacrifice, he might have done it later after issuing this grant. This is an attempt to find a place for him among the early members, because he happens to be the third descendant of Virakūrcha I.

The genealogical table of the early Pallavas cannot be accurately constructed, for the reason that all the three predecessors of the donor of each charter cannot be assumed to have ruled at Kañchi in their own right. In other words how many collateral lines seized the throne of Kañchi during the long period extending about three centuries from c. 300 A.D. to 600 A.D. is not precisely known at present.

Among the officers to whom the royal order was entrusted for protection and honouring mention is made of *rāja-vallabhas*, *naiyōgikas*, *gō-pālas*, *vatsa-pālas* and *sañcharantakas*. *Rāja-vallabhas* were the king's favourites or superior officers and *naiyōgikas* were the administrative officers of the divisions. These officers were supposed to exempt the donee from taxes. *Gō-pālas* and *vatsa-pālas* were the supervisors respectively of cows and calves. The gift land was to be excluded from grazing the king's cattle. *Sañcharantakas* were the same as *śāsana-sañcharantakas* who were the messengers employed to acquaint the people every now and then about the royal orders.

The grant was issued on the fifth day (*pañchami*) of the bright fortnight of *maha-Kārttika-māsa* in the prosperous and victorious thirteenth regnal year, the *nakshatra* being Viśākhā and the week-day *Guruvāra* i.e., Thursday.

1 Above, Vol. XV, pp. 249 ff.

We notice an early reference to the method of dating in the month of two fortnights in the Sanskrit inscription of Ehavala Śrī found at Nāgarjunakōṇḍa¹ dated on the *ekadaśī* day of the bright fortnight of the Magha-māsa in his 11th regnal year i.e., round about 300 A.D. Still earlier, we find the mention of the month Kārttika and the day Purnimā in the Nāsik inscription of Ushavadata.² The Penugōṇḍa plates of Śālaṅkāyana Hastivarman³ datable to c. 400 A.D. give the date in the same method and add the *nakshatra* Bhādrapada also. The Koppāram plates⁴ of Pulakēśin II of 631 A.D. mention Bṛihaspativāra (Thursday). In the Tippalūru epigraph⁵ of the Rēnāṭi Chōḍa king Puṇyakumāra of the same period we find mention of both the *nakshatra*, Purnarū-pushya and the week-day, Sōmavāra. It mentions the Hōra of Bṛihaspati also. The present record is about two centuries earlier than the said records of Pulakēśin II and Puṇyakumāra. On the basis of the mention of the said particulars alone the record cannot be assigned to a later date; for, this system was in vogue even from the Ikshvaku period and the other method of dating in seasons continued even in the 8th century A.D. In this record under review which is assignable to sometime in the middle of the fifth century A.D., we have an early epigraphical reference to a week-day.

The month of the date is stated as Mahā-Kārttika-māsa. We come across a similar term in Telugu in connection with the month Kārttika, namely Kōṇḍa-Kārttika in the Tippalūru epigraph of Puṇyakumāra, the Rēnāṭi Chōḍa king referred to above. The editors of the record did not enlighten us about its significance. The word *kōṇḍa* according to the Telugu lexicon, *Sūryarāyāndhra-nighaṇṭuvu* means 'great', i.e., *mahat* in Sanskrit. According to the twelve year cycle of the Jupiter, the year commences on the day when that planet after its conjunction with the Sun, rises heliacally at mean sunrise in a particular constellation after which the year is named. But in our present record the month is stated to be Mahā-Kārttika-māsa, and not the year. So the reckoning in the record cannot be considered to be of the Jovian cycle. Some other astronomical or religious significance is perhaps implied by prefixing *Mahā* before the month name Kārttika.⁶

A close examination of the charter gives rise to the doubt whether it is a re-written copy of an earlier original one for the following reasons :

- 1 Above, vol. XXXIII, p. 148.
- 2 *Ibid.*, Vol. VIII, p. 83.
- 3 *Ibid.*, Vol. XXXV, p. 146.
- 4 *Ibid.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 258 ff.
- 5 *Ibid.*, Vol. XXVII, pp. 232-33.
- 6 It is probable that if two *Samkrāntis* occur in a lunar month it may be considered as a great feature and the name of that month is prefixed with *Mahā*. In the present case it is said that Viśākhā-nakshatra coincided with *pañchami* of the bright fortnight. The preceding *Samkrānti* in Kārttika would be Tūlā which commences when the Sun enters the third quarter of Chitrā-nakshatra. This *nakshatra* preceded Viśākhā just by three days. That being very near to *Amāvāsyā*, it is likely that the Sun and Moon were in conjunction and Tūlā-samkrānti might have taken place on *pratīpat* or *dvitīyā* of this Kārttika. The next *Vṛścika-samkrānti* might have occurred on some day close to *Amāvāsyā* in the Viśākhā-nakshatra fourth quarter, when again Sun and Moon were in conjunction, in the *Amānta* system. Such occurrence of two *samkrāntis* might have been the reason for the month being auspicious and called Mahā-Kārttika.

1. The record begins with the invocation *Jitam bhagavatā* which is not found in the ōmgōḍu set-I, the early Sanskrit charter of these kings. This phrase in those days was used to invoke the Buddha as well as Vishnu. The Tummalagūḍem set-I of the Vishnukūṇḍi king Gōvindavarman¹ begins with a verse invoking the Lord Buddha, of which this phrase forms the commencement. Similarly the Śāsanakōṭa copper-plate charter of Ganga Mādhavarman I begins with the invocation to God Vishnu is a verse commencing with this phrase. All the Sanskrit records of these Pallavas except the ōmgōḍu set-I begin with this phrase. This charter, therefore, seems to be later than the ōmgōḍu set-I.

2. We find in all their Sanskrit records excluding the ōmgōḍu set-I, a systematised phraseology eulogising the kings mentioned in them. The present grant in that regard finds comparison with all those records and differs with the ōmgōḍu set-I, where the eulogy is in the initial stage. The phraseology of this charter is therefore assignable to a period later than that of the ōmgōḍu set-I.

3. Certain Sanskrit words indicating the boundaries of the gift lands exhibit an attempted unnatural Sanskritisation: e.g., a small colony of lime manufacturers is named Chunōprālu, probably Sunnapāḍu in Telugu; Enamadala, the village name is taken as two components Enumu '(buffalo) and tala (head) in Telugu and Sanskritised as Mahishaśiragrāma; an old tank, that is Pata-cheruvu, in Telugu, is Sanskritised as *Vṛiddha-taṭāka*; black tank i.e. Nalla-cheruvu in Telugu is Sanskritised as *Kamsāri-taṭāka*. After translating the Telugu word *nalla* into Sanskrit *krishṇa* (=black) and then applying the word *Krishṇa* to Vāsudeva and again twisting it to mean the enemy of Kamsa, the final Sanskrit form is given as *Kamsāri-taṭāka*.

4. The gift land measuring *chaushasṭi* (sixty-four) *nivartanas* was given in three units, all of them touching Sarp-ālaya or Sarpa-griha, likely a temple for the serpent god, Nāga.

5. The donee is mentioned simply by his *gōtra* and name without any attributes with regard to his learning, etc., which qualified him to receive the gift.

6. The fifth verse following the imprecatory verses, although it exhibits Prakrit influence, is totally corrupt. The purport of the verse seems to be that a certain lord of Kāñchipura gave the gift to a *brāhmaṇa* out of devotion, and the Pallava kings should take it up for protection.

7. In regard to chronology, the donor Kumāravishṇu is the fourth member from Virakūrchā, the founder member of the family. This Virakūrchā cannot be the second one of that name, mentioned in the Vāyalūru epigraph of Rajasimha because Karaḷavarman and Skandamūlavarman, who are stated to be his son and grandson respectively, find mention before Virakūrchā II, in that list of kings of the Pallava family. Virakūrchā I, according to the accepted chronology, is assumed to have flourished in the last quarter of the third century

1 *Ep. Andhrica*, Vol. II, pp. 9 ff.

A.D. So his great-grandson, the donor of the present grant, is to be assigned to sometime before 400 A.D. We find in the ōmgōḍu set-I, one Kumāravishṇu whose great-grandson Vijayaskandavarman issued that charter in his 33rd regnal year. If we have to accept the regnal period of this ruler to be between 400 and 435 A.D. as assigned to him by scholars,¹ his great-grandfather Kumāravishṇu, who is taken by us to be the same as the donor of the grant under study, might have flourished at least sixty years before 435 A.D., the approximate date of the ōmgōḍu set-I. The present grant is thus to be assigned to sometime between 365 and 375 A.D., whereas in its present form it looks like a later record than the ōmgōḍu set-I. Palaeographically also this record resembles more the Pikira grant of Simhavarman III than the ōmgōḍu set-I. Therefore, we may not be unreasonable in supposing that this copper-plate set is a recomposed version of an earlier record probably written in a mixed dialect of Prakrit and Sanskrit.

That was the period when Sanskrit replaced Prakrit as inscriptional language. The early Pallavas who strove hard for the promotion of Vedic-Purāṇic culture, established for the first time in coastal Āndhradeśa several *agrahāras* for learned *brahmanas*, probably to counter the growing influence of Buddhism in that region. These Pallavas and the Śālaṅkayanas, say from the beginning of the fifth century A.D., replaced Prakrit totally by Sanskrit in their documents. As part of spreading the Purāṇic cult, they might have called back some of their earlier Prakrit charters and re-issued them in Sanskrit version. In the present case, the heirs of the original donee might have approached the then ruler, also a Pallava, to re-issue the grant. Consequently some agent of the king may have executed the orders of the king, without changing the names of the original donor and donee.

The Darśi single plate,² which was also given by the great-grandson of Virakūcha, either this Kumāravishṇu himself or another king, palaeographically resembles the charter under study. It also begins with *Jitam-bhagavatā*. For the change of language from Prakrit to Sanskrit that record also might have been re-issued. These are not the only two records of this kind. The late Rao Bahadur H. Krishna Sastry, while editing ōmgōḍu set-II³ doubts the genuineness of that charter. Similarly, C.R. Krishnamachari while editing the Chura grant⁴ not only expresses a similar doubt, but also says that it is difficult to know why some grants of these Pallavas are re-written. A more specific example in this regard we find in the Andhavaram plates of Ananta-Śaktivarman,⁵ the Kalinga king of Maṭhara-gotra, who explicitly states that he is re-issuing the charter which was originally issued by Āryaka Śakti-Bhaṭṭarakapada who was none other than his own grandfather.

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- 1 *The Vākātaka Gupta Age*, p. 234 - Chapter on 'Early Pallavas' by K.A. Nilakanta Sastri; T.V. Mahalingam, *Kāñchipuram in Early South Indian History*, p. 33.
 - 2 Above, Vol. I, pp. 397-98.
 - 3 *Ibid.*, Vol. XV, pp. 252 ff.
 - 4 *Ibid.*, Vol. XXIV, pp. 137 ff.
 - 5 Above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 176 and 231.

To conclude, it can be said reasonably that the present charter is a revised version in Sanskrit issued in about 460 A.D. This is composed by some ordinary *brāhmaṇa*, who was not well versed in Sanskrit. Its original version might have been issued sometime in the second half of the fourth century A.D. in Prakrit language with some Sanskrit verses and words. Even in its present form, this charter is a valuable record for the history of the early Pallavas. In the first place, it establishes the historicity of Karaḷavarman and Skandamūlavarman as son and grandson respectively of Virakūrchavarman, the founder member of the Pallava dynasty. Till now we know their names from the long list of the Vayalūrepi-graph only, without their mutual relationship. Secondly, like Śivaskandavarman of the Prakrit grants and Vishṇugōpa, the adversary of Samudragupta, Kumāravishṇu, the donor of the present grant was also having his capital at Kāñchi and his kingdom to its north. Thirdly, even if we take it to have been issued in its present shape sometime in the later half of the fifth century A.D., this is the earliest inscription to refer to a week-day in its date portion. About the *nakshatra*, we have it mentioned in the Penugonda plates of Śaṅkayana Hastivarman of about of 400 A.D. which is earlier than the present charter.

Of the **Geographical** names mentioned in the record Kāñchi is the well-known capital town of the Pallavas. Karma-rāshṭra is the well-known capital town of the Pallavas and is the same as Kamma-rāshṭra or Kammana-rāshṭra. It finds mention in the Chendalūru, Ōṃgōdu set-II and Chura grants of the early Pallavas and some early records like the Kopparam plates of Pulakeśi II and the Chendalūru grant of Sarvalokaśraya, the Eastern Chālukya king. Kammaka-rāṭha of the Jaggayyapēṭa Prakrit inscription of Siri Virapurisadata¹, as pointed out by C.R.K. Charlu, also stands for Karma-rāshṭra. The modern Ongole, Addanki and Darsi Taluks of the Prakasam District and the Narasaraopet and Bapatla Taluks of the Guntur District are generally taken to have formed the ancient Karma-rāshṭra. It was called Kamma-naḍu in the medieval inscriptions. The villages mentioned in the grant are Kaligonda, Virigrāma, Chuṇopraḷu, Koṇdamujunūru, Dōṇāvadi, Chuṇō(lū)praḷu, Mahishaśira-grāma and Pullalūru. Of these villages, Koṇdamujunūru is identifiable with the present village of Koṇdamajulūru which lies to the east of the national highway between Chilakalūrupēṭa and Ōṅgole. It is a few kilometers to the south of Babbēpalli, the findspot of the plates. The village Mahishaśira is, obviously, a Sanskritized version of the Telugu name Enamadala (*enumu*=*mahisha* =buffalo; *tala* = *śiras* = head). The modern village Enamadala is a few kilometers to the north of Babbēpalli, also on the eastern side of the said highway. Dōṇāvadi may possibly be the present Drōṇādula, again a few miles south of Babbēpalli. The village Virigrāma might possibly be Viriparu near Narasaraopet. Chuṇopraḷu is, obviously, the Prakrit name of some place connected with lime manufacture. Kaligonda is not identifiable. The village name Pullalūru appears in the Chendalūru grant of Kumāravishṇu II as the

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1 Lüder's List, No. 1204.



residence of the donee. It also occurs in the Kaṣakkudi plates of Nandivarman¹ where Mahēndravarman I is stated to have defeated the chief enemies who were interpreted by scholars as the Chalukyas. And they have also identified Pullalūru with a village of that name near Kāñchi. But since there is another Pullalūru near Koppāram, which Pulakēṣi II is known to have conquered from the Pallavas, it is quite probable that Mahēndravarman I offered stiff resistance to check the advance of the enemy at this Pullalūru. The recently discovered Duddukūru copper-plate charter (unpublished) issued by him and his Chezerla stone epigraph confirm that he attacked the Chalukya invader in these parts.

TEXT²(Metres : Verses 1-5 : *Anuṣṭubh*)*First Plate*

- 1 Svasti [1*] Jitam=bhagavatāt³= [1*] Kāñchi-purādhishṭhāna(nā)t=parama-brahmanyasya sva-bahu-bal-a-
- 2 rjjiṭ-ōrjjiṭa-kṣhatra-tapo-nidher=vvidhi-vihita-sarvva-maryyādasya maharājasya
- 3 śrī-Virakōrchchavarmmanah prapautro=⁴bhyutthita⁴-śakti-siddhi-saṃpana(nna)sya prata[p]-o-
- 4 panata-raja-maṇḍalasya vasudha-tal-aika-virasya maharājasya śrī Karā-

Second Plate : First Side

- 5 lavarmmanah pautro deva-dvija-guru-vridhā(ddh-a)pachayina⁵ pravṛi[ddha*]-dharmma-saṅchaya-
- 6 sya prajā-pāla[na*]-dakṣhasya loka-pāla(la)nam pañchamasya loka-palanam saty-a-
- 7 tmanō maharājasya śrī-Skandamūlavarmmanah putro bhagavat-pad-anu-
- 8 ddhyātō Bappa-bhaṭṭha(ṭṭa)raka-pada-bhakta[h*] parama-bhagavato Bharadvaja-sa-gō-

1 S.I.L., Vol. II, p. 348, v. 21.

2 From the plates and inked estampages.

3 Read *bhagavatā*.

4 This occurs as *abhyuchita* in Pīkīra, Sakrēpaṭna and other Sanskrit charters of these kings.

5 Read *vridh-ōpachāyinaḥ*.

6 Read *pālasya*.

BABBĒPALLI PLATES OF PALLAVA KUMĀRAVISHNU
—PLATE I

i



ii a



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Second Plate : Second Side

- 9 tra(trō) yathāvad-ahṛid(t)-ānē[k-a*]śvamedhanām Pallava(va)nam(nām) Pallava-śrī-mahārājasya¹
- 10 śrīman Kuma(mā)ravishṇuvarmma(mā) imam-artthama(m-a)jñāpayati tad=yathā Karmma-rāshtrē Ka-
- 11 ligonḍa-nāma-grāma Virigrāma-patē(thah) pūrvvataḥ Chuṇōprā]u-grāma-sinma (sinma)
- 12 pu(u)ttarataḥ Koṇdamujunūru-grāma pate(thah) paśchimataḥ² Sarppa]a[ya]-dakshināta

Third Plate : First Side

- 13 ēta[ch*]=chatur-avadhi-dakshina-sukshētrē Dōṇavadi-grāma-sinmah(mnah) paśchimataḥ Chuṇō]u-
- 14 prā]u-grāma-sinmah(mnah) uttara[tah] sarppagrihē(ha)-pūrvvataḥ vṛidha(ddha)-tāṭaka-dakshināta ēta-
- 15 cha(ch=cha)tur-avadhi-dakshina-pūrvvē sukshētrē sarppagrihē(ha)-pūrvvataḥ Mahishaśira-gamē(ma)-
- 16 sinmah(mnah) dakshināta[h*] Pulla]uru-grāmē(ma)-sinmah(mnah) paśchimata[h*] Karṁsari-tāṭaka[sya*] uttarataḥ³

Third Plate : Second Side

- 17 ēta cah(ch=cha)tur-avadhi-pūrvvō(rvvō)ttarē sukshētrē trai-bhūmyā[m] chaushashti nivarttanāni Kāśyā(śya)-
- 18 pa-gotrāya Isara-sarmmaṇ[ē]⁴ dattavān āyur-bala-puny-ārōgya-nimita(tta)m | sam-
- 19 prā[tta*]s=tad-avagamyā rā]java]llava(bha)-naiyōgika-gōpāla-vatsapāla-sañchara-
- 20 ntakā[h*] pariha(hā)rai[h*] pa[ri*]ha[ra*]ntu pariharayantu cha []yō='sma ch=chhāsa(sa)nam-atikra-

1 Read mahārājah.

2 There is some deformation below the letter ta.

3 In the lower central part of this plate are three concentric circles.

4 Sanskrit equivalent would be *Isvara-sarmmaṇē*.

Fourth Plate : First Side

- 21 me[t*] sah papah śarīram dāṇdam=arhati[l*] api ch=ātr=arsha[h*]śu(ślo)kaḥ [l*]
Bhūmi-dāṇa-
- 22 t-param dānam na bhūtam na bhaviṣyati [l*]tasy=aiva harana(nā)t=pāpam na
bhūtam na bhaviṣya-
- 23 ti || [l*] Bahurbhi=vasudhā¹ datta(tta) bahubhiś=ch=anupālita[l*] yasya yasya ya-
- 24 da bhūmi[s*]-tasya tasya tada pa(pha)la[m] [|| 2*] Sva-datta(ttam) para-datta(tta)nva²
(m va) yō harēta

Fourth Plate : Second Side

- 25 vasundhara[m*] gā(ga)vām śata-sahasrasya hantuḥ=pibati kilbīṣam [|| 3*] Brahma-
- 26 svan-tu visha[m*] ghoram na visham visham-uchyatē [l*] visham-ēkākina[m*]
hantu(nti)
- 27 brahmasva[m*] putra-pautrikam [|| 4*] Kāñchīpur-ādhipō(pēna) dattam
bhaktēna brāhma-
- 28 nāya cha [l*] rakshan-ārtham yā(ya)da bhūmi-vallabha Pāllava sadā³[|| 5*]

Fifth Plate

- 29 Pravarddhamāna-vijaya-rājya-samvatsarē trayodaśe Mahakā-
- 30 rttika(ka)-masē śukla-paksha-pañchamya(myām) Viśaka(khā)-nakshatrē
Guruva(vā)rē
- 31 La[da]rajajñā(j-ājñā)ptya Rudra-śarmme(rmma)na(nā) [likhitam-i]dam
sā(śā)śa(sa)nam-achandra-
- 32 da(ta)rakam kṛtvā dattavan [l*] svasti go-brahmaṇebhyaḥ [||*]⁴

1 Read bahubhiś=vvasudhā.

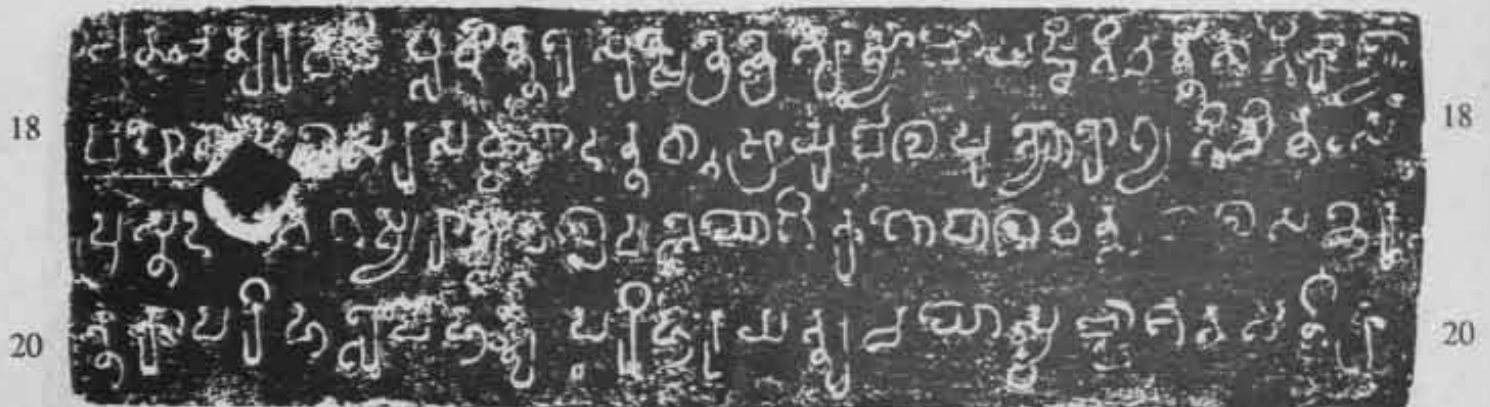
2 Here the sandhi with the nasal n is not required.

3 The second half of this verse is corrupt and does not admit of any reasonable correction.

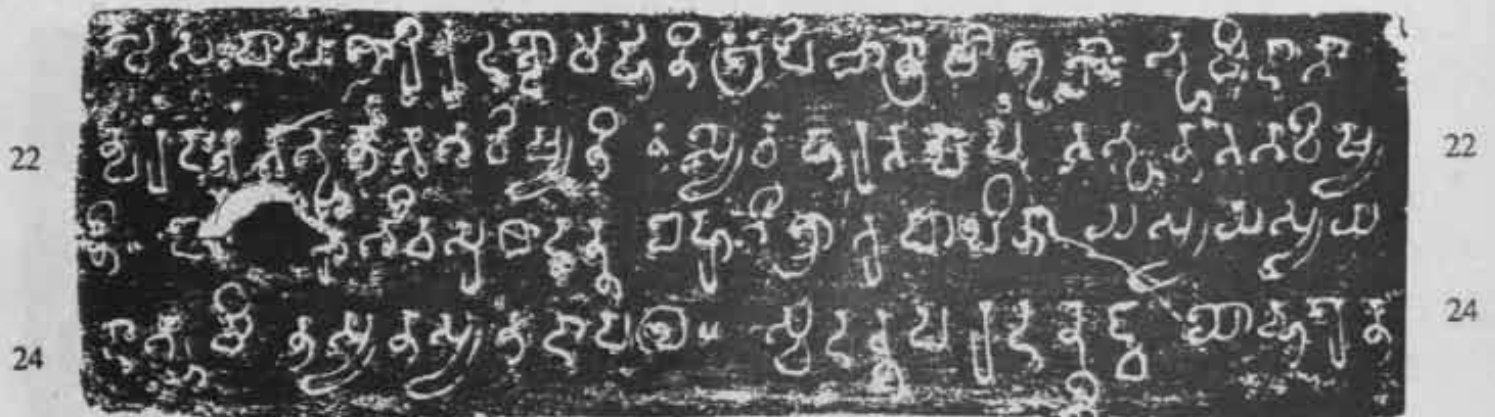
4 There is a spiral mark after this.

BABBĒPALLI PLATES OF PALLAVA KUMĀRAVISHNU
—PLATE II

iii b



iv a



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v

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